THE LEAGUE AND CULTURAL COOPERATION: A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY, AIMS, METHODS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION ORGANIZATION
THE LEAGUE AND CULTURAL COOPERATION: A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY,
AIMS, METHODS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

by

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Erratum

As a result of an error in typing, page 124 was incorrectly numbered as page 125 and the succeeding pages were numbered 126 etc. There is thus no page 124.
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"There is a law of social evolution that the worth of a function must be demonstrated through the services of an unspecialized agency before a specialized agency is brought into existence in the social order."

After six years of devastating warfare, the nations of the world are, theoretically at least, once again at peace. And, once again, in the United Nations Organization, mankind has taken up the task of building the machinery of international government on a globe-embracing scale. But now, as humanity, in its latest revolt against international anarchy, gropes its way, however blindly, to a new phase of civilization, based on a wider and firmer foundation than that phase which went down in the blood and smoke of battle, it has at least the partial realization that this time it must proceed towards its goal more successfully than it did in the past. For if it fails to construct a better system of international government than that which it set up in its most ambitious previous effort - in the League of Nations - catastrophes many many times more ruinous than all previous wars are likely to be loosed upon it.

It is the writer's belief that if the United Nations Organization is to have even a modicum of success in achieving the objectives proclaimed in its Charter - "the establishment of permanent international peace and the furtherance of the common welfare of mankind" - then the mistakes made by the League of Nations during its twenty years of troubled existence and the lessons, if any, which the League's exper-
ience can teach, should be most seriously taken into consider-
ation. As Carl Hambro, a former Norwegian Prime Minister and
President of the League Council, recently pointed out:

In every field of activity we are turning to
the experience accumulated by the League; for the
solution of every international problem we look to
the work done by the League for guidance in chart-
ing the way to a peaceful future. 1

In accordance with this belief, then, every phase of the
League's activity is of immediate concern to, and worthy of
minute study on the part of, all thoughtful statesmen, educa-
tors, and scientists, and, indeed, everyone who is even remote-
ly interested in the establishment of a peaceful world.

Despite the present wide-spread interest in peace machin-
ery, however, and the many attempts to make use of League pre-
cedents in the maintenance of peace, there remains one impor-
tant phase of the League's experience and activities which has
thus far received only a minimum of study, namely, the League's
Intellectual Cooperation Organization. Even though that Organ-
ization was and is one of the least known of the League's
bodies; though its activities may now seem utterly remote from
the violent realities of the present strife-rocked world; and
though its proponents' ideas may, like ideas concerning nuclear
physics, seem far-removed from the life of the multitude, it,
too, merits close attention and study; for it represented man-
kind's first attempt to create an embryo International Ministry
of Science, Arts and Education. And although those who set

on Public Affairs, World Organization, Washington, D.C.,
American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, p. VIII.
about to form a world community after the First World War almost universally ignored it, the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organization, within its own sphere of activities, sought to bring about an international coordination of efforts and a species of cooperation which would overcome unfavourable conditions in international life. In addition, it endeavoured to facilitate the international exchange of every type of knowledge and to promote an international spirit. Its work thus constituted a continuous practical and constructive effort of cooperation and coordination. And to-day, in 1946, much more so than in 1815 and in 1918, great hopes have been placed in the abilities and efforts of the world's scientists and educators to upbuild humanity, in order that it might be more just and wise and better informed than it has been in the past. In particular, educators and scientists have been called upon to help in binding the spiritual and moral wounds caused by war and to bear a large part in the effort to spare future generations the agony and suffering which result from war.

It has only been since the advent and defeat of the Axis powers, however, that the world at large has come to recognize that education and science must play a vital role in any post-war world dedicated to peaceful living and that wars are prepared and fought in school classrooms as much as on battlefields. Indeed, the idea that there are cultural and intellectual fronts as well as military positions to be occupied, that education can prepare the minds and bodies of the world's
youth for either war and peace is novel to most people. This idea, however, has been brought to their attention in recent years by a number of the world's outstanding scientists, statesmen and educators. Carl Hambro, for example, has repeatedly stated that if we are to have a peaceful world "an international mind and an international conscience are needed." Professor Gilbert Murray expressed an almost identical conviction in 1943 when he said that "it is idle to hope for an enduring peace without some solid foundations of education for world citizenship." And Professor Walter Kotschnig, an eminent American educator and, at the time of writing, an official of the United States Department of State, has even more pointedly proclaimed that

Any slighting of education in the broadest sense as an instrument for the improving of international relations may well defeat again the best-intentioned plans for reconstruction in the political and economic field.

It was with this conviction in mind that the government delegates assembled at the United Nations Educational Conference at London, in November 1945, drew up the Constitution for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and added the following Declaration, in the form of a Preamble, to the text of that Constitution:

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2. Hambro, op. cit., p. x.


that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is
in the minds of men that the defences of peace
must be constructed; that ignorance of each other's
ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout
the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mis-
trust between the peoples of the world through
which their differences have all too often broken
into war; that the great and terrible war which
has now ended was a war made possible by the denial
of the democratic principles of the dignity, equal-
ity and mutual respect of men, and by the propaga-
tion, in their place, through ignorance and preju-
dice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and
races; that the wide diffusion of culture, and the
education of humanity for justice and liberty and
peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and
constitute a sacred duty which all the nations
must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and
concern; that a peace based exclusively upon the
political and economic arrangements of governments
would not be a peace which could secure the unani-
mous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of
the world, and that the peace must therefore be
founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual
and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States parties to this
Constitution, believing in full and equal opportun-
ities for education for all, in the unrestricted
pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange
of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to
develop and to increase the means of communication
between their peoples and to employ these means for
the purpose of mutual understanding and a truer and
a more perfect knowledge of each other's lives. . . . 5

Thus it was officially recognized by a vast majority of
the nations of the world that beyond the practical ends of
government, the quest must go on among all peoples for the
reconciling truths that underlie differences, for a spiritual
unity of common values expressed in rich variety throughout
the world. Through the United Nations Educational, Scientific,

5. Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, The
United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organi-
tation: Final Act of the London Conference; Constitution; Instru-
ment Establishing a Preparatory Commission, Ottawa, Canadian
Council of Education for Citizenship, 1945, p. 5.
and Cultural Organization, then, non-material considerations are expected to play a prominent part in securing the peace of the world.

Hence to-day the United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organization is about to undertake duties and functions which are very similar to those which were initiated and developed under the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization. The chequered experiences of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization may therefore yield both guidance and warning for the United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organization, should they be adapted and expanded to meet the new world conditions. Certainly events have made it clear that if the United Nations Organization is to be successful it must make a stronger appeal to popular sentiment and support and secure a broader consistent education on international matters and methods than was achieved during the twenty years of the League experiment between the Wars.

Believing, then, that international educational, scientific, and cultural cooperation must play a large part in the securing of a lasting peace and that they must therefore assume an important place among other international forces; believing that some lessons may be drawn from an analysis and an appraisal of the most extensive unified effort made in these fields in the period between the First and Second World Wars; and, believing that these lessons may prove valuable in the making of recommendations and the drawing of such conclusions as may be warranted, for the benefit of cultural cooperation and international organization in general in the post-war
world, the writer has made the present study of the history, aims, methods, machinery, and achievements of the League of Nations Intellectual Cooperation Organization.

Now, although the League and its machinery have been scrutinized, described and analyzed for a quarter of a century, it is nevertheless true that writers and administrators have only just begun to explore the Geneva experience with a view to its general bearings, the lessons which it might convey, and the standards it set for the international administration of the future. This is especially true as regards the League's work in the field of international cultural cooperation, that is, in education, the arts and the sciences, where formal international and intergovernmental cooperation are still in their infancy and where practically no historical research or critical analysis has been attempted. In fact, the matter of cultural or intellectual cooperation secured but little attention both on the part of the League itself and League analysts during the whole period of the League's existence. Indeed, after making a number of enquiries, by correspondence, in England, France and the United States, the present writer has been forced to conclude that there have been no book-length treatments of this subject published in English and few in any other language. Furthermore, in the vast majority of general volumes that have been published on the rise and fall of the League, little, if anything, has been said about cultural cooperation. The same condition holds true with regard to the standard indices of periodical liter-
nature. The few partial treatments of the subject which are available to the public were written either by those who worked with the League’s Intellectual Cooperation Organization or by professional educators or scientists interested in the problem. It is the belief of the present writer, however, that even the few previous studies published in this field suffered from the fact that those who had acquired practical experience in this sphere of international administration were usually prevented by their scruples or by strict civil service regulations from writing and speaking freely, and that those who possessed the scientific qualifications and equipment, as well as an interest in the subject, were only in rare cases familiar with the mechanisms and the technical problems involved. The net result has been that most of the writing on this subject is still in a preliminary stage. This applies particularly to the problems raised by the structural evolution of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization and to the resultant problems of international administration.

The present study is intended only as an addition to the above group of preliminary investigations. For it is evident that a definitive analysis of so vast an organization as the Intellectual Cooperation Organization must be based upon a thorough study of that organization’s records, reports and operations, at first hand, preferably at the seat of the organization. A study of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization made at its headquarters was, however, out of the question, at least for the present writer, at the time of writing.
Furthermore, insofar as the writer has been able to ascertain, no complete file of the Organization's publications was available at any North American Library and the material as a whole in this field is very widely scattered. Then too, it was necessary to treat a great deal of the material in a summary fashion, since the limits of a Master's thesis on a topic of such large dimensions did not permit of a really exhaustive study.

Throughout the work the writer has, nevertheless, endeavoured to make his treatment of the subject as authoritative as possible. But to be authoritative, the record must be based largely upon documentary evidence. Otherwise the implications of a subject inherently complex, controversial and involved, might easily be made misleading as well. The writer, therefore, makes no apology for tracing the history and operation of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization as indicated primarily by League of Nations documents, reports, decisions, contemporary press reports and other primary sources of information relating to the statements of those organizations, governments and individuals with which the Intellectual Cooperation Organization was associated. In addition, secondary material and supporting references found in periodicals and elsewhere have also been utilized where no first hand sources were available. Then too, as many as possible of the points of praise and criticism relating to the Organization which have come to the notice of the writer have been included along with those arrived at by the writer himself. In brief, the
writer has assembled the extensive though incomplete information available at the Library of the University of British Columbia, the Provincial and Public Libraries at Victoria British Columbia, the Vancouver Public Library, and the writer's own collection. He has endeavoured to point out, in the course of the work, those instances in which the available materials failed to present an adequate basis for a conclusive analysis and he has provided a statement of both the primary and secondary sources consulted in a critical and analytical bibliography at the end of the work, following the appendices.

Despite some documentary shortcomings, then, an attempt has been made, in the course of the work, to describe the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization as part of the machinery of international organization, as it belonged, that is to say, to the realms of education, the arts, the sciences, international relations, and culture in general. Essentially the Organization has been regarded as an instrument formed to cope with specific problems which confronted and still confront the world as a whole. As such, its nature was described, its functions outlined, and its suitability for performing them evaluated. The chapters, for the most part, may thus be seen to resolve themselves into attempts to answer one or more of the following questions:

1. What is intellectual or cultural cooperation?

2. What is the historical background and what were the antecedents of the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization?

3. To what extent was the task which it was to perform envisaged at the Versailles Peace Conference? (i.e., how did the ideas then current at Paris in 1919 relate to previous international activity in the field?)
4. What were the immediate origins of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization? (i.e., how was it actually constituted by the Council and Assembly of the League?)

5. What were its terms of reference or aims and of whom did it consist?

6. What was its position within the League structure as a whole?

7. What were its relations with other League and non-League bodies?

8. What work did it do (i.e., what projects did it undertake?) and what successes did it achieve and failures did it encounter in these projects?

9. To what extent was its scope commensurate with the world's needs in this sphere and to what extent was it solving the world's problems that came within its scope?

10. To what extent were the completeness and inadequacies of its results due to the aims, personnel, methods or structure of the Organization itself?

11. What changes were advisable in the terms of reference of the Organization and what practical improvements should have been made in its personnel, methods and structure?

In answering a few of these questions it was impossible, because of limitations of time, source materials or space, to provide anything more than a bare outline of the material which should properly have been included. Chapter XV, on the projects undertaken by the Intellectual Cooperation Organization, may be noted as an example of the results of these limiting circumstances. In addition, it was necessary, for the same reasons, to omit almost entirely the discussion of certain important topics. For example, ideally, there should have been a separate chapter dealing with the finances of the Organization. The meagre amount of source material avail-
able on this subject, however, made it advisable to distribute it among the other chapters. Similarly, the chapters dealing with the Organization's structure include a very inadequate discussion on its relations with League and non-League bodies. Thus Chapter XII, which deals with the Organization's relations with the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the International Institute of Bibliography, was intended merely to provide examples of two widely differing types of relationships, the first section of the chapter outlining the Organization's relations with another League body, and the latter part demonstrating its relations with a non-League organism.

It is hoped that this study, either in its present form or in a printed revision, will meet, at least in part, the need, which appears to be widely felt, for a reliable and reasonably full source of background information on an almost new species of formal international cooperation, the importance of which has become increasingly recognized everywhere. As such it should be of value to all who are interested in the bearing of the organization and the interrelations of knowledge upon the world's transition from anarchy and chaos to order and unity in international life.

The writer takes pleasure in expressing his thanks to those persons who have assisted him in various ways in the preparation of this study. He is most grateful to Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia and to Professor T. J. Oleson of the same
Department, both of whom have critically read the manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions, improvements and constructive criticisms which have been incorporated in the study. Thanks are also due to Professor A. Cooke of the same Department for the wealth of material dealing with the work of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization in the field of History Teaching which he made available to the writer; and to the writer's wife, who assisted in the compilation of the bibliography and appendices and who typed the original copy of the text. In addition, the writer is grateful to the staff of the University of British Columbia Library who freely made available its excellent inter-library loan facilities through the willing and efficient cooperation of Dr. W. K. Lambe, Librarian, and member of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and Miss Anne Smith, Head of the Reference Department. The special facilities and privileges granted to the writer by Mr. C. K. Morison, Librarian of the Provincial Library of Victoria, B. C., and by Mr. E. S. Robinson, Librarian, and Miss Julia Stockett, Head of the Reference Department, of the Vancouver Public Library, were also very greatly appreciated.
The publications of the League of Nations have established a bad reputation among librarians and others interested in the troublesome task of cataloging, classifying and binding them or in consulting their contents. While this reputation is not wholly unmerited, it is, in part, excusable for several reasons. First, most League documents issued during the early years of the League's existence were not printed for public use and the numbering system adopted was solely for filing purposes at the League Secretariat. Subsequently, the numbering system had to be modified and adapted to the need for the public sale of the documents. Then too, the system of numbering had to be further modified when changes or enlargements occurred in the structure of the League. Indeed, the evolution of the League can be followed step by step in the changes in system of its publications, and a comparison between the printed documents of an early year and those of a later year reveals the evolution of that system.

Those who have had the opportunity of following the work of the League only from the outside meet an added difficulty in the technical terminology that came into existence and in the wide use of abbreviations in and on League documents.

Although it is true that the Publications Department of
the League prepared catalogues of League publications and
that each new edition was an improvement on the last, each
person must ultimately struggle for himself with this con-
fusing material in order to obtain an understanding of the
manifold snares spread for those who have to deal with these
documents. The *Key to League of Nations Documents Placed on
Public Sale (1920-1929)* and its successive *Supplements*,
edited by Marie J. Carroll and published by the World Peace
Foundation, do, however, form invaluable aids in this field.
By a careful reading of these, along with Breycha-Vauthier's
*Sources of Information, A Handbook on the Publications of
the League of Nations*, published by the Columbia University
Press in 1940, a picture, sufficiently clear for most schol-
larly purposes, of the whole range of activities covered by
the League and its various sub-sections, may be obtained
without undue effort.

Two systems of official enumeration were employed on
League documents. The first system was used from the estab-
lishment of the League in 1920 to April, 1921. For example,
the "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Council" bore the
number 20/29/1. In that *Official Number* the "20" represented
the year 1920, and the "29" represented an arbitrary number
for that division of the League - the Council as a body pro-
ducing Minutes - and the "1" indicated the numerical order
of the document published under Council auspices. Again,
under this system, the publications of the Assembly were in-
dicated by the number "48." Thus, Assembly documents for the
year 1920 bore the following Official Numbers: 20/48/1, 20/48/2, etc. Being based on the theory of filing only in an official registry, this system was discontinued because it was not sufficiently elastic for the triple requirements of publication, official distribution, and filing in an official registry.

The system of official numbering in force after April 22, 1921, for documents placed on sale or distributed officially, utilized numbers assigned to documents for the Distribution of Documents Service, one of the divisions of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The Official Numbers in most frequent use were those appearing on documents distributed to the Assembly, the Council and Member States. For instance, A.1.1921 indicated Assembly document no. 1, distributed to the Second Assembly of the League in 1921; C.1.1921 designated Council document no. 1, distributed to Members of the Council only; and a document numbered C.15.M.10.1921 means that it was the fifteenth document distributed to the Council in that year and the tenth to the Member States of the League.

Another series, Circular Letters sent by the Secretary-General to Members of the League, designated as C.L., was not available for sale separately. Occasionally, however, these Circular Letters were printed and sold in conjunction with other related documents placed on sale.

The Secretariat of the League was charged with the task of preparing documents for official circulation and for
public sale. To indicate the particular Section of the Secretariat from which the documents emanated, Roman numerals, from I - XIII, were printed on the documents as a part of their **Official Number**. Hence this Roman numeral may be regarded as both an author's number and as a key to the general subject matter of the document. For instance, "XII" was used on Intellectual Cooperation documents. A number such as **C.92.M.47.1922.XII** therefore means a document issued by the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section of the League in 1922, being the 92nd document in order of distribution to the Council, and the 47th document furnished to Member States.

In order to help in the classification of League documents, the League, beginning with the calendar year 1926, added to the lower right-hand corner of all documents placed on sale a box containing the **Publications Sales Number**. It was felt that this enumeration would aid in determining the number of documents issued for sale each year under each Roman numeral. The **Publications Sales Number** was also known as the **Series of League of Nations Publications Number** or **Serial Number** (Ser. L.o.N. P.). It contained, in addition to the phrase "Series of League of Nations Publications" at its head, the following: the Roman numeral for the Section, and the name of the Section printed in full, on the second line; and on the bottom line, the year of publication, the Roman numeral symbolizing the Section of origin, either a letter of the alphabet or a Roman numeral indicating a sub-division
of that Section - if the Section itself had sub-divisions - and an Arabic numeral indicating the 10th or 15th - or whatever the case happened to be - publication of that particular Section for that year. For example:

**Series of League of Nations Publications**  
**XII INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION**  
**1929.XII.A.47.**

Interpreted, this means that the document was the 47th issued for sale from the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section of the Secretariat in the year 1929, the letter "A" indicating the Intellectual Cooperation division of the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section.

In addition to the list of Roman numerals used in the Series of League of Nations Publications Numbers, there were a few documents which fell into a category denominated as "General Questions" or "General." This division was almost wholly confined to such publications as the **Report to the ... Assembly of the League on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat ...**, **Agenda of the ... Assembly**, papers relating to League buildings, and other miscellaneous matters. For example:

**Series of League of Nations Publications**  
**GENERAL QUESTIONS**  
**1926.Gen.12.**

or

**Series of League of Nations Publications**  
**GENERAL QUESTIONS**  
**1926.12.**

It is important to note that a large proportion of
League documents were not printed separately and were included only in League periodicals, such as the Official Journal and its Supplements.

It is equally important to note that even after April 22, 1921, when the use of the new system of official numbering came into effect, not all League documents were placed on public sale. Documents not placed on sale consisted of correspondence, draft and provisional reports, treaties, etc. They might or might not have an Official Number printed on them but never a Series of League of Nations Publications Number. They were usually printed for the use of delegates to the League Council, Assembly, or League Committees, and were also usually issued to libraries which were official repositories of League documents. At times, however, these documents were printed for use within the League Secretariat only.

It is apparent that the keeping of documents in the archives of the Secretariat was a matter distinct from their official distribution and public sale. In the internal administrative services of the Secretariat, a Registrar was entrusted with keeping the archives, a task similar to the keeping of any official docket or file of correspondence, and the Registry Numbers placed on such documents related solely to that service. Identification of incoming papers was effected by Registry Numbers such as the following:

3D/12002/12603
1A/12057/8450
5B/13362/948
13C/46569/29880
In these Registry Numbers, insofar as the present writer has been able to discover, the numbers and letters preceding the first diagonal line, such as "3D" or "1A" or "5B," etc., indicated, by an arbitrary system, the form of the document—such as a letter or a draft report, etc. The second series of numbers, that appearing between the two diagonal lines, i.e., 12002 or 12057, etc., indicated, by another arbitrary number, the Government or Government body from which the document emanated. The series of numbers on the right of the second diagonal line evidently indicated, by an arbitrary number—though possibly indicating the numerical order in which it came before the League Secretariat for action—the topic with which the document dealt.

Though these Registry Numbers were meant to be used for filing purposes only, in some instances, when a document had a Registry Number but neither an Official nor a Serial Number (or any other Number), and when it became necessary to distribute and make public the document, the Registry Number was placed on the printed copies. In such cases the document, with the Registry Number printed at its head, was published either in a League periodical or as a separate publication.

Among the other printed documents which were not placed on sale and which had neither an Official nor a Registry Number were the Draft Reports of the various League committees. Thus, for example, the Draft Reports and proposed Assembly Resolutions of the Committees of the Assembly were usually printed for official distribution but not for public
sale. The **Draft Number** on these documents, used before the official adoption of the document by the Plenary Meetings of the Assembly, contained an "A" to designate the fact that it was an Assembly document, a Roman numeral to designate which Committee of the Assembly had issued the draft report, a number in Arabic numerals to designate the particular draft report in question, and finally, the year in which the draft report was issued. Thus the **Draft Number A.VI/2/1932** indicated the second Draft Report of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly (Social, Humanitarian and Intellectual Co-operation Questions), issued in the year 1932.

The development of League activities made it also necessary to create a system for identifying documents circulated to committees or conferences, either as a whole or for the special attention of their sub-committees. In devising a scheme for recording such distribution, the initials of the French names for the committees, conferences, etc., were adopted. (A list of these abbreviations and their English equivalents will be found following this Note.) An example of this type of committee document is **C.351.M.112.1925.XII. (C.I.C.I.141.)**, in which the abbreviation in parenthesis indicates the "Commission Internationale de Co-operation Intellectuelle" (International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation), "141" signifying the 141st document distributed to that committee. It is important to recognize that these documents having subsidiary Committee and Conference Numbers did not run by the year but were continuous for the life of
the body to which they were distributed. Committee and Conference Numbers were usually printed immediately after or below the Official Numbers, as in the example cited above, but the Secretariat's policy of making public almost all documents occasionally resulted in the publication for sale of documents bearing these Committee or Conference Numbers only.

The following information may also be of assistance in checking the League documents cited in this study: in an Official Number, a parenthesized Arabic figure usually indicates an edition. Thus C.190(1).M.93.1929.V. indicates that the document was originally issued to the Council as C.190.1929.V. and that it was subsequently issued a second time in a revised form to the Council and simultaneously for the first time to the Member States.

An Official Number containing a parenthesized lower case letter usually indicates a supplement to a previous document. Thus C.73(a).M.38(a).1929.V. indicates that the document contains information strictly supplementary to that contained in C.73.M.38.1929.V.

The reader should also be warned against confusing the publications of the League's Section on Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux with those of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris. The literature of the Institute was published separately and was not a part of official League documentation. (A separate note on the publications of the Institute may be found in the
Finally, it should be pointed out that only the Library of the League of Nations, at Geneva, has, at its disposal and at the disposal of its readers, a complete collection of all League documents.

In the present study League documents will be cited as follows: the writer's abbreviation for the League of Nations, i.e., L. of N., indicating the author; the title of the document, enclosed by quotation marks, e.g., "Minutes of the Tenth Session of the C.I.C.I.;" the Official Number of the document, e.g., Document C.3.M.3.1926.XII. (if the document has no Official Number but has a Serial Number, the Serial Number will be given in its stead, e.g., 1926.XII.A.3.; likewise the Registry or Draft or Committee Number will be given when the document is headed by one of these Numbers and not by an Official or Serial Number); and the page number. The year of publication will not be given separately in the citation of numbered League documents when it appears as part of their Official or other Number. As for the few documents that were published without either an Official or other Number, they will be cited according to their respective author, title and year, the title being underlined.

Only the author and the Official or other Number, rather than the full citation with the title, will be given in those instances where repeated citation of the same document is necessary in any one section of a single chapter.

Since many of the League documents cited in this study...
The United Nations Educational Conference, London, November 1945. The delegates were welcomed by M. Atlee, who is seen addressing them at the opening meeting at the Institute of Civil Engineers. - The Times (London), Education Supplement, Nov. 7, 1945.
were published separately only, while others were published both separately and included in other League documents or periodicals, and since still others were not printed separately at all but appeared only as parts of other League documents or in League periodicals, in this study, in all instances when the documents were given either an **Official** or other **Number**, they will, in order to avoid confusion, be cited by that **Number** only, and not by the **Number** of any other document in which they may have appeared. The **Numerical** and **Alphabetical List** of relevant League documents in the **Bibliography** of this study will, however, endeavour to indicate all places in which the documents may be found.

Although each document retained its **Number**, **Official** or otherwise, even when included in another League document, it did not usually retain its pagination when published as a part of another League document or periodical. Thus, for example, the first page of Document C.80.1937, if published separately, a fact which the present writer has been unable to ascertain, would ordinarily be page 1. But this document actually appeared as a part of volume 12, number 2, of the **Official Journal of the League**, where it may be found on pages 114-118 inclusive. Unfortunately, it has not always been possible to discover whether or not documents such as Document C.80.1937 were also published separately.¹ Likewise, it was impossible to discover whether or not such a

¹ Only by writing to the League Library would it be possible to ascertain this in all cases.
document as, for example, Document A.103.1924.XII., which
was published separately, was also published as part of a
more inclusive document. It was largely by accident that
the writer found examples of documents published both separ­
ately and as parts of more inclusive publications. Conse­
quently the page numbers cited in this study are those of
the League documents and periodicals available to the present
writer. In some instances, therefore, the writer cited the
page numbers of inclusive documents and periodicals while in
other instances the pages cited are those of the separate
publications concerned. A consultation of the Numerical and
Alphabetical List of League of Nations Documents to be found
in the Bibliography of this study should, however, eliminate
any confusion that may arise due to this dual system of
pagination, since the third column of the List indicates the
page numbers of the inclusive documents on which the parti­
cular document concerned may be found, when such were
known to the writer.
### List of Abbreviations Used in Numbers Appearing on League of Nations Documents Cited in this Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Assembly of the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Council of the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A.</td>
<td>Conference of Ambassadors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.</td>
<td>Supervisory Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.E.</td>
<td>Economic Consultative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.T.</td>
<td>Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.</td>
<td>Economic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.P.</td>
<td>Committee of Press Experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.T.J.</td>
<td>European Conference on the Transport of Newspapers and Periodicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.H.</td>
<td>Health Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.</td>
<td>International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I.</td>
<td>International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./B.</td>
<td>Sub-Committee on Bibliography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./C.N.</td>
<td>National Committees (on Intellectual Cooperation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./Com.Ex.</td>
<td>Committees of Experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./E.J.</td>
<td>Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Children and Young People in the Aims of the League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./E.P.E.</td>
<td>Sub-Committee on Interchanges of Teachers in Secondary Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./L.A.</td>
<td>Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./R.C.</td>
<td>- - -: Sub-Committee of Representatives of Chalcographical Institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I./R.I.</td>
<td>International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation: Sub-Committee on University Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.L.</td>
<td>Circular Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M.</td>
<td>Council and Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. D.</td>
<td>Disarmament Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. D./C.D.M.</td>
<td>- - -: Committee on Moral Disarmament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. D./C.G.</td>
<td>- - -: General Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. E.P.</td>
<td>Conference of Press Experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.D.</td>
<td>Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.E.</td>
<td>Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Women and Children: Child Welfare Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.Q.S./B.24</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.R.B.</td>
<td>Committee on the Development of International Cooperation in Economic and Social Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.T.B.</td>
<td>Committee of Library Experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.T.F.E.</td>
<td>Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Women and Children: Traffic in Women and Children Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.C.E./C.E.P.</td>
<td>International Institute of Educational Cinematography: Permanent Executive Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.V.</td>
<td>Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.I.</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.G.</td>
<td>Secretary-General of the League of Nations</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Note Regarding the Language of the Documents Cited in This Study

The present writer has used the English text or English translation of all documents cited in this study, with two exceptions. The first exception, as may be expected, was made in those instances where the document was not available in English and where the French or German text being available, was used. The second exception was made whenever there was any possibility of the official French and English texts of the quotation being open to varying interpretations as a result of the translation of the original. In such cases the original text was cited if available and the difference in the translated meaning was noted in a footnote; or if the original text was not available, except at second hand, the quotation was given in the language in which it was available and a note on the difference in meaning was included in a footnote.

Note Regarding the Use of the Names of States and Adjectives Denoting Nationality in This Study

The Committees of the League of Nations and other League bodies were, in the main, made up either of government representatives or qualified individuals not representing their respective governments but acting in an individual capacity because of their special qualifications. Some League bodies, however, contained both types of members, or persons who acted in both capacities. In an attempt to distinguish between the different types of representation on the various
bodies mentioned in this study, two devices have been adopted. Following the names of members of the bodies concerned there has been placed, in parenthesis, either the name of a State, e.g. (France) or an adjective denoting nationality, e.g. (French). The use of the former, that is, the name of a State, indicates that the individual concerned was an official representative of the State named. The use of the latter, that is, an adjective denoting nationality, indicates that the individual concerned acted in his own capacity only, but was a national of the State denoted by the adjective.

Note Regarding the Use of Abbreviations in This Study
Since many of the organizations, committees, etc. mentioned in this study had very long titles - such as, for example, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation - and since a number of these titles are used repeatedly throughout this work, the writer decided, for the sake of brevity and in order to spare the reader's patience, to abbreviate a number of the most frequently used titles. This use of abbreviations was therefore adopted not only in the footnotes and in the text but also, to some extent, in the quotations, even when the abbreviation did not appear in the original. The latter procedure has been used, however, only where there is no possibility of a variant interpretation of the quotation being made by the reader as a result of the use of the abbreviation.

A list of these abbreviations and their equivalents may be found following this Note.
## List of Abbreviations Used in the Text, Footnotes and Quotations of this Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.</td>
<td>Committee on Intellectual Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.C.I.</td>
<td>International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.C.O.</td>
<td>Intellectual Cooperation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.E.C.I.</td>
<td>International Educational Cinematographic Institute (Rome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.B.</td>
<td>International Institute of Bibliography (Brussels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.C.I.</td>
<td>International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (Paris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.U.P.L.</td>
<td>International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (Rome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.L.O.</td>
<td>International Labour Organization and the International Labour Office (Geneva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. of N.</td>
<td>League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.S.</td>
<td>Monthly Summary of the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.J.</td>
<td>Official Journal of the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.J.S.S.</td>
<td>Special Supplement to the Official Journal of the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
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CHAPTER I

The Nature and Scope of International Educational, Intellectual and Cultural Cooperation

Samuel Butler once observed that each person's experiences in relation to all other persons partake of the nature of either a string or a knife; they bind them together or they cut them apart. In this picturesque manner Butler was attempting to point out one of the apparently permanent features of life in society, one of the social processes and fundamental ways in which men interact, namely - that in all group life both unifying and divisive forces are operative and that the social organization of a community, be it a small town or a community of nations, at any time, represents the balance struck between these centrepetal and centrifugal forces.

It is not with the divisive forces, not the hostile acts which lead to competition, rivalry and conflict in human relationships, but rather with the unifying forces, those activities which tend to produce amicable relations, that the present study will deal.

Among these relationships of the non-antagonistic type there are, of course, degrees of friendliness and closeness, varying from temporary contacts and collaboration to coopera-

tion and assimilation. And since the terms "collaboration" and "cooperation" are both often and casually used to describe widely differing human relationships, it is necessary to define their present use more sharply.

"Collaboration" denotes the sharing among two or more persons of an agreed upon and limited task. As such it may be seen to occur in many differing forms including grudging, even contemptuous compliance with authority, teamwork in sports and the refined unity of a symphonic orchestra.

The term "cooperation" signifies that two or more persons voluntarily participate with sustained wills and according to broad agreements, in working towards the realization of an immediate or ultimate goal. In the words "cooperation" and "to cooperate" is found the idea of a coordinated action for a common good. Thus "cooperation" is a stronger term than "collaboration" for, while the latter signifies simply that one shares with others in an agreed and limited task, "cooperation" implies a closer agreement, a more sustained determination, a predisposition of the spirit and an aspiration towards a common ideal.

This common ideal, this ultimate objective of cooperation, is the advancement of all mankind in social and international well-being; genuine cooperation requires the subordination of private interests or inclinations to community ends, by deliberate effort and, if necessary, sacrifice.

As Roscoe Pound so aptly put it:
co-operation is a process. It must be co-operation towards something. I suspect that the idea will prove to be co-operation towards civilization.  

It has been claimed, although of course it cannot be proven, that man's cooperative spirit, his willingness to work together "arises readily from the social instincts of men when they are not distorted" and that "It flourishes in direct proportion to the growth of wisdom, honesty and loyalty based upon intelligence and knowledge. Still others claim that the triumph of the cooperative spirit over rivalry and conflict will require a fundamental reorientation of motives and attitudes on the part of most people, since the competitive spirit is still deeply rooted in the lives of men everywhere. The present writer will not take issue or sides with these two somewhat opposing claims, as both interpretations may be considered valid under varying conditions.

In summary then, cooperation will be taken, in the course of this study, to connote the process which occurs when two or more persons participate in working towards the realization of immediate or ultimate goals or ideals based on the desire for the common good of all participants, by means of conscious, voluntary and sustained contacts, intercourse and collaboration. Used in this sense, cooperation implies a process that has been in operation ever since man has been able to communicate with his fellow men.


From the above definition it may be seen that cooperation may be carried on by any and every person, group, class and nation comprising human society. Two or more individuals may cooperate for any number of immediate purposes and reasons. Likewise groups of a certain class within society, such as, for example, the intellectuals of one nation, may cooperate with the same class within another nation. Or again, several nations may cooperate with one another. Thus cooperation may range from that taking place between two next-door neighbours to international cooperation on a global scale. Further, it may also be observed that these cooperative relations between individuals, groups, classes and nations may be formal or informal, unorganized or organized, official or unofficial.

It is the internationally organized aspects of cooperative relations, formal and informal, official and unofficial that come within the purview of this study.

From the point of view of their narrower and more immediate purposes, all types of international contacts, all degrees of international relationships, may be divided into five groups: military, political, economic, intellectual or cultural, and combinations of one or more of the first four. For the purposes of this study the fourth group - intellectual (or cultural) relations - and its combinations with the other groups are of importance and hence an analysis of the nature and scope of international cultural relations will be undertaken at this point and will be followed by a later discussion.
of international intellectual relations.

The term "international cultural relations" offers certain difficulties, which, however, need not be exaggerated. They derive from the different usages of the word "culture" which in anthropological and sociological vocabulary have a well understood meaning while in common usage the term is employed to denote intellectual and esthetic activities and content. Hence for a comprehensive analysis of cultural relations a working definition of the term "culture" is a prerequisite.

As has been noted, "culture" is frequently used in a strictly intellectual and spiritual sense. For example, Mathew Arnold, in the preface to his *Literature and Dogma* held that culture consisted of "acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world, and thus with the history of the human spirit." In this restricted sense "culture" implies the spontaneous expressions of individuals; it can therefore develop only through the free interplay between individuals and their environment and between individuals and groups among themselves.

Although this usage is not incompatible with the broader meaning which will be employed in this study, it has, unfortunately, given rise to a certain common misconception that the words "culture" and "cultural" are restricted to things related to the fine arts, whereas these words may be quite

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It may be well, at this point, to clear away a further basic misconception which has often caricatured the whole subject of culture and cultural relations. In the minds of some people the words "culture" and "cultural," like the word "intellectual," have become associated, somehow, with a privileged, an esoteric, a relatively idle and unproductive group in society. The answer to this misunderstanding is not to turn good words over to bad company but rather, to turn the bad company out.

To avoid these misconceptions the term "culture" will be employed in the following pages in the widest sense of its meaning. Thus it will be used to denote both the light of reason illuminating the darker recesses of human nature by means of national and international education and, in the more inclusive sociological sense, the artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values which are the social heritage of a people or a nation, all peoples and all nations. Hence culture includes all learned behavior, intellectual knowledge, social organization, language and systems of value - economic, moral or spiritual.

Now, although it is generally conceded that culture transcends national boundaries, the sociologists have been careful to point out that there may be, and indeed there are, numerous and contemporaneous national cultures. But in order that the foregoing statement may not be taken as condoning the Nazi
theory of race and racial psychology, the terms national culture and national character must be carefully defined. These terms may only be used with justice in the sense that certain groups are likely to show modes of behavior and thinking different from those of other groups because of their history, tradition, environment, ideals and intellectual outlook.

Salvador de Madariaga, from his vantage point in the League of Nations Secretariat, pointed out the meaning and significance of these differences in the conduct of international affairs. In the foreword to his *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards* he describes national character as "a combination of qualities and defects;" national acts are the flower of national character, and qualities and defects are "the color, the scent, the shape" of these acts. When the people of a nation behave as a group they may and do collectively manifest the common imprint of those factors which have welded them together. Fundamental to a particular culture are its law, economic structure, magic, religion, art, knowledge and education.

National culture has, at times, been conceived as a state product, a part of the machinery of the state, designed or selected to promote like-mindedness, loyalty and patriotism. From this point of view it has been employed as a medium directed to national ends, conceived from the political point of view in order to secure discipline, duty, obedience, efficiency and public service. The extreme to which the con-

trol of national culture by the state can be carried are illustrated by the Nazi emphasis on Gleichschaltung and the Japanese "Bureau of Thought Supervision."

But attempts at "thought supervision" are, in the long run, inevitably doomed to failure since national cultures, despite all attempts at prevention, are influenced from without. For, as Professor Gilbert Murray has pointed out: "Ideas, like diseases, pay no attention to political frontiers, and, unlike diseases, fly easily across oceans and continents." And national cultures enrich themselves not merely by their inventions and their genius but also by borrowing. Some national cultures may be wealthier than others but all apparently benefit from mutual exchanges.

Indeed it has been said that there have been no contacts or relations among peoples without cultural exchange. The sailor home from the sea has brought new information about strange men, products and places. The soldier returned from the war has carried a similar gift to his countrymen. The merchant has generally prospered only when he has possessed sufficient knowledge of both his own and other lands to undertake new enterprises successfully. The wandering scholar has commonly sought both new knowledge and new doctrines among strangers. The itinerant artist has frequently found opportunity in foreign lands. The missionary has carried his faith to far-away places, while the pilgrim has often gone to

them as much to learn and to teach as to worship. The traveller has made the satisfaction of his curiosity a service to the advancement of knowledge. The princess who married a foreign prince usually took many of her native ways of life and beliefs with her. A far-sighted king dispatched missions to other sovereigns in order to obtain the knowledge or the services of workmen or scholars (in the contemporary phrase "technical experts") that would add to the prosperity of his realm.

Thus the borrowing of techniques, information, ideas, beliefs and art motifs from one another has always been an important aspect of the relations of peoples. Indeed, unless a nation is cut off from the rest of the world by physical barriers, a low form of civilization and a national policy of self-sufficiency, ideas as to cultural and educational policies seep across international boundaries, even into far-away countries, sometimes finding there rather than in their homeland, their highest expression and greatest success. Especially is this true in this day of increased means of speedy communication represented by such marvellous modern facilities as the printed word, the telephone, the telegram, radio, motion pictures and travel. Thus the ways of life of the world's people have grown together, always in a fabric of cultural relations which, whether thin or brocaded, has been in fact a universal garment. Cultural exchange among peoples is the shuttle that weaves the common life of mankind.

Cultural exchanges, then, whether enforced by conquest
or voluntarily acceded to, have never ceased to spread and
close, even in the midst of the most widespread of wars,
famines or pestilences. The evidence of this fact may be most
readily seen in the case of the rapid adoption on the part of
Allied soldiers in the Second World War of the popular German
song *Lili Marlene*, and in the equally rapid adoption by both
Allied and Axis powers alike of the technical inventions and
improvements of their foes.

The illustrations showing man’s common heritage in educa-
tion alone are legion. Educational theory and practice now
accepted in most of the nations of the world are reproductions
or adaptations of educational theory and practice imported
from other countries, in some instances, many years ago.

The universal quality of mankind’s culture is reflected
by the very structure of the modern university. Its personnel
constitutes a microcosm of international society composed of
men from many lands. As the medieval university was character-
ized by the wandering student, so the modern university is char-
acterized by the internationally trained and experienced pro-
fessor.

Even more profound than the intellectual aspects of the
universal tradition of culture are its moral foundations. Just
as intellectual unity is exemplified in libraries and universi-
ties, so also religion and international law and the Churches
and courts which give them mundane expression are the common
possessions of mankind. There is, to some extent at least,
therefore, an intellectual comradeship which binds together
men of every nation. Thus in the modern world culture tends
increasingly to become universal. One notable writer has
even gone as far as to claim that:

... culture in its essence is cosmic; any attempt to confine it exclusively within national boundaries is to cut it off from the sustenance by which it lives.\(^7\)

But whether "cosmic" or not, culture is both national and international and new cultural trends are projected on the international plane by means of international cultural relations and exchanges.

Inter-cultural relations, however, forming as they do, strategic avenues of communication for good or ill will in human relationships, may or may not be cooperative in technique or in motivation. Consequently a certain distinction should be made between cultural relations resulting from mere economic, political, military and academic contacts and exchanges and those relations which are conducted and cultivated with the additional and more general purpose of cultural cooperation.

The essence of the term cultural cooperation is the same on the broad international plane as in a family, a guild or a nation. From the cultural aspect, its implications and connotations are as broad as the scope of the word culture itself and from the point of view of cooperation, it has the characteristics of free persons working together for the common good. It implies recognition of equality between agents and genuine

freedom among them. It requires that all coercion be sub-
ject to the control of the common human will.

The words of the Departmental Order of the United States
Department of State of July 28, 1938, which established the
Division of Cultural Relations, in defining the field of
action of that Division, indicated very succinctly the aims
and scope of inter-cultural cooperation, as it was understood
by the United States Government:

... the exchange of professors, teachers, and
students; cooperation in the field of music, art,
literature, and other intellectual and cultural
attainments; the formulation and distribution of
libraries of representative works of the United
States and suitable translations thereof; the
preparations for and management of the participation
by this Government in international expositions in
this field; supervision of participation by this
Government in international radio broadcasts;
encouragement of a closer relationship between
unofficial organizations of this and of foreign
governments engaged in cultural and intellectual
activities; and, generally, the dissemination
abroad of the representative intellectual and
cultural works of the United States and the improve-
ment and broadening of the scope of our cultural
relations with other countries.8

In speaking of the breadth of scope embraced by the term
cultural cooperation and of the practical activities which it
implies, Archibald McLeish has said:

Cultural cooperation is a term that sounds
high-toned to most people, I know. But we don't
mean it the way they used to in the Browning
societies. Knowledge and art and poetry and the
various techniques and skills are the real things-

8. United States Department of State, Inter-American
Office, 1939, (Department of State Publication no. 1369:
human things - things more real and human than money or international balance of trade or diplomatic maneuvers. They are practical things - useful things - far more practical and useful than most of the things we think of as practical. They are the real currency of international relations. And we have the means now, with modern systems of communications, to put that currency in circulation to the common benefit of the entire world - if we have the will to do it. 9

Hence international cultural cooperation involves the relationships of peoples and is concerned with the human spirit in its total environment, its achievements and its promise.

On the one hand, therefore, cultural cooperation serves the immediate national interest of each participating nation while on the other hand it is their contribution to the conditions which, in an increasingly interdependent world, make possible for each people an improved service of its own national interest. Cultural cooperation also serves to provide that underlying basic understanding and community of interest and effort essential to continuing and effective cooperation among nations. Thus, it is the dynamic condition supporting the use of cooperative power for the maintenance of peace and the adjustment of national interests in the economic and social fields by cooperative undertakings.

In short, cultural cooperation may be described as the way in which the various peoples of the world can work to-

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gether, voluntarily, constructively and to mutual advantage, in building a progressive, orderly and more kindly world society.

The ultimate objective of cooperation in the sphere of international cultural relations has been defined by Waldo G. Leland as follows:

The advancement of the cultural (and intellectual) life of the participating peoples by the sharing of knowledge and experience. This objective includes the advancement of knowledge in all domains and by all means, through cooperative activities of scholars and scientists and educators; it includes the enrichment of all aspects of cultural life, through exchanges of knowledge, methods, ideas and experience; it includes, as derivative objectives, the promotion of understanding and spiritual solidarity among peoples and the improvement of the conditions of life.10

In the light of this broad perspective view of cultural cooperation it may be inferred that the chief concern of any specific project in this field would be focused on cultural trends rather than on a hypothetical and distant goal of cultural uniformity. Indeed, even if attainable such uniformity seems to be universally considered undesirable, since it is feared that the absence of cross-fertilization would result in cultural sterility.

In our discussion of the nature of cultural cooperation thus far we have noted, in passing, that intellectuals, as a class in society, as any other class, may collaborate, either for some specific immediate purpose or for more ultimate goals.

and, accordingly, the reader had every right to conclude that if this collaboration on the part of intellectuals was of a cultural nature and if it had in view the ultimate betterment of humanity, then such activities ought properly to be classified as a sub-species of cultural cooperation. In practice, however, this is not the case. In accordance with general usage the relationship of the two terms "intellectual cooperation" and "cultural cooperation" is much closer in identity of meaning than that of a sub-species to a more generic term. This may be attributed to a variety of causes.

Probably one of the principal factors creating this closeness in meaning is historical in nature. To begin with, "culture" and "cooperation" are sociological terms which, like Sociology itself, are comparatively new, at least when used in their present sense, though they respectively denote species of activities and relations in which, no doubt, man has been engaged for centuries. Indeed, the phrase "cultural cooperation" does not seem to have been used at all commonly until the fourth decade of the Twentieth Century; while the phrase "intellectual cooperation" was first used in its present sense some ten years earlier, after the setting-up of a committee under that name by the League of Nations. Chronologically, therefore, intellectual cooperation came into common usage before the more generic term was widely employed and hence it was not unnatural that it should have taken on a more general meaning than that of the mere cooperation of intellectuals.

Another reason for the attaching of a more general mean-
ing to "intellectual cooperation" than that denoted by the mere combination of "intellectual" and "cooperation" is the fact that though they constitute only a small proportion of the total population of each nation, the results of the thought and work of the intellectual class - the scientists, artists, scholars, technicians and research specialists - affect mankind's culture and welfare perhaps more than any other class.

H.G. Wells, perhaps better than anyone else, has pointed out the difference in productive values accruing to society from the cultural cooperation which may occur amongst people of all mental levels on the one hand and from intellectual cooperation on the other. Wells first makes it clear that although an intellectual or a distinguished specialist is precious to humanity because of his cultivated gift, it does not follow that, by the standard of all-round necessity, he is a superior person. Indeed, because of his specialization he may be less practical and competent than the average man. But, taken as a group, the men of average ability are ill-informed and limited, any dozen of whom have little more to give to society than each one separately. On the other hand, each of a dozen specialists would have something distinctive to offer to society. A group of the former would be almost as uniform in their knowledge and ability as the tiles on a roof; the latter would be like pieces from a complicated jigsaw puzzle. The more they cooperated and the greater the number of cooperators; the more they would signify.
Then too, intellectuals as a class have always been more international than any other class. Scholars and scientists have always been at least partially conscious that their knowledge is derived from men working in different countries. Men interested in intellectual or artistic pursuits necessarily have their attention directed towards the productions of "foreigners" and in many cases actually come into contact with them. That the sciences and the arts, in their modern manifestations, are the result of, and are utterly dependent upon, the maintenance and the development of interchanges of ideas between men of genius, across the barriers of states, language and traditions, was most ably pointed out by the Secretary-General of the League when he said:

The various forms of intellectual activity, particularly scientific activity, cannot progress and reach their full development, without effective co-operation and support from all other similar activities, whatever their country of origin. The truth of this has been felt for so long that, even before the existence of the League of Nations, a large number of private or semi-official organizations were created to further this co-operation, to develop scientific relations between nations, to bring learned bodies into touch with each other, etc. Intellectual activity is, essentially, international; its results benefit every nation, and every nation's help is required to attain its full development.

And finally, the instruments of intellectual cooperation, that is, the universities, colleges, academies, institutes, professional associations, foundations and bureaux, comprising,

as they do, the main cultural institutions of society, have
had to shoulder the major responsibility for intercultural
cooperation and international education.

All these reasons, then, help in some measure to explain
why the term "intellectual cooperation" was used, from the
first, in the field of international relations in general and
why it so closely approaches in meaning what has since been
termed "cultural cooperation."

Writing of the history of the phrase "intellectual
cooperation", Professor Gilbert Murray, who was for many years
the Chairman of the League of Nations' committee of that name,
claimed that the term had its origin in the following circum-
stances:

Consider the nations of Europe as they . . .
were when the C.I.C. [Committee on Intellectual
Cooperation] was first founded, with the "War
psychoses" still vigorous. The League provided
machinery for cooperation in combating disease
and international crime, in arranging tariffs
and loans, in organizing transport and communi-
cation, in settling political and legal disputes,
and so on. Each of these activities is obviously
useful, and doubtless they all help to build up a
better state of mind. But do they not really de-
pend for their ultimate value on that better state
of mind itself? Without it the various material
forms of cooperation would hardly succeed, and
would not take as far if they did. Was there not
room for an activity of the League which could
work directly for the production of the "better
state of mind" - the right understanding and the
right will? Had we been in the Middle Ages and
the League a league against some supposed infidels,
the task would have been easy. The inner bond
would have been found in a common religious creed
and a common hatred. But in a society which com-
prises almost all nations and religions, and which
does not permit itself the luxury of a common
enemy, the problem was indefinitely more difficult.
When M. Leon Bourgeois and M. Bergson discussed
this matter with Lord Balfour and others in 1921
the nearest they could get to a definition of this universal bond was to call it "intellectual cooperation." \[12\]

Like cultural cooperation then, international intellectual cooperation aims to accelerate the development of human culture through the organized contributions of all nations, to extend the benefits of instruction to all peoples of the earth, and to place culture at the service of the masses of the world in order to create a fair and just political, social and economic order in the commonwealth of nations and within every particular state.

Thus in its relation to the problems of intellectual life, intellectual cooperation is of the broadest scope, including educational, bibliographic, professional, scholastic, philosophic, scientific, literary and artistic interests. The purposes and the forms of intellectual cooperation may be subsumed under the following captions:

(1) General and Educational: the advancement, communication, and dissemination of knowledge and thought, understanding and intelligence, learning and purpose, culture and taste. Scientific and educational associations and institutions serve these purposes, also governmental departments, commissions, bureaux, etc., and special commissions, conferences, agencies, etc., national, international, state, and municipal.

(2) Organization, synthesis, correlation, subordination, coordination, and systematization of knowledge, thought and purpose. It is maintained that these processes would promote the purposes mentioned under the preceding caption, and also those following.

Selection, criticism, abstracting, simplification, clarification, and humanizing of intellectual productions: ideas, ideals, theories, doctrines, beliefs, morals, methods, standards, techniques, and arts. Without cooperative and organized selection, made judicious by some criticism grounded in valid knowledge, the human intellect would be overwhelmed by its own product, even where specialized. Cooperative abstracting is a means of selection. Simplification, clarification, and humanizing are cooperative in purpose rather than in method. They are of high educational value and are especially needed during and after a period of specialization and sophistication, such as the modern world has been passing through.

Bibliographic and bibliothecal services, including information bureaux. The publication of books, pamphlets, journals, reports, etc., would be subsumed there and also under the first caption. In these fields there are many forms of intellectual cooperation ranging from inter-library lending to cooperative cataloging, and from active collaborative writing to the passive cooperation of permitting quotation and excerpt.

Social, or community, cooperation: Societies, associations, unions, circles, fraternities, fellowships, etc., foster intellectual cooperation in many relations.

Financial status of intellectual workers and pecuniary assistance to needy members are matters in which the associations and fraternities serve some of their most worthy and valuable purposes. Generally speaking, then, intellectual cooperation implies both the effort made and the goals sought by intellectuals when they are working in concert. It is the synthesis resulting from the sustained efforts of writers, of savants, of

philosophers, of artists and of men of good will. It is a method and a process, a goal and an ideal. Hence intellectual cooperation may be said to have two aspects -- a limited and technical one, and a broad philosophical one.

In the limited sense it aims at the joint study and the practical achievement of the means of coordinating and promoting intellectual life, as regards alike science, letters and arts. The official documents in the field, the critics and the promoters of intellectual cooperation have all defined this aspect of it in similar terms:

The object of intellectual co-operation is international collaboration with a view to . . . the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts. . . .

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 effort. . . .

Intellectual cooperation aims, in particular, at creating new links between all the major administrative bodies dealing with intellectual subjects.

Taken in this limited sense intellectual cooperation has as its immediate object the administrative coordination, the improvement and the creation of instruments and methods of work in all spheres of intellectual endeavour. This "technical" side of intellectual cooperation demonstrates its value and


necessity perhaps even better than grandiose schemes or high-flown ideologies, since in itself it involves nothing less than: the organization of the records of previous intellectual work (bibliography, archaeology and museography); the turning of the sum of the records into common knowledge (education); and the organized effort to add to the sum of these records (research). It is this aspect of intellectual cooperation that has been in operation longest. It represents an ancient tradition of intellectual contacts in the fields of religion, music, and philosophy, and, to a lesser extent, in science.

The term intellectual cooperation denotes as well, however, a broader movement and more ultimate goals than the social and cooperative activities which combine the search for and the organization and spreading of knowledge. For

The central idea of intellectual cooperation work is to promote in all spheres which come within its range a co-ordination of effort and a collaboration capable, not merely of saving time and facilitating information, distribution and progress, but also of promoting the creation gradually perhaps but none the less certainly, of the international outlook. 16

... the purpose of intellectual co-operation is to create an atmosphere favourable to the pacific solution of international problems. 17

The theme of this part of the work of intellectual cooperation has appeared everywhere in the more recent literature in the field:


• l'objet principal de la co-opération intellectuelle est une vaste conspiration, nationale, et internationale, vers un objet supérieur, un objet suprême qui est l'activité et le progrès de l'esprit humain.\textsuperscript{18}

and

• its object is to inspire writers, artists, scientists and intellectuals of the whole world with the conviction that their interests and duties are everywhere identical and to infuse them with that spirit of universality without which • • there can be no great civilization. For no reconstitution of an economic, political, or social character will be solid or permanent unless it is based on spiritual and intellectual harmony.\textsuperscript{19}

Or again, as M. Gonzague de Reynold, one of the members of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation put it:

• • intellectual cooperation is a new kind of humanism. • • Our task is to know and to understand different and even contradictory men, who behave in a certain way and to ask ourselves why they behave thus. Our task is to know and understand peoples in their different aspects. • •

We are here to prepare, and perhaps achieve in certain minds, a new universality, in the sense which Bossuet gives to it "To understand by the mind what is great in men."\textsuperscript{20}

The spiritual and intellectual harmony for which those engaged in intellectual cooperation were striving came to be called the "international mind" referring to the celebrated phrase of Paul Valéry - "une société des esprits" - and


\textsuperscript{19} L. of N., \textit{M.S.}, vol. 8, no. 8, p. 235, Aug. 1928.

rendered into English by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler who defined it as follows:

The international mind is the habit of thinking of the several nations of the civilized world as cooperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.21

It was this "internationalist" aspect, this "association of minds" side of intellectual cooperation which became prominent after the First World War under the title of "Moral Disarmament," and especially after the Disarmament Conferences of the 'Thirties.

Both aspects, the broad and the narrow, must be taken into consideration, therefore, when we talk of intellectual cooperation. Its common ideal consists not merely of material values, but of spiritual criteria as well - of civilization and culture and of peace itself. Hence the schools of the ancient philosophers and religious groups, the museums and libraries of the Hellenic period, the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the humanism of the Renaissance, the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the liberalism and romanticism of the nineteenth century, and the international scientific societies and unions of the twentieth century - all of these appear to us, in the proper perspective, as so many forms of intellectual cooperation.

21. Butler, Nicholas Murray, The International Mind: An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, N.Y., C. Scribner's Sons, 1913, p. 102. (This article was also published in International Conciliation, no. 192, Nov. 1923.)
As in cultural cooperation, intellectual cooperation is not aimed at cultural uniformity but rather, cultural diversity. Thus those who believe in the need for intellectual cooperation hold that national cultural independence is not incompatible with international intellectual cooperation, and that, as within some nations a common culture grows out of a diversity of cultural activities, so world culture would be enriched by the diversity of national cultures provided that they were directed towards the same common aim - the enrichment of humanity.

In practice, therefore, the term "intellectual cooperation" as it developed under the League of Nations is used for all intellectual, esthetic and educational interests and all the activities and forms that those interests assumed in international relations; and there is no appreciable difference between this conception and the conception of "cultural cooperation."

In pointing out the conditions necessary for the progress of civilization, Madame Curie, a member of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, synthesized and summarized, probably better than anyone else, all the various aspects of both cultural and intellectual cooperation and the goals towards which all people devoted to them are striving:

... full liberty for intellectual exchanges between men, nations and institutions; limitation of the freedom of action of every nation by moral and judicial rules; the establishment and extension to all of a broader human education

founded on active initiation into the different disciplines, and familiarization with the scientific method and the broad general view of the world which it implies, as well as on the development of the special aptitude of individuals; the ways of discovering intellectually qualified young people and developing their natural gifts; the organization of work on lines which would correct the defects of an inevitable specialization by the sense of unity in every domain of the mind. 23

Now, from the foregoing, it may be seen that the premises upon which international cultural or intellectual cooperation are based may, in summary, be said to include the following list. First, there is the premise which springs from the concept of universality, and logically assumes the organization of mankind as an ethical and legal unit, and which holds that spiritual or moral foundations for the building of a world order and peace underlie all others. Secondly, there is the premise which flows from the conviction that man cannot attain fullness of culture except through free intellectual interchange between the institutions and nations of the whole world. And finally there is the premise which proclaims the desirability of imparting general and ample education to all, based on active initiative, within the various branches of thought, and by means of scientific methods designed for progressive guidance of individual abilities without falling into the danger of undue or premature specialization. But all these postulates are dependent to a greater or lesser degree and in one way or another, upon education. Indeed, the impor-

tance of the role played by education in this connection is such that it necessitates separate treatment at this point.

Education is basic to cultural and intellectual cooperation on two counts. First, as one of the branches of knowledge, it comprises a primary factor in culture and is an essential component of intellectual life. Thus, for example, one American authority, Miss Edith E. Ware, once wrote that

Although intellectual cooperation has sometimes been thought of as something removed from the life of the multitude, in reality it embraces the program and content of education from the elementary stages through adult education, both formal and popular, including the exchanges of the most erudite groups of scholars.  

Secondly, since cooperation implies the working towards a common goal - the benefit of all humanity - education is essential for all those who would understand how the achievement of this goal may best be accomplished.

It is more than language and customs that divides the minds of Canadian high school boys from young men of Saudi Arabia and New Guinea. Democratic countries will continue to be at a disadvantage in dealing with the illiterate; people with historical and world-wide vision will be at an advantage in dealing with those who know only the history of their village or country, and that mostly in terms of tradition. Without more equal educational levels, there cannot be plateaus of common understanding and action. For it is, of course, a fallacy to assume that mere cultural contacts are likely of

themselves to improve relations and understanding between nations and people. Academic exchange will not automatically and invariably yield fruits of genius or intercultural understanding and people do not necessarily come to understand each other or their respective problems merely by living cheek by jowl. Some of the bitterest of all hatreds have undoubtedly arisen between those who have lived their lives in the same village or in the same house. And that is true not alone of villages in the Balkans or in Ireland or Palestine, where Catholic and Protestant or Jew and Arab meet. If mere propinquity were of itself enough many of the problems of race and creed and color which curse mankind would not have arisen. Yet contact there must be or there can be no understanding. It is therefore one of the basic tasks of education to discipline the old tribal impulses and animosities so apt to enter when two nationalities meet. It is largely by education that man can civilize the savage within him and reconcile him to membership in an organized world society.

Then too, the organization of peace must have back of it the force of a unifying ideal. But the preparation of the human spirit for devotion to certain ideals also depends upon education. Indeed, the very spreading of ideas is an educational process.

As H.G. Wells has pointed out in innumerable books, no democratic world order can come into existence without a preliminary mental cosmopolis. This cosmopolis can be brought about only by means of universal education.
A further indication of this relationship between education and intellectual or cultural cooperation may be found in a statement made by Dr. Ben M. Cherrington during his short term of office as Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State. Speaking of the activities of the Division of Cultural Relations he said:

If its endeavors are to be directed toward the development of a truer and more realistic understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of other nations, it is believed that such a goal can most surely be attained by a program which is definitely educational in character.25

Thus, if, as many people claim the survival of civilization depends upon international cooperation, then one of the underlying tasks of education is to instill in men's minds an understanding faith in cooperative policies and in the brotherhood of man.

The importance of the two basic roles which education plays in the sphere of cultural cooperation has been recognized and both have been combined in the Preamble of the Draft Charter for the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organization, drawn up by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and adopted on April 19, 1944, in London. The Preamble states that the Organization is to be "dedicated to


the proposition that the free and unrestricted education of the peoples of the world, and the free and unrestricted interchange between them of ideas and knowledge, are essential to the preservation of security and peace."  

In further recognition of this vital importance of cultural cooperation and of education as an integral part of any world organization for peace and security, the United Nations Charter, (Chapter IX, Article 55) states, in part, that: "The United Nations shall promote . . . international cultural and educational cooperation."  

Turning now to a discussion of the methods used in the international organization of cultural, intellectual and educational relations, it is, of course, evident at once that, as in other types of international relationships, there may be a variety of organizational forms, and, though they are numerous, they may be roughly divided into two classes, official and unofficial; that is, a division based on whether or not they are government sponsored functions or organs. The unofficial media include both those which render possible cooperation on an individual with individual or group basis, and, those central organizations established by individuals or groups which function on behalf of all cooperating groups as a unified executive agency of administration. These international non-official and administrative agencies

27. See Appendix LVIII, vol. , pp. , of this study for the text of this document.

may themselves be of many types. Some include or represent wide individual memberships. Others are the agencies of group associations, with strong national groups in many different states. Still others have a mixed official and unofficial membership with direct governmental support in the form of subsidies and even participation. Finally, some of these organizations may be composed of groups of governmental employees of technical administrations, although not officially sponsored by the governments themselves.

In the modern world the non-official international organizations correspond roughly, in the international sphere, to pressure groups in the domestic. Many are, of course, primarily technical and professional. But just as such groups exercise an increasing influence on public policy within individual states, so these international associations are by no means negligible factors in translating their interests into non-political terms. As they develop the visible evidence of cooperation, through conferences, mutually controlled organs of research and intercourse and other collaboration activities and agencies, they tend to break down barriers to common official action. Thus more than one of these organizations, originating in purely unofficial activities and interests, has become the source, and sometimes the nucleus, of official international cooperation at the administrative level.

To cite a few examples, intercourse among scholars and scientists on the highest levels of research and speculation may be organized internationally, without regard to governmental or national considerations. In other cases, such as
those in which nations are attempting to deal with specific problems which are common to them all, it may be carried on through some agency in which the several nations are officially represented and express their respective points of view.

The Governments of nations in the twentieth century, like the unofficial bodies, also carry on two kinds of programs in their cooperative relations abroad: one through international inter-governmental agencies, and the other, through direct bi-lateral and multi-lateral relations with other nations.

There appear to be, in this connection, at least three possible approaches to public policy concerning international relations in educational and cultural matters. According to one viewpoint these relations are conducted primarily in order that the educational and cultural life of the various countries be improved. Students are exchanged across international boundaries, conferences of scholars and teachers from many lands are held, international committees study various educational questions, cultural attaches are appointed to foreign embassies. All these things are done in order that each of the nations participating may improve its own cultural life and the educational opportunities of its own people. It is true that in such a process international friendships are often established and the other countries are likely to gain something too, but the controlling purpose is cultural self-interest, the advancement of education and cultural life in each of the participating countries.

The second viewpoint regards educational, cultural and scientific relations with other nations as a means of serving
national, political and economic interests. These interests may be widely varied. They may include such diverse objectives as attracting foreign students and tourists, enhancing the world-wide prestige of the national culture, serving the educational and cultural needs of nationals who are resident in foreign countries, developing toward the national culture friendly attitudes which may be helpful later on in economic, political and military conflict with other nations, and even imposing the national culture on other nations.

Still another viewpoint regards education and cultural relations among nations as a part, a very important part, of the total machinery for maintaining a world order which increasingly exhibits fair play, security and peace. For those who hold this point of view, the improvement of national systems of education and the enrichment or expansion of national cultures may be important by-products, but still only by-products, to the greater achievement of the promotion of international peace.

The use of international relations in education and cultural affairs as a means of safeguarding the peace is by far the newest of these three purposes and it is this form of inter-governmental cultural relations which is most closely identified with true cultural cooperation. In actual practice, of course, each nation, embarking on an official cultural relations policy, has adopted one or more of the three methods. Nearly all, however, have first engaged in activities involving bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements with other nations before initiating a cultural cooperation policy involving
membership in a common international organization or the main-
tenance of an international administrative agency dealing with
cultural matters.

It is not, however, easy to mark the spot at which cul-
tural cooperation becomes that which is commonly called
"cultural imperialism." What line can be drawn between inter-
national proselyting for democracy, for communism, or for
fascism, on the one hand, and the frank presentation and inter-
pretation of a national culture, on the other? Clearly, a
democracy of the Western type will, by its very nature, avoid
the sly insinuation of its beliefs into other peoples. For
free institutions cannot be imposed on another country by
force or slipped into its life by guile or deceit. They can,
however, be exemplified and thus taught.

In a sense therefore, a clear distinction may be drawn
between "international cultural cooperation" on the one hand
and "cultural propaganda and cultural imperialism" on the
other. The latter are unilateral while the former is funda-
mentally and necessarily reciprocal. The technique of propa-
ganda is generally similar to that of advertising; it seeks
to impress, to press in. The technique of cultural coopera-
tion is that of education in the root sense of the word, to
"lead out." Propaganda endeavours to develop a receptive or
favourable attitude — that state of mind which is sometimes
called "good-will." The goal of cultural cooperation is some-
thing deeper and more lasting, the creation of a state of mind
properly called "understanding." Good-will may be largely
emotional; it may evaporate quickly. Understanding endures.
It is a thing of the mind, rooted in knowledge and the conviction that is born of knowledge rather than in emotion or sentimentality.

The U.S. State Department's conception of the scope of intercultural relations may be observed from its endorsement of the following statement prepared by its General Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations:

The Committee conceives the program of cultural relations as a long term program of continuing activities which should, however, be realistically adaptable to changing circumstances and needs, whether in normal times or in times of emergency.

The Committee believes that the program should be as broad as intellectual and cultural activities themselves. It includes interchanges in all fields of the arts, sciences, technology, letters and education, and throughout the entire range of economic and social life.

The interchanges should be of value to all countries participating in them; they should extend to all groups of the population; they should serve to promote human welfare; and they should help to preserve intellectual and cultural freedom.

It may be well to mention at this point that in the Americas, and especially in the United States, the terms "cultural relations" and "cultural cooperation" are now considered as being identical in meaning. Although it is difficult to determine why this confusion of terms should have come about, the present writer is prepared to hazard one explanation which is based on economic determinism and historical evolution. When the United States officially began to intervene in

international cultural relations, in 1938, there was a considerable dislike for, if not fear of, any form of "cooperation" in the minds of many American businessmen. To them "cooperation" signified a possible abridgement, if not the abrogation of their sacred principles of free and unfettered private enterprise. Hence any American government contemplating official action would naturally use any other term for its activities than that which included this tabooed word. This, perhaps, explains why the name "Cultural Relations Division" was originally given to the section of the United States Department of State which was set up to deal with these matters. But after the passage of several years, and with the growth of Nazi and Fascist cultural propaganda it became evident that American activities in the sphere of international cultural relations were not of this propagandist nature but rather were mutual and cooperative in character and that if the appellation of propaganda and cultural imperialism was not to be attached to them, they would have to be renamed. Thus, eventually, the name of the respective section of the State Department's framework was changed to the Division of Cultural Cooperation. By then the Second World War had broken out and cooperation on the part of the democracies in such spheres was no longer opposed by American businessmen. In the process of this change of name and change of heart both terms "cultural relations" and "cultural cooperation" came to have identical usages.

It has also been suggested that the official adoption the term "Cultural Relations" and later "Cultural Cooperation"
for the Division of the United States Department of State which deals with such matters, was due to a desire not to follow the practice of the League of Nations with its use of term "intellectual cooperation." It is more probable, however, that "cultural relations" was believed to be a broader and more generally popular term than "intellectual cooperation."

And now, having discussed the nature of international cooperative relationships in the fields of culture, the intellect and education, we must turn, in the two chapters that follow, to a brief treatment of the history of the organization of these relationships.
CHAPTER II

The History of the International Organization of Cultural and Educational Cooperation
Up to the First World War

In the broadest sense of the term, international cultural cooperation encompasses activities that have been a part of human endeavour ever since man has been able to communicate with his fellow men. It was only after the beginning of the Middle Ages, however, that there was any semblance of international organization in the carrying out of these activities. And it was not until the late eighteenth century, after a vast, intricate and universal system of international intellectual contacts had been developed, that most governments included this field within the scope of their international policies. Indeed, the term itself has only come into common usage since the end of the First World War. For, until modern means of communication had been developed, formal international cultural cooperation, whether organized under the auspices of governments or initiated by private interests, whether in the form of periodic international meetings of savants or of serial publications containing the latest findings in the various disciplines, was, of course, virtually impossible.

Though there is no evidence to indicate the development of any organized system of cultural cooperation in the ancient world, it must be admitted that a number of the ancient peoples did, nonetheless, bequeath a great cultural heritage to the Middle Ages, with which it was possible to create strong
cooperative intellectual bonds. For, by the time the power of Rome was beginning to wane, in the fourth century A.D., a reading knowledge of both Latin and Greek had become necessary for all educated men throughout the Empire. Furthermore, the ideal of a politically and morally unified world was both known and considered as being practically feasible. Then too, Christian, Pagan and Hebrew scholars all travelled to and fro, from one centre of learning to another, in their search for knowledge. Consequently, when at last the Roman Empire disintegrated and the Catholic Church increasingly assumed a position of leadership in the West, the Christian Church, whether in its Eastern or Western form, was able to take up Rome's task of unification, though on a different plane.

Christian ideas of faith, morals and worship were gradually accepted all over Europe. And, in the vigorous, though necessarily limited intellectual life of the Middle Ages, international cultural cooperation was established by means of letters, meetings, visits and, eventually, through the universities. Thus, through the unifying bonds wrought by the Church a great advance was made towards something that may be called European cultural and moral unity. True, there were wide differences between East and West, between nation and nation, but a common moral outlook was established which subsequent revolutions and changes never completely destroyed.

The Catholic Church, early in the Middle Ages, recognized the importance of one element of culture, education, and its international implications as regards the maintenance of peace and a European moral unity. Thus, for example, the Church Councils, convening at Rome in A.D. 826 and 853, laid down the obligation of every bishopric in Christendom, and any other authority when the need arose, to appoint masters who should diligently teach letters and the liberal Arts. Even as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, at the Council of Trent the Church issued decrees on the founding of parish schools for the general instruction of the people and regulations for organizing episcopal colleges and seminaries. And even in such practical matters as the organization and methods of teaching the Church exercised a universal influence. The teaching methods used by religious orders, such as the Jesuits for example, had, and still have, an international scope. The very fact that the supreme head of any teaching order may be elected in any country and that the religious orders often teach in countries other than their own, is a proof of the international character of the educational activity of the Roman Church.

Then too, the earliest universities - even those founded outside the Church - were international as regards not only their teaching staff and students, but also the language used as the medium of instruction and the universal value of their degrees, licentia ubique docendi. In the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Studium took on a universal character, that is to say, it was open to all Christians of the
Catholic faith and its qualified scholars thus endowed theoretically had the privilege of studying and teaching virtually anywhere in the Western world. This right to study, to teach and to copy manuscripts, (the *jus ubique decendi*) though not universally honoured, was explicitly and officially conferred upon learned men by Pope Gregory IX on April 27, 1233 in the *Bull for Toulouse*. Gradually, thereafter, the students and professors came to form a vast international corporation. The larger universities at Paris, Bologna and Prague all had many representatives from four racial groups: Bavarians, Saxons, Poles and Bohemians. English, Irish, Corsican as well as French savants occupied the chairs at the University of Paris.


3. For inter-university cooperation in the Middle Ages perhaps the most noteworthy source is a report by M. Paul Otlet presented to the Union of International Associations in Brussels in February, 1920, and entitled *Sur la création d'une université internationale*. This report was not available to the present writer but was extensively used by Henri Galabert in his work *La Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle de la Société des Nations*, Toulouse, Imprimerie Toulousaine, Lion et Fils, 1931, to which the present writer had access.

Probably the most noteworthy English source in this field is the 1936 edition of Hastings Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by F.N. Powicke and A.B. Emden and published at Oxford by the Clarendon Press, in three volumes.

In recent times, not to mention certain papal encyclicals, the Apostolic Constitution of 1931, *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, by imposing uniform rules on a hundred or more Catholic universities and faculties throughout the world, constitutes, in fact, educational legislation of a highly international character. Thus the Catholic Church can rightly claim to be "the only educational institution of a truly international - or rather supernational - character with a glorious and fruitful tradition unbroken throughout nineteen centuries." - Rossello, P., Fore-runners of the International Bureau of Education, London, Evans Bros., Ltd., 1944, p. 9.
Considering the physical means available, then, medieval intellectual cooperation was on a scale the magnitude of which it is difficult for moderns to realize. For by the end of the Middle Ages there had come into being an intellectual community which though it embraced only a minute part of Europe's total population and though it centered around the Church, was the first which could properly be called international.

It was not solely in the Occidental world that the germs of organized cultural and educational cooperation were developing. In the Far East, too, there was a growing network of such relationships and activities. Mr. Hsu-Fu-Teh has made available much information in this connection concerning the Orient:

Les relations intellectuelles entre la Chine et les Indes ont pris naissance dans la deuxième moitié du règne de la dynastie Han et se sont développées pendant la dynastie Tsin. Sous la dynastie Souie et; au début de la dynastie Tang, le Japon a envoyé un assez grand nombre d'étudiants faire des études en Chine.  

With the coming of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe there occurred a gradual split in the organization by which common values were acknowledged. The new forces, symbolized by the printing press and Martin Luther, broke down Europe's moral unity which had been based on the Church of Rome. And, in its place there was gradually created, from the early fifteenth century onward, a new outlook. The spirit of nationalism and individualism became increasingly manifest and the various nations slowly assumed powers of sovereign independence. For the Renaissance and Reformation had created the

modern state which had, in turn, created nationalism. And finally, nationalism created nationalistic educational systems. At the same time, the ideal of Medieval Christianity of a universal moral unity was, in part, superceded by the secular ideal of a European community as elaborated by the humanists of the Renaissance and by the great cosmopolitan writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Rousseau. This new ideal was based on the advances made toward international justice resulting from the embryonic development of international law, upon the need for cooperation among the various national cultures and administrative systems, and upon the new set of common standards of value which in turn had their bases in the scientific outlook and universal criteria for ascertaining truth as regards nature.

Such, in fact, are the aims of the various secular movements envisioning international cooperation in the field of culture, and especially in the field of education, that have arisen since the Reformation. The philosophical treatises on the rights of man and the works of the theorists of peace are noteworthy since so many of them, at one point or another, mention the need for international cooperation.

Jean Bodin, the celebrated French political writer of the latter half of the sixteenth century, for example, in his Methodus Ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem was one of the first humanists to express the idea of a Respublica mundana.

5. This point has been brought out in the work of John L. Brown, entitled The Methodus Ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem of Jean Bodin, Washington, D.C., Catholic University of American Press, 1939.
Bodin closely related this idea with the need for international
amity. He wanted a Respublica mundana in which no nation would
be permitted to practice economic nationalism and in which
national vanities would be curbed. This conception had its
origins in the medieval ideal of a Respublica christiana, but
Bodin, true to the humanist and cosmopolitan tradition,
changed its connotation to that of a universal state in which
each citizen would perform his part in accordance with his
capabilities. In turn, each person and each nation would have
its own psychology and aptitudes and the sum of these would be
united to form a complete and coordinated whole - the Respublica
mundana. Bodin based his conceptions not so much, then, on
faith, but on the economic interdependence of individuals and
nations - on business and trade rather than on religion.
Bodin was thus one of the first men to have broached the
economic motive for cultural cooperation.

Then too, ever since the beginning of the Renaissance the
dream of a world university or centre of study had again and
again captivated the mind and imagination of men. It was
manifest in the court of the Mogul Emperor, Akbar the Great,
as early as the end of the sixteenth century and in western
Europe only a few years later. In Europe this idea was at
first connected with the ideal of a unification or synthesis
of knowledge as a basis of a world order.

John Amos Comenius, the great leader of the Czech people,
who has often been referred to as "The Teacher of Nations,"
dedicated the last ten years of his life to this ideal. A
refugee and homeless in a world torn by religious dissensions
and imperialist aggressions, he saw Europe being devastated by prolonged wars. He welcomed the "new learning" and the prospects of the expansion of knowledge through the rise of the sciences, but he was disturbed by the threatened danger of specialization in which men would become immersed in their own immediate interests and neglect the practical contribution which could only be made by a synthesis of all the knowledge then in the process of accumulation. He accordingly proposed the establishment of a Pansophic College, in England, where learned men from all parts of the world could gather and where their activities could be devoted to the coordination, unification and dissemination of a body of common basic knowledge as a foundation for a common understanding.

The task, he wrote

... would be the work of more than one man... he [Comenius] must be given collaborators, six or eight learned men who could ransack all the libraries and supply him with the more choice materials for his own pen to reduce to order. Nor would the work be of a single age, even if it were brought to its proper perfection.6

In his Patterns of Universal Knowledge (Pansophiae Diatyposis, 1643) Comenius expressed his hopes as they might be expressed to-day,

There is needed in this century an immediate reply for the frenzy which has seized many men and is driving them in their madness to their mutual destruction. For we witness throughout the world disastrous and destructive flames of

discords and wars devastating kingdoms and peoples with such persistence that all men seem to have conspired for their mutual ruin which will only end with the destruction of themselves and the universe. Nothing is, therefore, more necessary for the stability of the world, if it is not to perish completely, than some universal rededication of minds. Universal harmony and peace must be secured for the whole human race. By peace and harmony, however, I mean not the external peace between rulers and peoples among themselves, but an internal peace of minds inspired by a system of ideas and feelings. If this could be attained, the human race has a possession of great promise?

Bodin's Respublica mundana and Comenius' Pansophic College, needless to say, never came into being. Neither the times nor the rulers of the period were ready for such revolutionary measures.

In summary, then, it may be said that the new class of men which were precipitated to cultural leadership in society as a result of the Renaissance and the Reformation - the lay intellectuals, the scientists and the scholars - had evolved a secular outlook, resulting in new conditions of intercultural relations. The significant contacts no longer stemmed from the field of the religious consciousness but instead were centered around the sciences and the arts, and all, in varying degrees, were based on national foci. Thus the rise of national centres of culture and nationalist feelings had broken the universal bonds of the Church, which, once broken, had to be woven afresh.

It was not, however, until after the Holy Roman Empire had been divided into national sovereign states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the need for a Union of States and international machinery was first felt and acted upon. Thus the growth of nationalist tendencies, together with the organization of national cultural institutions, the development of education into a national public service and the creation of national school administrations were, in the end, important factors helping to bring about the movement for the establishment of an international centre for culture and education. The appropriate and necessary national institutions developed very gradually. Indeed, the world had to live through the long years heralding the birth of the nineteenth century before they had come into being in sufficient numbers to make imperative the need for international institutions.

One of the first of these developments occurred during the reign of Charles II of England, in 1662, when the Royal Society which was devoted to the promotion of national cultural cooperation was founded. Then, in Poland, in 1773, a Commission on Education was appointed. This is generally considered as the earliest attempt at a national administration for education. Gradually, thereafter, ministries of education evolved in nearly all countries, with their own province, their own staff and their own budget. In France, too, new national institutions were founded to fulfill cultural functions. There, though the Académie française was founded as early as 1635, and though the Encyclopedists did much for national and international intellectual cooperation, the most realistic
early manifestation of national intellectual cooperation, and
the one which served as a precedent in making the aspirations
of humanity towards a common intellectual life come closer to
fulfilment, first appeared in 1795, in the form of the
Institut National of France. The revolutionary Convention
created by the French constitution gave this new Institute the
function of receiving and filing inventions and perfecting the
arts and sciences. The revolutionary Assembly also incorpor­
ated into the Institute the old academies, together with new
ones which it had founded itself and which were fitted into
the Institute's organization in order to fill in the gaps
which had appeared as the result of the appearance of new
sciences. The Convention also decided that it would be help­
ful if foreign correspondents were permitted to attend the
Institute's proceedings.

One authority, in an article on the Institute, clearly
indicated that its purpose was to assure to higher education
in France

... la collaboration permanente ... des per­
sommes. ... publiquement reconnues comme les
plus capables de travailler au progrès des
sciences, des lettres et des arts, afin qu'un
lien de solidarité intellectuel et moral unisse
pour toujours le plus modeste étudiant au
maître le plus illustre.9

This point was reiterated by M. Daunoin, a deputy to the
national Convention and rapporteur of the Comité d'instruction

9. Deschamps, Gaston, "L'Institut National et la Co-opéra­
123, 1925, p. 23, cited in, Galabert, op. cit., p. 25, Andre,
op. cit., p. 19.
publique and also the author of an expose of the motives of the Act by which the Convention founded the Institute. On the occasion of the public meeting of the opening of the Institute M. Daumoin said:

Que peuvent devenir sous les auspices de la liberté, les destinées des sciences, des lettres, des arts? . . . Rassembler et recueillir toutes les branches de l'instruction . . . recevoir, renvoyer, répandre toutes les lumières de la pensée . . . : tels sont les devoirs que la loi impose à l'Institut . . . jusqu'à ce qu'il soit donné à l'Institut de se rattacher encore sur tous les points du globe, les hommes qui, par l'utilité et la gloire de leur travaux, appartiennent à tous les pays, connu à tous les siècles.10

M. Gaston Deschamps has recalled that the generous idea embodied in the setting up of the Institut de France was immediately put into practice when the French government decided to invite all its allies and neutral powers to send delegates to sit in on an international commission on weights and measures in order to obtain, by an international agreement, the unification and universal adoption of the metric system.11 Most of the European states cordially accepted this invitation and the French scholars warmly received their colleagues at the meeting, the outcome of which was a cooperative agreement which has since stood the test of time.

The further development of national organizations of scientists and scholars in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave rise, in turn, to international correspondence and relations of considerable importance, as


evidenced, for example, by those between the American Philo-
sophical Society of Philadelphia and the Royal Society of
London.

Thus, towards the end of the eighteenth century and dur-
ing the nineteenth, following the extension of communications,
international intellectual life assumed an amplitude many times
that of the preceding centuries.

As a result of the complexity of international economic
and political relations the various States found it necessary
to ensure that their students obtained a clear and precise
understanding of the other countries of Europe, to send scholars
abroad and to create organs of liaison with the intellectuals
of other countries. Then too, there gradually came into exis-
tence a number of international conventions relating to cultur-
al matters which, though they were strictly defined and had
limited purposes, had, nevertheless, the distinction of having
been agreed to by governments.

The two most important of these conventions were the
Brussels Convention of March 15, 1886, concerning the inter-
national exchange of publications, and the Convention of Berne
of September 9, 1886. The aim of the former was the mainten-
ance of a regular exchange of all types of scientific and
literary publications between civilized countries; the latter
had as its purpose the protection of authors of literary and
artistic works from unauthorized reproductions of their works
in the territories of the signatory countries.

In addition, a number of commercial treaties were concluded which contained provisions relating to questions of an intellectual nature. Mr. Hsu-Fu-Teh has pointed out, for example, that in the treaty between China and Russia in 1727 there were stipulations relative to the admission of Russians in Chinese schools and that provisions regarding the transit of publications of every nature were often included in the numerous treaties that were signed in the course of the eighteenth century between China and European powers.

As a result of this multiplication of international agreements between nations, the various countries found themselves obliged to create special organisms to guide the evolution of their policies in these matters. Not only did the governments of most states associate with their Ministers of Education a special service for inter-university relations or for student exchanges, but, proceeding further in this realm, certain states created in their Foreign Ministries a special service the purposes of which were the surveillance, the control or the development of intellectual and cultural relations. And certain Embassies even included cultural or intellectual relations attaches.

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12. The latter convention was modified at Paris on May 4, 1896, revised at Berlin on November 13, 1908 and at Rome on June 2, 1928.


It is impossible to record here all that was accomplished or even attempted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the direction of the international organization of the cultural cooperation of the world's nations. Much of the essential information on this subject is scattered throughout a great variety of publications no longer in print or available and not a few are to be found only in ministerial archives, in the minutes of learned and cultural societies and in the papers of institutes. This account will, therefore, attempt merely to sketch the broad outline of the developments and will accordingly note only the most significant efforts made in this direction. And, for purposes of clarity, the developments in the international organization of education will be treated separately instead of being included in the general organization of cultural relations. For although the movements for the international organization of cultural cooperation in general and for education in particular were contemporaneous and closely related, the interests sponsoring the two movements came to be differentiated and at times their respective efforts were unrelated.

14. The International Bureau of Education in Geneva has made a notable contribution in the study of the various plans for a central world organization for education in its publication Les Précurseurs du Bureau International d'Éducation, written by its Assistant Director, Dr. F. Rossello (and abridged and translated into English by Marie Butts, the General Secretary of the Bureau, under the title Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education and published under
The idea for an International Education Organization was first put forward by Marc-Antoine Jullien in 1816. At the age of nineteen he was virtually the first and certainly the youngest Under-Secretary for Education in France. His literary output was enormous. In addition to writing over three hundred periodical articles on all manner of subjects, he published more than thirty books and wrote for many French and foreign papers. His book The Spirit of Pestalozzi's Educational Method (Esprit de la méthode d'éducation de Pestalozzi) was for many years the best source of information in the French language on the lifework of the great schoolmaster, while in his General Essay on Physical, Moral and Intellectual Education (Essai général d'éducation physique, morale et intellectuelle) he propounded a series of educational principles singularly in advance of his time. It was not these two important educational works, however, that made him renowned but a few articles - only fifty-six pages in all - published in the Journal d'Education in 1816 and 1817, and collected, in 1817, in a pamphlet entitled Outline and Preliminary Views for a Work on Comparative Education (Esquisse et vues préliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation the auspices of the Year Book of Education in association with the University of London Institute of Education, by Evans Bros. Ltd., London, in 1944). Much of the material in this chapter relating to these plans has been abstracted from the English version of this work - the first comprehensive survey of all the efforts that have been made over more than a century to create an international organization for the service of education.
compare\'e). Although students of education knew of the existence of this pamphlet, it is only since the beginning of this century that it has been recognized as both a remarkable exposition of the principles of comparative education and the foundation stone of educational cooperation between governments.

In this work Jullien complained of "a great want of connection, harmony and proportion, in the grand departments of physical, moral and intellectual education as hitherto conducted." He emphasized the advantages that could arise from a work which would publish "the results of a diligent and thorough investigation of the present state of the various establishments for education in Europe - whether elementary and common, secondary and classical, superior and scientific or special." To secure these advantages Jullien proposed a scheme for a "Special Commission on Education" (Commission spéciale d'Éducation) - the first blue-print that we have of an International Bureau of Education.

15. The full title of this pamphlet was Outline and Preliminary Views for a Work on Comparative Education concerned in the first place with the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland and some parts of Germany and Italy, but intended to examine successively - according to the same plan - every State in Europe, together with a Series of Questions on Education to serve in the collection of materials for Comparative Tables of Observation by people who, wishful of studying the present state of education in Europe, are willing to collaborate in the joint undertaking, the plan and aim of which are herein set forth.

A copy of this pamphlet, the only known one still in existence, was given to the International Bureau of Education at Geneva by Mr. Francis Kemeny (to whom we shall refer later) of Budapest, who, in 1885, purchased it in Paris at one of the bookstalls on the quays of the Seine.
Jullien claimed that

What should be done is to organize under the auspices or with the protection of one or several sovereign princes, and with the help of existing educational associations, a Special Commission on Education not too large, composed of men who should collect by their own exertions and those of carefully chosen associate correspondents, materials for a general report on the methods of training and teaching used in the different European States, examined side by side and compared with each other.  

Then, after explaining how a series of questions on the meaning of education should be distributed and used in every country among "men of good judgment and well-known morality" Jullien proceeded:

The analytical summaries of the information collected at one time and in the same order . . . would furnish successively, in the space of three years, easily comparable tables of the present state of all the European nations from this very important point of view.

Through this questionnaire Jullien aimed to establish "a model of comparative tables of data for the use of those . . . willing to assist in the whole scheme . . . ." He felt that it would then be easy to judge which countries were progressing, retrograding or standing still, what the weak points and their causes were, and "what . . . the obstacles to religion, ethics and social progress were and how these obstacles could be removed." He also hoped that these tables would suggest improvements that "might be transplanted from one country to another, with such modifications and changes.

as circumstances and locality might demand."

Included in the series of questions on moral and religious education which formed a part of Jullien's questionnaire was the following interesting and modern problem - which still remains to be solved:

Are children's feelings excited against certain nations, against persons of different religious beliefs or opinions, against certain professions? - Or is there inculcated in them a universal benevolence towards men, and even towards animals; and what means are used for this purpose?

Not only was Jullien a forerunner as concerns the organ needed for international cooperation in the field of education and the technique to be used, but he carefully studied the best manner of setting it up and financing it. From that day to this there has been a constantly recurring dispute between the partisans of an official organization, established and financed by governments, and those of a non-official organization, free from any governmental influence. For his part, Jullien did not hesitate to take sides. He felt certain that his plan could only be carried out, in all its fullness, with the will and by the help of several heads of governments, the counterpart being the "incalculable advantages" their respective countries would derive from the institution. In particular would it be highly profitable for the country in which it was established.

17. Cited in, Rossello, op. cit., p. 16.


Jullien went on to suggest that a "Normal Institute of Education" for the training of good leaders, should be created "by the orders and under the auspices of a government, the friend of mankind and of enlightenment." And, carried away by his enthusiasm, he foresaw the multiplication of institutions around this central Institute.

Being a journalist, Jullien also recognized the part that an Educational Bulletin, "perhaps translated into several languages," could play as a "periodical means of communication between cultured people interested in the science of education."

Jullien also perceived the internationalist aspect of international cooperation in the field of education. Without subordinating his whole plan to it - as was the case with some of the other precursors in this field - he saw in this cooperation a factor of unity among nations and consequently of peace. His argument began with the case of Switzerland. He urged the Cantons composing the Swiss Confederation with their "great variety of climate, language, religion, political and administrative organization" to borrow from one another whatever might be useful in their institutions. "The cantonal mind, narrow and exclusive, would then be succeeded by a national Swiss mind and thus the political unity of Switzerland would be better established and consolidated." And immediately he added: "The same applies to the great European

family." He did not, however, underestimate the difficulties in the way: "How powerful," he observed sadly, "even over excellent minds, is the baneful and contagious influence of national prejudices. The time is still far distant when they will be effaced by a feeling of universal goodwill - of a general inspiration - that will not exclude the deep touching and commendable feeling of love for one's native land."

In addition to his advocacy of the establishment of an international centre for education, Jullien founded the Revue Encyclopédique, in 1819, and thus began numerous cosmopolitan activities. He made his review serve as a link between eminent men of all nationalities and, in connection with it, established monthly dinners where French scholars met those from other lands who happened to be in Paris. His passion for unity also led him to found a "French Society for the Union of Nations" (Société française de l'union des nations), which may be regarded as the ancestor of all the national League of Nations Unions, Associations or Societies.

When Jullien published his Outline, Europe was just awakening from the nightmare of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The Holy Alliance was arousing great hopes. A century later the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and the International Bureau of Education were founded after the "great terror" of the first world war and the Russian Revolution - when the age of golden promises ushered in by the League of Nations had begun. It was not unnatural

that, after such universal upheavals, attempts should be made to save mankind from the recurrence of such tragedies, by using the powerful lever of education. Hence, like the Covenant of the League of Nations, the solemn Act of the Holy Alliance opened the way to many forms of cooperation. Consequently Jullien was rejoiced to find in the Act of the Holy Alliance the acknowledgement that "ordinary politics are insufficient as a means of fighting these scourges (revolution and war), of putting an end to their ravages, of healing the deep wounds inflicted on public morality and civilization." To be sure, the words "cultural cooperation" or even "education" were not to be found in the solemn Act of 1815 any more than they are to be found in the Covenant of the League of Nations. But Jullien was no doubt justified in inferring that "throughout Europe, the reform and improvement of education are felt, as if by instinct, to be a very great need," and that it was therefore "in the interests of governments that education, perfecting its methods, should guide children aright from an early age."

Not only was Jullien's plan never carried out, but nearly seventy years elapsed before the idea of an international centre for education emerged once more. In 1876 the United States Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, presented a plan, for a permanent organization to act as a secretariat for future international educational conferences, to the International Conference on Education, held at Philadelphia; and in 1880, the International Conference on Primary Instruction, meeting at Brussels, voted a resolution in favour of establishing an
International Council of Education. These plans, however, did not have the scope of the movement set afoot by Herman Molkenboer, a Dutchman who was living at Bonn, in Germany, at this time.

If any connecting link exists between Jullien's plan, in 1817, and the one elaborated in the first issue of a little periodical published by Molkenboer in 1885 entitled *Journal of Correspondence on the Foundation of a Permanent and International Council of Education*, no one has been able to find it. In the interim of three-quarters of a century the Holy Alliance had come to the end of its short existence. Wars and revolutions had again swept across Europe; the Franco-Prussian war had left behind it a legacy of hatred that foreboded an even more terrible destruction of life and property. Viewing the world in that light, Molkenboer considered that educationists had no right to sit back with folded arms, waiting for the approaching catastrophe to overtake mankind. International unity in the field of education, he was certain, would bring everlasting peace on earth. And peace, he believed, could only be brought about by the people, not by governments; only when the minds and behavior of men had become peaceful would governments be able to disarm. He felt that teachers, by focussing the minds of children on friendliness and peace, constituted the strongest influence of all for transforming public opinion in this direction, for they alone could counterbalance the nefarious influence of the textbooks that stressed only the differences existing between
nations.

In order to facilitate the realization of his ideals, Molkenboer proposed the creation of a "Permanent International Council," with the primary aim of diffusing "sound" ideas on education. He was convinced that such a Council, placing its discussions above party politics, on a purely educational basis, would be able to devote its whole attention to the "right" formation of future generations. His plan, therefore, was clearly of pacifist inspiration. In his eyes, the educational unity of the world was a means to an end, that of attaining peace.

The only documents available for the study of Molkenboer's plan consist of a few issues of the Journal of Correspondence and a pamphlet of some twenty pages entitled Der Bleibende Internationale Erziehungsrat (The Permanent International Council of Education), translated from Dutch into German. The Journal of Correspondence was printed in three columns, in French, German and English. It was an organ of propaganda, intended to strengthen the bonds between the educationists of all countries who were combining their efforts in an attempt to create the Council. The pamphlet was more important: it contained a scheme outlining the judicial composition of the Council. Jullien had got no further than to mention the advisability of obtaining the backing of governments and sovereign princes, without specifying ways and means of doing so.

Molkenboer felt that educationists should follow the methods used by the Chambers of Commerce, that the "Permanent International Council of Education" should be composed of experts in education and that it should work concurrently with the educational authorities. The Council's activity would accordingly harmonize with that of the State and complete it. Acting in an advisory capacity, it would represent the interests of education, compile reports and suggest improvements.

Basing his conviction of the possibility of establishing educational collaboration across frontiers upon the existence of the "Council of Education" in the United States - a federation of states - Molkenboer modelled his draft constitution on that of the American Council.

As for the status of the Council, he desired it to be both official and independent. He stipulated that its members should be persons distinguished for their merit and devotion, "nominated by adherents" and appointed by governments. In his eyes this procedure was advantageous in that it "created confidence between "the two contracting parties."

Disconcerting, perhaps, at first sight, this scheme does not appear so impracticable judged by the experience of the I.L.O., whose members are appointed in a somewhat similar manner.

The Council was to be financed by equal contributions from governments and educationists. Molkenboer did not specify how the latter were to pay their dues. He was more explicit and, no doubt, too optimistic as to the funds obtainable from

governments. He was certain that they would willingly set aside "considerable sums" in their budgets for so worthy an object, since the expense would be borne by the Ministries of War. For, as a result of the pacifying influence of the Council, Molkenboer felt that it would gradually be possible to reduce the budget for national defence and a proportion of the sums thus economized could be allocated to the Council. While his faith in the generosity of governments was certainly naive, Molkenboer was not the only idealist who dreamed that some of the billions assigned to insatiable Mars might be diverted to wise Minerva.

Molkenboer did not specify how many members the Council was to consist of but stated that it would meet annually and that its members would have their travelling expenses refunded. The actual work was to be done by commissions who were to study the subjects on the agenda in advance and were to report to the yearly sessions.

National sections of the Council were also suggested by Molkenboer because of the strong and permanent bond that they would establish between the central organization and the educational circles of each country. The chairman of each national section was to draw up a practical plan of work and stimulate the exchange of ideas between its members, whom he was to consult by questionnaires.

In contriving to carry out his plan Molkenboer made no attempt to interest governments, but endeavoured rather to create a movement of public opinion by organizing a "Temporary Committee for the Foundation of the Permanent and International
Council of Education," of which he was the secretary. In 1888 an appeal was sent out by this committee; it was signed by thirty members, belonging to the United States, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Holland, Austria and Hungary, Sweden and Switzerland. In his own country Molkenboer organized a society, Pax Humanitatis to assist him in his efforts. He also started a campaign against bellicose text-books. Some of the pages he wrote on that subject fifty years ago read as though they were taken from the reports of the Sub-Committee for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations - a Sub-Committee of the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization.

By 1890 Molkenboer had several hundreds of subscribers, belonging to nineteen countries, but his hope that the Netherlands Government would take the lead in setting up the Council proved false. Then, somehow, the movement collapsed. He wrote sadly: "The governments are waiting for the educationists to take the initiative, and the educationists are waiting for the governments." His failure may in part have been due to the fact that his ideas were too strongly pacifist to meet with the approval of governments and even of the majority of educationists. A French writer, Georges Goyau, in a book entitled L'Ecole d'Aujourd'hui, states that the "Former Pupils' Association of the Normal School of the Seine" received a pressing invitation to join a certain "French Society

for Peace Through Education," from a Dutch publicist, Mr. Molkenboer, in 1886, and that they - "very properly and with admirable common sense" - replied that their business was not to foresee what kind of education should be given to future generations, but to train the present generation to love their duties, among which was their duty to France; that Mr. Molkenboer's proposals were contrary to the highest principles of ethics, honour and the interests of France.

Molkenboer's plan, or at least a plan identical in most particulars, was revived in 1904 without any mention being made of his name. It was launched, as though it were entirely new, under the title "Kurnig Plan, 1904," to which was appended the phrase: "All rights reserved." All of Kurnig's publications dealing with his plan for a "Consultative International Centre for Education" were dated from Heilbronn and Karlsruhe, in Germany, and it hardly seems possible that he had not heard of his predecessor. However, if there was little that was original in Kurnig's plan, the same cannot be said of the picturesque methods he used for its diffusion. His pamphlets were cleverly illustrated, sometimes even by caricatures. The caption under one of his pictures gives some idea of the magnitude of his ambitions:

A motley crowd, not composed exclusively of leaders and administrators, but also of working-men, artisans and peasants, gazes in perplexity - from the darkness of obscurantism and the anarchy of a so-called civilisation, in which it finds itself - at the sunlit road leading to the proposed Centre.25

Kurnig did not worry in advance about the headquarters of his institution. The "Centre," he said,

... will settle in whatever country it sees fit to select; the best thing might perhaps be that it should not tie itself to one special country, but change its residence from time to time; the first delegates to the 'Centre' will decide that. 26

Kurnig added a few new commissions to the ones mentioned by Molkenboer, for example, one on Research in Psychology - which was quite novel for its time. Like Molkenboer, he too wished governments to be associated with educationists. In this connection he went a little further than Molkenboer towards realizing his plan in that he endeavoured to induce some ministers of State to join his "adherents," and succeeded in having the Minister of Public Instruction of Costa-Rica and the Foreign Minister of Ecuador on his lists. In March 1912 he sent a circular letter to eighty-nine ministers of public instruction and to a few of their higher officials in the ministries, asking them to "support his plan, or criticise it, or both." The letter was worded very much like an advertisement for a patent medicine and in all probability most of the government officials did not bother to reply to it. Kurnig sought revenge for their indifference by ridicule and scathing invective. He wrote, for example, that "an ass-driver in the Azores, who is an adherent, is worth more - from the point of view of civilization - than a hundred decorated ministers of State who hesitate." 27

27. Ibid., p. 24
Kurnig addressed his propaganda not only to educationists and scholars, but also to all types of labourers, professional men and artists and was thus able, in the period from July 1904 to 1910, to raise the membership in the Centre from three to over seventeen hundred.

Not even the First World War was able to interrupt his activities. He moved to Zurich and continued the publication of his *Kurnig Correspondence* from there. At Zurich he came in contact with Dr. Fredrick Zöllinger, (to whom we shall refer later in this chapter), one of the forerunners of the International Bureau of Education, and was surprised that that distinguished educationist, and the whole Department of Public Instruction of the Canton of Zurich, did not encourage his somewhat blatant propaganda and his rather combative activities.

The latest known of his publications is a leaflet dated November-December 1918, entitled "The Necessary Preliminary to the Foundation of any League of Nations. (A serious omission in the Wilson-Grey plans.)" In it he indicated his belief that the time had come to make a last attempt; an all-important point had been omitted in the peace settlement, namely, the education of the various nationalities. He maintained that

... no international rapprochement, no league of nations is IMAGINABLE unless, before anything else, EDUCATIONISTS everywhere have agreed upon principles of education, and especially upon a conciliatory interpretation of the HISTORY OF THE PAST.
The leaflet ended by recommending the "writings of a philanthropic publicist, Mr. Kurnig . . . who is occupied with the imminent foundation of an INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR EDUCATION."

While there was a regrettable lack of contact and cooperation between the precursors of the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organization before the outbreak of the First World War mentioned thus far, a Hungarian professor, Francis Kemeny, was a notable exception to this rule. An habitue of international conferences, he made innumerable personal contacts, exchanged correspondence, examined papers, encouraged everyone and was never loath to collaborate with anyone. It was he who discovered Jullien and who put the historians of education on the international plane on the track of Molkenboer, Kurnig, Lebonnois, Peeters and Scott, the last three of whom will be discussed later in this chapter.

Having travelled, studied and taught in numerous countries and on every continent, Kemeny was more sensitive than most educationists to what he called, in 1905, "the passing of the world into the constellation of the Gemini: Nationalism and Internationalism." In opposition to many contemporaries, he did not consider these two terms contradictory, but looked upon them as complementing each other harmoniously. He was particularly attracted by cultural internationalism. "We know," he wrote, "that each national culture, considered as a whole and in its origins, is an international culture, inasmuch as it reflects the foreign cultures which are the 

groundwork of the national culture."  

He believed, further, that it was futile to try and reach cultural internationalism - the groundwork of all internationalism - without first developing international education, in which he distinguished the following six aspects:

1. State of education in foreign countries (descriptions, statistics, etc.);
2. Organizations by which several countries benefit (conferences, exhibitions, etc.);
3. Efforts and measures aiming at drawing together, or even unifying, education on certain points (organization, legislation, rights and privileges, etc.);
4. International or world education (based on the universal rights of man and on the knowledge of modern languages);
5. Education for peace (to counteract chauvinism);
6. Inter-racial education (to counteract race prejudice).

In Kemeny's eyes, the third aspect was fundamental. He considered all that had been done successfully (exchanges of school children, holiday camps abroad, international school correspondence, international schools, exchanges of teachers, international associations of students, etc.) as an earnest of success for a future world centre of education.

In 1905 Kemeny explained his reasons for desiring the establishment of an "International Institute of Education." After noting the tendency of the time to create international associations for furthering different causes at the same time


30. The term "international education" may easily lead to confusion; hence the expression "education on the international plane seems preferable, although it is longer.

as they furthered the particular interests of their supporters, he continued:

Thanks to the advantages gained thereby, and by the comparative study of facts, the interest taken in the schools of other countries has reached a degree hitherto unknown; at no other period have people shared the exterior and interior life of the schools as they do now. Hence great efforts are made and innovations are tried out, such as educational missions abroad, exchange of official publications and of teaching material, the organization of international conferences on education, etc.; but all this is not enough.

... In our opinion the only real solution of the problem facing us would be the foundation of an International Institute of Education.32

Like Jullien, Molkenboer and Kurnig, Kemeny was convinced that the Institute would have to have the support of governments, as well as that of collective and individual members, the authority possessed by governments being indispensable to the success of any collective undertaking, particularly one of international scope. Moreover, the backing of a government, or several governments, was necessary for financial reasons.

In 1905 Kemeny also proposed the creation of an "International Review of Education," in three languages - French, German and English - which was to provide information from all over the world, under four headings: Laws; Regulations; Statistics; Bibliography. A few pages were also to be devoted to "Questions and Answers," as a means of procuring information difficult to obtain. Kemeny thus intended the review to

serve as a central and international clearing-house for educational information. The cost of editing and printing this review was to be borne by the governments sending in the information, in proportion to the number of pages they required, at the rate of fifty shillings for two pages. Kemeny submitted his plan to the Ministry of Public Instruction at Budapest, which realized its importance but did not feel able to carry it out. They promised, however, not to raise any objections if he decided to launch the review himself.

It must be noted, also, that Kemeny never felt that he should hold a monopoly on his plans, that his own schemes should be carried out rather than those of anyone else: what was important to him was that an International Bureau of Education should be brought into existence. This unusual unselfishness led him to give his whole-hearted support to other precursors, and especially to Professor Peeters of Ostend. In 1912, at the first international meeting of the "International Bureau of Educational Information," at Ostend, its Director, Professor Peeters, with becoming modesty, declared that Kemeny was "the real founder and organiser of the Bureau; that without his enthusiasm and his brilliant qualities, it could not have existed." Kemeny replied that it was Peeters who had the idea and developed it; and that he had been glad to associate himself with Peeters' work. Several publications of the Ostend Bureau, signed with the Hungarian professor's name, testify to this rare and lasting cooperation.

Kemeny's cooperative spirit was further evidenced by his
relations with another precursor, Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews. Since 1901 he had stressed the necessity of holding a conference of ministers of public instruction and when Dr. Andrews succeeded in having an inter-governmental conference on education called, for September 1914, at the Hague, he was the first to rejoice. Bringing the conference to the notice of the readers of Peeters' review, Minerva, he expressed his unbounded delight (November 1913). Furthermore, he dug out of his inexhaustible files all the relevant information and compiled - for the benefit of the delegates to the future conference - a synopsis of the past, present and future of international education. He reviewed all the initiatives that had been taken hitherto in the field and concluded by giving his own views of what the conference should accomplish and what pitfalls it should avoid. His experience of international gatherings made him urge that the agenda should not be overburdened. He thought that the conference would do well if it satisfactorily accomplished the necessary preliminary work: it should appoint an Executive Committee whose function would be to found an "International Institute of Education" and to create an "International Official Bulletin of Education;" it should facilitate contacts between ministries of education by the creation of "International ministerial sections for education in foreign countries;" and finally, it should recommend the appointment of "cultural attaches."

33. Kemeny, L'Enseignement international.
similar to military and commercial attaches.

Kemeny believed that the most urgent task of the Conference was the creation of an institute to collect educational information from all over the world, and agreed that such an institute might very well work under an "International Council of Education," such as the Government of the United States wished to see established at that time. His ideal for a Council of this kind was very high. It was not to be a mere International Bureau, such as existed in many other fields, but, according to the real meaning of the word "council," was to constitute "an illustrious company representing the quintessence, the very flow of human art and science in their most sublime, most important and most exacting aspects." Kemeny also felt it probably would not be sufficient to elect only the delegates to the Conference as members of the Council; he advocated that "the most eminent educators of each country, those who are really leaders in education, and therefore the elite of the educational world" should also be included.

Of all the precursors of an international education organization that appeared before 1940 Kemeny was the best informed. He was also the best propagandist that the cause of international cooperation has known thus far. Moreover he was a

34. The United States Commissioner of Education, in his Report of 1944, outlined plans for the creation within the U.S. Office of Education of a section on International Educational Relations, and the U.S. State Department since 1938 has been sending out Cultural Relations Officers or Attaches. Several Latin American nations have also adopted this practice.

35. In less high-flown terms, these were the principles upon which membership in the League of Nations' Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was later based.
great animator; he encouraged Peeters in dark hours of doubt and he placed all his learning at the service of his future colleagues of the inter-governmental conference of the Hague, to which he had been appointed a delegate, along with Dr. Ernest Finacz, by the Hungarian Government.

In 1909 Kemeny's eminent collaborator, Edward Peeters, effected, for the first time in history, a realization of the dream of a world centre for education.

Peeters began his career as a Flemish schoolmaster and author of educational pamphlets. In 1908 he decided to devote his very limited means to founding a publishing firm at Ostend, under the name: *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque Pédagogique*. One of the first works he published was an annotated and complete edition of Rousseau's *Emile*, which was authorized by the Roman Catholic Church. In a very short time he succeeded in establishing a current of mutual information between himself and other educationists abroad. These relations were intensified when he began the publication of a small quarterly bibliography: *Bulletin bibliographique de la N.B.P.*, which reviewed recent educational works. After October 1909 this Bulletin became a monthly review called *Minerva*, with the subtitle: *A Review of Information relating to Education and the Teaching Profession*. The program which appeared in the first issue of *Minerva* showed that Peeters' ambitions even then soared far above a mere national review.

In February 1910, after consulting other educationists, Peeters issued a circular the wording of which indicated how greatly the idea of an international centre had matured in his
mind. His draft constitution having been approved and a number of members recruited, he convened the first international meeting of the "International Bureau of Educational Information" and, in order to facilitate the journey for his delegates, he chose The Hague as the place of meeting and fixed the date to coincide with the second International Conference on Moral Education (August 22 to 27, 1912). In spite of this precaution, only six people, including Francis Kemeny and himself, attended the meeting. They sent a message of good fellowship to the Moral Education Conference but that large and brilliant assembly, with a disastrous lack of foresight and coordination, completely ignored the new little international group (and also the plan for an "International Bureau of Education" advocated by another delegate, Dr. Zollinger of Zurich), and instead, resolved to create an International Bureau of Moral Education.

Nothing daunted, the six members of Peeters' conference, making up for the smallness of their number by their dynamic activity, appointed various working committees and even revised their constitution. Besides collecting and diffusing educational information, the Bureau undertook to publish a monthly sheet of correspondence, a monthly review and an international series of works on education. Minerva became the official organ of the International Bureau of Educational Information and, at the same time, of the Bureau international

36. Monographs were published on Education in Japan, Panama, Colombia, the Belgian Congo, the Dutch East Indies, the Netherlands and Bulgaria, a valuable series for the study of comparative education.
des Écoles Nouvelles, founded and directed by the Swiss educationist, Dr. Adophe Ferriere, one of the leaders of the New Education Movement.

Lack of funds persistently hampered the Bureau's activity and demanded continual sacrifices from its director. Every minute that Peeters could spare from his teaching was devoted to work for the Bureau; and the terrible strain and overwork resulted in his health breaking down. In 1912, Kemeny, on behalf of the Bureau, applied to the European office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for a very modest grant. This was refused on the grounds that the Endowment was interested in a scheme - presented by the World Peace Foundation of Boston and backed by several governments - for holding an inter-governmental Conference on Education at The Hague. The Endowment considered that it would be best to await the decisions of that conference before determining to what extent it would be able when the time came, to favour these initiatives. It even considered that decisions might be taken by the conference that would make its intervention on behalf of the Bureau unnecessary.

It was most unfortunate that the prospect of a conference, which actually never took place, should have prevented a valiant little organization from obtaining the assistance it needed to enable it to continue its work.

37. Rossello, op. cit., p. 31.
Peeters' review ceased publication after the issue of July 1914, due to this lack of assistance and the outbreak of the War. His bureau was closed about the same time, chiefly on account of insuperable financial difficulties. For, although it could boast of the nominal patronage of H.M. the King of Belgium and of the Departments of Education of Roumania, Bulgaria, Tunisia and Haiti, financially the Bureau had remained a private undertaking. Without governmental assistance it could have lived only if associations of teachers all over the world, or thousands of individual members, had subscribed to it. Kemeny had advised in this connection that "official relations should be intensified" in various ways; he concluded this advice thus: "In general, we should endeavour to combine, while keeping our entire liberty and independence."

The storm which raged over Europe from 1914 to 1918 completed the ruin of Peeters' Bureau, for Ostend, being in the war zone, was under fire and the documents that had been so patiently collected there were scattered and the information lost.

Meanwhile, in 1911 an institute known as the "International Institute of Education" was founded in Caen, in Normandy. The reasons motivating its creation were more practical than those which inspired the formation of such Institutes as the Permanent and International Council of Education or the Consultative International Centre for Education. Its founder, M.E. Lebonnois, was the Director of the
first University Summer Courses ever given - that of Caen. The example of the University of Caen was followed by many other universities and all manner of Vacation Courses were soon instituted. Lebonnois was troubled by the keen competition that sprang up between them and by the absence of common standards. He founded his Institute for the purpose of bringing order into this confusion, with the aim of introducing uniform rules for the examinations and of creating diplomas that would be universally recognized. Thus the Institute desired only to determine the conditions under which diplomas would be granted; it did not endeavour to control the organization of courses nor the liberty of their directors.

Such being Lebonnois' preoccupations, one could have expected him to be satisfied with founding an "International Bureau of Vacation Courses" or an "International Bureau for the Teaching of Foreign Languages." But his ambitions were wider. In addition to the name chosen for his Institute, the opening paragraph of its constitution showed this point clearly: the first of the aims specified was

... to establish among Members of the Teaching Profession in all countries (with no distinction between public and private education, and no political or religious tendencies), an Association for Educational Information and Research.38

Information was to be exchanged chiefly through the quarterly review of the Institute, Le Courrier. Lebonnois expected all the members of his Institute and all subscribers to the review (he anticipated three thousand readers, all of

38. Cited in, Rossello, op. cit., p. 32.
them prepared to cooperate with the editor) to put their names down either as readers, who would cut out any interesting item they came across and send it to him, or as collaborators, who would write articles for the review, or as translators. Mutual information was to be supplemented by educational studies carried out in common.

The Institute was not meant to act merely as a centre of information. It was also to become a centre for research in Comparative Education. "Would it not be valuable," he wrote to his readers, "for those who really seek for progress - for the progress of mankind through the improvement of the school - to be able to know very accurately and very completely the results obtained in each country, by different types of organization and different methods?"

Though knowing nothing of Jullien's questionnaire, Lebonnois also wished to issue a "Synopsis of Education," which was to be completed by "an exact and impartial statement of all the educational problems being debated throughout the world in 1911." The vast number of questions to be investigated did not worry Lebonnois. He believed that no member of the Institute would be overburdened for the questions were to be distributed among the readers of the Courrier, each of these stating beforehand the sections of the enquiry in which he would be willing to cooperate.


40. Loc. cit.
Lebonnois did not seem to have contemplated any participation of governments in his Institute. It was to have only individual members and was to be financed by the simple expedient of having the French Vacation Courses of Caen meet all the expenses, including the purchase of books for its library and the printing of the Courrier. The Director of the Courses was to become the general secretary of the Institute; he was to be assisted by a Board of Directors who would decide all points submitted to them by the secretary, organize conferences, control the editing of the review and settle all matters relating to examinations. This committee was to have twenty-three members: eighteen elected by the general meeting and five appointed ex officio, four of these being officials of the University of Caen and the fifth, the Mayor of the town - certainly a curious constitution for an international organization.

According to Lebonnois, the foundation of the International Institute of Education proved successful and a real joy to its members. He wrote in the Courrier:

... eminent professors of French, German and American universities, General Inspectors of education, Headmasters and Headmistresses of Teachers' Training Colleges, Headmasters and assistant masters of French lycees ... Headmasters of German, American, English, Scottish, Danish, French, Norwegian, Roumanian, Russian, Swedish schools vied with each other in their eagerness to be associated with an institution which they considered to be so useful.41

41. Cited in, Rossello, op. cit., p. 34.
In 1914, however—when the Institute numbered six hundred members—the war interrupted the Vacation Courses, closed the Institute and killed the review. After the war, though the Courses were resumed, Lebonnois did not have the energy to start his work all over again and though the International Institute of Education continued to grant diplomas for proficiency in the French language, it did not revert to its former activities.

One of Lebonnois' contemporaries, Dr. Frederick Zollinger, also endeavoured to achieve similar goals to those which Kemeny and Peeters strove for, but by slightly different means. Being the Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction of the Canton of Zurich in Switzerland, Zollinger was well-fitted, as a citizen of a Confederation that has often been cited as a model of cooperation between peoples differing in race, language and religion, to understand the need for a central office of education and to judge what possibilities there were of establishing it. As early as 1901 he suggested to the Swiss Federal Council that they should establish an "International Centre for Education," with which he coupled Child Welfare. In 1904 he presented his plan to the International Congress on School Hygiene held at Nuremberg. But it was especially at the second International Conference on Moral Education (The Hague, 1912), and the third (Geneva, 1922) that he urged its adoption. Being himself unable to attend the Hague Conference, he asked Professor Claparede, the well-known Geneva psychologist, to
present his paper on Das Internationale Erziehungsamt to the Conference. As we have seen in our note on Peeters, however, the Hague Conference instead voted a resolution in favour of the creation of a Bureau of Moral Education, which, had it been established, would have duplicated to a great extent Peeters' Bureau at Ostend and the one advocated by Zollinger.

When we consider all the efforts made thus far for the establishment of an international educational centre and the two others yet to be dealt with in this chapter, it will be seen that, of all the initiatives taken in this direction before 1918, that taken by the Netherlands Government, in 1914, offered the greatest probability of permanent success. Indeed, it may safely be said that, while without the First World War there would have been neither League of Nations nor International Labour Organization, on the other hand, an International and Inter-Governmental Bureau of Education might have come into existence in 1914. Yet it is astonishing how few people, even in educational circles, have heard of this event, which was the culminating point in the pre-1918 history of the movement for the international organization of education. The protagonist was a young and dynamic American woman and scholar, Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, of Boston, Massachusetts, who advocated the abandoning of the small by-paths of private enterprise in favour of an inter-governmental conference. Dr. Andrews was thus the first known woman to take up the cause of international educational cooperation.

Now that it is no longer unusual for women to be official delegates at international governmental conferences and even
appointed to diplomatic posts, it is difficult to imagine the courage and subtlety Mrs. Andrews had to display in order to interview diplomats and ministers of state, and persuade them to take part in a conference so startlingly different from those to which they were accustomed.

Mrs. Andrews has related the extraordinary vicissitudes her plan for a conference underwent in a manuscript entitled: _An Adventure in the Realm of Education, the International Aspect of Education_ - which was still unpublished late in 1944 but which she generously allowed Dr. Rossello to consult for use in his work, _Les Précurseurs_. The "adventure" started from a strong conviction that the school could help in establishing international peace and justice. Backed by the American School Peace League, founded by her in 1908 and known later as the American School Citizenship League, Mrs. Andrews originated a campaign for introducing the principle of goodwill and international friendship into the history curriculum. Her efforts obtained official recognition in 1911, when the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Philander P. Claxton, asked her to write a pamphlet on the celebration of Peace Day.

Encouraged by this success, Mrs. Andrews dreamed of widening her sphere of action, through an international association of teachers formed with the aim of developing friendship among the nations. She corresponded on this subject with

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pacifists in Europe. In 1910, the Eighteenth Peace Conference, meeting at Stockholm, approved her draft of a constitution for an "International Council of Education." In order to make her plan known, she crossed the Atlantic and lectured to teachers in Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, France, England, Austria and Hungary, advocating that the Council should act in the capacity of an international organ of teachers, hence that it should be a private body.

Her contacts with educational authorities on the Continent drew her attention to the fact that the school systems in continental Europe were completely different from those of Anglo-Saxon countries, and that the teaching of the principles advocated by the American School League would necessitate a change in their official curricula. She realized that unless she could win the Ministries of Public Instruction over to her views, it would be absolutely impossible to implement the desired changes. If the school were to serve the cause of peace, the goodwill of the teachers was, of course, indispensable, but the key to the problem lay, in the last resort, in the hands of the authorities.

Mrs. Andrews therefore revised her earlier scheme of an International Council on Education, of a private nature, into a plan for a Council formed by governments. Thus reinforced at its basis, the plan also comprised a much wider field of activity, for it included not only the school and peace, but education in general. She envisioned the International Council on Education as an organization as authori-
tative as the political and juridical institutions at The Hague. Moreover, Mrs. Andrews saw the necessity of furnishing the Council with a permanent working implement, a sort of universal clearing-house for education, fulfilling the purpose of acquainting each country with the progress realized by others. Her enlarged plan advocated the issuing of a bulletin, the creation of a section for the translation and exchange of works on education, the foundation of an "International Library of Education" and the appointment of a permanent "Committee on Educational Research."

Her immediate aim, in order to obtain a convention signed on behalf of governments, consisted of having an intergovernmental conference convened. She felt that her first step should be to associate the American Government with her proposals and did not hesitate to knock at the door of the White House. On December 14, 1911, she laid her plans before President Taft, who promised his goodwill. The next day the plan for the foundation of an "International Bureau of Education" and for the convocation of an International Conference was approved by the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Claxton. To facilitate her proceedings, she was appointed a Special Collaborator of the U.S. Office of Education. Thus the idea of an international conference on education passed from the realm of private initiative to that of officialdom.

The precedent created by the official Peace Conferences influenced Mrs. Andrews, and The Hague was chosen as the meeting place of the future Conference. This decision implied
the convening of the Conference by the Government of the Netherlands. After some hesitation as to the procedure to follow, the American Under-Secretary of State communicated (on March 19, 1912) to the Secretary of the Interior that the U.S. Minister at The Hague had been instructed to find out officially what the attitude of the Dutch Government to such a proposal would be. Great was Mrs. Andrews disappointment when she was informed of the reply received from the American Legation at The Hague: the Dutch Government did not wish to be represented at the Conference and therefore declined the honour of sending out the invitations.

Nothing daunted, Mrs. Andrews contemplated the possibility of holding the Conference in the United States, in which case the invitations would have been sent out by the American Government. She was also thinking of approaching other governments when an unexpected turn of events took place. On June 26, 1912, a week after the reception of the first communication, the American Secretary of State passed on to the Secretary of the Interior a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, accepting the proposal to convene the Conference, provided it was postponed to the following year - partly in order to allow time for careful consideration of the agenda.

Mrs. Andrews lost no time: duly accredited by the Department of State, she sailed for Europe on September 12, 1912. Her first interview with the Dutch Minister of the Interior revealed the fact that, while approving of the idea of an
International Bureau of Education, he felt that a preliminary consultation of governments would be advisable. Before convening the Conference, his Government wished to ascertain — unofficially — the opinion of the principal governments to be invited.

Mrs. Andrews undertook to carry out this consultation personally. From her visits to different capitals she learned not only the degree of interest the proposed conference was arousing, but also what subjects each country desired to have placed on the agenda. In the beginning of November she was back at The Hague. Having reported the results of her consultations to the Ministers of the Interior on Foreign Affairs, she returned to the United States, confident that the Netherlands Government would convene the Conference some time in 1913.

In January 1913, the Government at The Hague, through its diplomatic service, duly sent out the invitations, to the eighteen governments whose representatives were accredited at The Hague. By the courtesy of the Director of the Swiss

43. Germany — which finally refused the invitation to the Conference — was particularly interested in school hygiene; the international exchange of professors, teachers and students; the creation of an international museum of education; the relations between the home and the school; the teaching of modern languages; educational science; and the international exchange of literature on educational questions. Great Britain was interested in the training of teachers; education for industry; the teaching of history; rural education; co-education; the teaching of modern languages; and measures for raising the status of teachers.

44. Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, the United States, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Switzerland and Japan.
Federal Archives at Berne, Dr. Rossello was able to obtain the text of that historic document, the original of which is in French. The text reads as follows:

Berne, January the 14th, 1913.

Gezantschap der Nederlanden

Monsieur le Président,

My Government intends to convene for the month of September next, at The Hague, an international Conference on Education.

It is proposed that, at this Conference, there should be an exchange of views on the subjects briefly listed below:

(a) religion and education;
(b) Government and instruction;
(c) organisation of schooling with a view to the choice of a vocation;
(d) foreign languages;
(e) questions on the subject of hygiene in the schools;
(f) teaching of instructors;
(g) teaching of history;
(h) education of the two sexes together;
(i) instruction in trades ("Fachunterricht") for workmen generally, and for persons professing a certain trade, also for those overseeing work without themselves having had a very superior education;
(j) relations between parents and the school;
(k) mutual contact between foreign instructors and their pupils;
(l) education of women;
(m) education of domestic servants;
(n) revolutionary opinions of instructors and their associations;
(o) education of the blind and the deaf and dumb.

In the name of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, I have the honour to invite the High Federal Council to participate in the said Conference by sending official delegates.

Begging Your Excellency kindly to communicate to me the reply that the Federal Council sees fit to make, I seize, Monsieur le President, this opportunity of
assuring You once more of my very high consideration.

(Signed) van Panhuys.

His Excellency
The President of the Swiss Confederation, at Berne.  

In the light of the experience gained by diplomats at many later inter-governmental conferences on education, two very striking points relating to the above agenda are immediately noticeable: first, the great number of subjects proposed - many many weeks would have been necessary to work through such an agenda; and secondly, the courage of the organizers who did not hesitate to propose, for this first inter-governmental conference on education, such delicate subjects as religious education and co-education.

After two months of anxious expectation Mrs. Andrews heard that only two governments had replied to the invitation: France and Switzerland. The promoter of the scheme, the Government of the United States, was among those who had remained silent. The delay in the American reply was due to the fact that, when the delegates to the Conference were about to be appointed and the invitation accepted, the Under-Secretary of State drew the attention of the Secretary of the Interior to the "Deficiency Act" of March 4, 1913, forbidding the United States to take part in an international congress


The very unusual educational terminology used in this letter was due, no doubt, to the original translator's unfamiliarity with the subject; probably he was an official in the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
without the express consent of the U.S. Congress. This formality had been omitted through an oversight. The U.S. Congress was in recess at the time, however, and the resolution authorizing the Executive to accept the invitation was thus not passed until May 10, 1913 - which proved to be too late. In consequence of the continued silence of most of the Governments invited, the Dutch Government felt compelled to postpone the Conference until September, 1914. This misfortune was to prove fatal to the Conference.

Mrs. Andrew's ardour was not dampened. Duly accredited, she set out once more for Europe, on August 2, 1913. Between two visits to The Hague, where she talked the situation over with the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior and the Director of the Education Office, she visited Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Paris and London, and was left with the impression that all the governments - except that of Berlin - would in the end send a favourable reply.

From October 1913 onward, the plan for the Conference found a powerful and warm supporter in the person of the new Minister of the United States at The Hague, Dr. Henry van Dyke. He broached the subject of the Conference on Education at his first visit with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, urging that a fresh date be fixed for the meeting as soon as possible. To give more weight to his plea he stressed his belief that the number of countries

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46. Due to lack of experience at the time, it was impossible to foresee that a large proportion of replies are received only during the last week before a Conference, some of them even on the opening day.
taking part was less important for the success of the Conference than the level of their education. From this point of view he felt that Holland, Norway, Sweden or Switzerland might be considered more important than some of the larger countries. His opinion prevailed and on January 2, 1914, the Minister of the Netherlands at Washington announced that the Conference would be held from September 7 to 12, 1914. This time the invitation was accompanied by the text of Articles 1 and 2 of the proposed by-laws for a "Bureau of Information in Matters of Education and Instruction," and by a list of the problems that should be studied by the said Bureau.

The lesson of the previous failure had not been lost: on this occasion Washington was wide awake. As soon as the invitation was received, the American Department of State cabled to its diplomatic representatives at most of the world's capitals, begging them to urge the various governments to accept the invitation of the Government of the Netherlands.

Germany declined the invitation, supposedly because of the decentralized administration of the Reich, whose central government preferred to have nothing to do with education, which was - at that time - controlled and administered by the governments of the Länder. That one negative reply, however, was counterbalanced by the fact that sixteen governments (including the Netherlands) announced their willingness to send delegates to the Conference. Mrs. Andrews was appointed as the U.S. delegate and it seemed reasonably certain that
the Conference would meet on the appointed day.

But the month of July brought Mrs. Andrews a fresh disappointment. The Dutch Organizing Committee asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs at The Hague to postpone the Conference until April, May or September, 1915. The reasons given were lack of time for sufficient preparation, failure of governments to send their comments on the proposed by-laws of the Bureau of Information and on the subjects to be studied by the Conference, abstention of the States forming the Reich and, probably, of Italy.

Several members of the American delegation having already sailed for Europe, Mrs. Andrews proposed that a meeting of that delegation with the Organizing Committee at The Hague should be held on September 7, 8 or 9, 1914. But the storm that was shortly to sweep over the world was already gathering. On August 17 she received the following note from Dr. van Dyke:

Dear Mrs. Andrews,

Yours of July 23rd is at hand. By this time you will have realized there is not much chance for Educational Conference in Europe this Fall! and they are more needed than ever.

Yours in haste,

Henry van Dyke.

This time the dream was indeed ended. Of a plan so intelligently prepared by diplomatic action, nothing remained but the text of the "Proposed By-Laws of the International

47. Cited in, Rossello, op. cit., p. 41.
Bureau of Information in Matters of Education and Instruction" which the Conference was to have been asked to create. This is an important document for it was the first plan officially communicated to governments for study and criticism. According to it, the following seven definite tasks were to be assigned to the Bureau:

1. To publish a periodical.
2. To create a library on education.
3. To foster the study of laws on education and of educational conditions in the several countries and to supply data on present-day legislation.
4. To collect data and issue publications on general educational problems.
5. To organize international conferences on topics that have to be studied.
6. To serve as an intermediary in international relations between professors and students.
7. To promote intercourse between associations interested in education.

The Bureau was to be financed by its members. The "contributory States" were to be divided, as regards financial participation, into four classes according to their population. (This was the first time that "contributory units" proportionate to the size of the population were proposed.) The Bureau was to be managed by a Committee of five persons, elected by a General Council consisting of the delegates of the contributory States, each of these States casting one vote at the sessions of the Council.

So much, then, for the well-formulated and well-laid plans of Mrs. Andrews. Exhibiting, as they did, every indication of successful fruition, it cannot but be regretted by educationists that their materialization was frustrated.

48. See Appendix V, vol. , pp. of this study for the text of this document.
At the very time when the Government of the United States was giving its moral support to the proposed Inter-Governmental Conference of The Hague, it was being approached—through Congress—on behalf of a parallel initiative, set on foot by Mr. Walter Scott, the Secretary of the New England Education League.

In 1912 Scott published a book entitled *World Education*, in which he expressed the view that the social progress characteristic of the nineteenth century had brought about an increase of educational opportunity for all mankind, irrespective of race, nationality or class. This was the result of the great movement in favour of popular education started by the churches, cultural institutions and governments. He believed that the interests taken by governments was growing for both political and economic reasons: politically, popular ignorance was a threat to good government and, from the economic standpoint, education added to the productive power of every citizen. Finally, he held that the general well-being of a nation was, at bottom, conditioned by the well-being of each of its citizens. Scott also stressed the fact that ignorance endangered peace, whereas world education would guarantee the security and unity of all nations.

Being a man of action, Scott did not wait to see how his book was received: he applied himself at once to the realization of his plan. But instead of taking—like Mrs. Andrews—the path of long and patient diplomatic preparation, he

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concentrated his efforts on the American Congress which, he believed, would be followed by other governments if it took the lead in international educational cooperation.

On his behalf the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives were approached, and the draft of a Bill (H. R. 12247) for the creation of "an International Board of Education and a fund for international or world education" was introduced in the House of Representatives, on July 24, 1914, by Mr. Gillett, and was referred to the Committee on Education.

The fund for world education was an entirely new conception, which went much further than the clearing-house for education envisaged by any proceeding plan. A powerful foundation was to be set up, a sort of inter-governmental Carnegie Endowment, or Rockefeller Foundation, capable of supplementing the financial shortcomings of the educational authorities of certain countries. In this sense, the Scott plan was bolder than any that have been mentioned hitherto. Its author was convinced that it was feasible, provided that each country, member of the Board, would set apart, as its yearly contribution, one percent of its military naval appropriations in 1914. The United States was to promise to pay this contribution for ten years, as from January 1, 1916, thus setting an example to other countries. Each nation cooperating was expected to give a similar undertaking.

The third section of the Bill defined world education as

50. See Appendix IV, vol., pp., of this study for the text of this document.
education aimed at the suppression of illiteracy, the development of science and applied mechanics, and instruction in citizenship and in any other activity ministering to the progress of society. Such education was to be directed by an "International Board of Education," to be composed of the chief educational officer of each cooperating nation and one other person appointed by its national legislative body. Thus Scott's plan was the first to associate legislative bodies directly with the work of an international council of education.

Another novel part of the plan was that, as in a business undertaking, the number of votes attributed to each nation was to be proportionate to its contribution to the Fund and to its population: one vote for every hundred thousand dollars and for every ten millions of population. To obviate the dangers of the resultant inequalities, each nation was to have the right to veto the decision of the Board in its own territory.

This Bill was evidently never discussed either in Congress or in Committee, for the American Government was then, as we have seen, strongly supporting the International Conference to be convened at The Hague. In the period 1912-1914 both Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Glaxton, United States Commission of Education, wrote to Scott, advising him of the intentions and activities of the United States Government in this connection. Thus Scott was not unaware of Mrs. Andrews' initiative.
The War of 1914-1918 interrupted Scott's activities, as it did those of the other precursors of the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organization. But in 1920 he instigated the introduction of another Bill (H. R. 12994), much less definite than the one of 1914, proposing the establishment of an American "Commission on World Education," that should approach the competent authorities in all countries and persuade the League of Nations, whenever constituted, to include world education in its policy. This Bill met with the same fate as the previous one.

It seems a pity that Scott did not combine his plan with that of Mrs. Andrews, which, to all appearances, was decidedly more feasible. For one can hardly imagine certain States accepting grants from others, to extend their own education. But though Scott's scheme was visionary, he had at least had the merit of being the first educationist who endeavoured to interest the legislative body of a great country in "international world education."

The history of the precursors (in the field of education) of the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organization in the period before 1918, as outlined above, records little but repeated failures. Yet it would be unfair to consider only the negative side of the balance sheet. The courage and perseverance, faith and unselfishness which they displayed should also be noted. Although they did not present the

51. See Appendix VII, vol. , pp. of this study for the text of this document.
world with a finished realization, they left it with a great example. And, from their struggles, their followers after the First World War, could learn lessons of fortitude and tenaciousness. Further, they created an atmosphere and they evolved a doctrine. Their successive rediscoveries of the same ideas did indeed, in the long run, build up a collection of principles, a sort of general theory of a world centre of education. If, in a sense, all the first starts were a waste of time, actually they constituted an enrichment. Although those successive contributions did not follow a regularly ascending scale, yet each one contained a new element. For instance, Jullien's discovery was mainly a technique, while Molkenboer gave a legal framework to the hitherto vague conception; Kurnig invented new ways of propagating the idea, while Kemeny described - down to its minutest details - a periodical organ of information, which Peeters and Lebonnois afterwards set up; surpassing her predecessors in dynamic energy and diplomatic talent, Mrs. Andrews succeeded in getting the idea of a world centre accepted for the first time by governments, while about the same time her fellow countryman, Scott, was studying more closely the financial aspects of the problem. Thus in the period following the First World War, their followers were able to turn their attention to the search for a formula which would establish the relations which should exist between an international educational centre and a general international organization, such as the League of Nations or its successor, The United
Nations.

Returning now to the development of international organization in cultural spheres other than that of education, such as the sciences and the arts, it was only with the coming of the second half of the nineteenth century and the widespread use of modern means of communication that the various national groups and organizations began to manifest synthetic tendencies. Not until after 1850 did these groups seek to coordinate, on an international scale, the work of the world's scholars, philosophers, divines and scientists. The movement resulting from the efforts made towards the establishment of liaisons and international correspondence between national bodies gradually came to include special international missions, the interchange of professors and students and finally, formal international congresses and associations. A frequent stimulus to organized international cultural cooperation was also furnished by the great international expositions that flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of which, like that of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, were occasions for scientific and scholarly conferences.

The more permanent international organization of scientists and scholars was, at first, limited to specialized gatherings in the various disciplines or fields of study, such as, for example, the International Congress of Anthropology and Pre-History, first held in 1866, the Congress on the History of Art and the Congress of the Orientalists, both
beginning in 1873, the Congress of Americanists, starting in 1875, and numerous others of like origin, notably the International Congress of Historical Sciences first held at The Hague in 1898. These congresses were attended mostly by Europeans at first, but the number of American scholars and other non-Europeans who participated in them increase rapidly; and as specialization increased, so did the number of congresses. By the beginning of the present century the conscientious scholar could easily devote most of his summers to attending international congresses in which he had a more or less immediate interest.

In many instances these conferences and congresses adopted official constitutions whereby their membership was restricted to individual participants, in which case the organization became known as an association; in other instances the membership was restricted to the representatives of national organizations. Thus some of these international organizations had a large individual membership while others maintained the form of permanent international committees existing between congresses to assure the regular holding

52. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations stated, in 1921, that there had been five hundred ten Conferences or International Congresses held between 1890 and 1899 and over one thousand from 1900 to 1910 - L. of N., "Minutes of the Fourteenth Session of the League Council: Reports Submitted to the Council and Resolutions Adopted on Aug. 30 and Sept. 3, 1921: No. X: The Organization of Intellectual work: Memorandum of the Secretary-General of the League on the "Educational Activities and the co-ordination of Intellectual Work Accomplished by the Union of International Associations," O.J., vol. 2, nos. 10-12, p. 1107, Dec. 1921.
of the latter and to give effect to their recommendations and acts.

By 1914 men of learning had found it expedient to found some five hundred of these associations, institutions, bureaux and federations, which laboured in their respective domains with the collaboration of men of all countries. Indeed, in spheres such as medicine and biology, international relations had become the order of the day.

In addition to these organizations embracing only the specialists of one particular field of scientific or artistic endeavour, there eventually grew up a number of international organizations, dealing with cultural matters, of a more general nature. An example of this latter type of organization may be found in the International Association of Academies. This Association had its origin in 1893 when the Academies of Gottingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna became associated in an organization known as the Cartel of German Academies. In 1906 the Berlin Academy was admitted to membership in the Cartel and in 1911 that of Heidelberg was also admitted. Meanwhile, as early as the 'Nineties, negotiations for international cooperation between the Cartel and the Academies of London and Paris were instigated. These first efforts at cooperation ended in failure. In 1899, however, the Royal Society of London again applied for admittance into the Cartel or for some form of cooperation to be established between it and the Cartel. Negotiations were again begun, on this occasion at Wiesbaden. Within two days all apparent difficul-
ties were overcome and agreements were made for the foundation of the first international academic union, to be known as the International Association of Academies.

By 1914 academies from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States had become members of the Association. As most nations had only one academy which was officially recognized by their respective governments, they were represented in the Association by a single academy, with the exception of Germany, which was represented by its several provincial or state academies.

Meetings of the International Association of Academies were held every three years: at Paris in 1901, at London in 1904, at Vienna in 1907, in Rome in 1910 and at St. Petersburg in 1913. The 1916 meeting was scheduled to be held in Berlin but the Association was not sufficiently hardy to survive even the pre-war international tensions and its administrative machinery collapsed as early as January 1914. Difficulties had arisen even as early as 1907 when, because the Association had no permanent headquarters and therefore had no legal status either as a corporation or as an individual, it was found impossible for it to accept legacies or donations. At that time it was decided that the academy of the country in which the donor resided should take possession of the gift in

53. See Appendix III, vol., pp. of this study for the statutes of the International Association of Academies.
the name of the International Association. This solution, the only one arrived at during the lifetime of the Association, was hardly adequate, from the point of view of a strong central organization, to meet the needs of the situation.

In addition to the International Association of Academies there was one other principal international organization which included many separate fields of study in its scope—the International Research Institute.

According to M. Luchaire, all the international organs for intellectual cooperation which were devised before the First World War could be classed in five categories:

1. Les Congrès internationaux qui sont les assises périodiques de tous les savants du monde entier dans chaque spécialité;

2. Les Commissions internationales qui ont généralement pour but de préparer et d'appliquer certains accords en ce qui concerne des mesures à prendre simultanément par tous les pays;

3. Les Bureaux internationaux qui relèvent point d'une convention mais seulement d'un accord entre quelques institutions autonomes;

4. Les Instituts internationaux qui sont consacrés soit à des recherches collectives sur des sujets de science soit à une œuvre d'enseignement;

5. Les Associations internationales ou Fédérations des associations nationales qui ont les plus nombreuses parmi ces formes d'union pour les intérêts intellectuels.54

All of these organizations undoubtedly did much to improve international cultural contacts and by 1910 men were

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even beginning to write and talk of an "international mind."

International cultural organization owed its rapid progress to the far-reaching currents of ideas which had become manifest during the previous thirty years in different spheres - scientific, moral, legal, economic, social, charitable - all converging towards the organization of international life upon principles as stable and as sure as those which direct national life. The international associations, both private and official, of every kind, each in its own sphere, had centralized and coordinated this movement. And, by dint of handling subjects of ever-increasing variety, these organizations had succeeded in covering almost the whole field of research activity.

These vital forces for international cooperation and organization had, however, developed haphazardly, irregularly and without cohesion, and, in general, the results obtained by most of this collaboration and cooperative effort were by no means adequate. For, having been created as the result of varying circumstances and according to the needs of the moment, these institutions, private, semi-official, or official, in many instances, retarded the development of their respective spheres and acted cumbersomely and slowly simply because they lacked a strong central directing organ which could prepare a unified plan and thereby distribute the work without the delay caused by confusion and duplication of effort.

Two distinguished Belgians, Professor Paul Otlet and his colleague, Senator Henri Lafontaine, at the turn of the century
took upon themselves the task of securing the formation of a federation or union of all the various international organizations in existence at that time. Professor Otlet claimed that:

The international congresses . . . of international associations, sit as world parliaments in embryo, each occupying itself with interests belonging to its domain. More than two thousand of these meetings have been held during the last half century. . . . Essentially free in their nature, and without allowing anything to hinder their expansion, these forces need organization in order to grow and to exercise a regular activity. Instead of floating and dissipating themselves in the empty air, they must be captured, moulded, embodied, and fixed upon definite points of application in some sort of an institution. This organization, indispensable if they are to be useful to society, must naturally be international in its final degree.55

After ten years of effort on the part of Messieurs Otlet and lafontaine, the Union of International Associations was founded at Brussels, in 1910. The purpose of the Union was to provide a rallying point for the hundreds of international organizations then in existence. The program of this central organ was as follows:

1. To establish permanent relations between the International Associations and, in general, to encourage among these Associations a consciousness of their common aim: the development of a spirit of international union in all spheres in which such a union appears desirable and possible.

2. To investigate questions which are of common interest to all these Associations (organization, legal status etc.).

3. To co-ordinate the efforts of and to utilize the progress achieved by the affiliated Associations, each within its own sphere, to classify them in groups according to their aims, and to encourage the conclusion of agreements between Associations which have a common sphere of activities with a view to divide the work and to centralize results.

In the minds of the founders of the Union, the ideal aimed at by this effort of coordination and cooperation was the:

... attainment of a world organization founded on law, on scientific and technical progress, and on the free representation of all interests which are common to the human race.

Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet assumed not only the financial costs but also a great deal of the physical labour entailed by their activities, despite the fact that both of them were eminent and busy lawyers, both actively engaged as Professors of International Law. (M. Lafontaine later also became a Senator and delegate of Belgium to the League of Nations Assembly.) They both actually did a large part of the work involved in the filing of index cards, attending to correspondence and the multitude of other duties which the galaxy of organizations to which they belonged and which they had organized demanded of them.


57. Ibid, p. 1108.
The general outline of their scheme was conceived as early as 1895 when, following the first International Congress of Bibliography, Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine founded the International Institute of Bibliography. This Institute had as its aim the facilitation of progress in the organization, classification and description of human thought and the universal adoption of the decimal system of classification of knowledge in all libraries.

The foundation stone having thus been laid, Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet, in order to assure the continuity of the Institute's work, constituted a central office, at the Palais Mondial in Brussels, around which a group of new institutions was set up and which became a genuine centre of international documentation. These institutions included the Universal Bibliographical Repertory; the International Archives, which constituted a documentary encyclopedia of contemporary international archives, especially as regards scientific, technical and sociological questions; the International Library,


This Institute, during a long period of partial successes and vicissitudes, successively assumed the titles of the International Institute of Documentation, and, the International Federation for Documentation.

59. It consisted of a union index-catalogue containing over fourteen million cards in 1937, as compared with less than seven million cards which the next largest collection, that of the Library of Congress, had in the same year. The Repertory was moved to Geneva before the Second World War.

60. In 1921 it contained over a million different documents.

61. By 1921 it possessed over one hundred thousand volumes including the majority of publications of international interest.
which had been formed by the amalgamation of more than sixty libraries belonging to various international institutions established in Brussels; and the International Museum, which had as its origin a temporary exhibition organized on the occasion of the first World Congress of International Associations in 1910, and the purpose of which was to illustrate by graphic and statistical tables the progress made in all spheres of international organization and the requirements to which its existence was due. A translation bureau and an exchange bureau were also established at the Institute and then, as the next natural step in the process, in 1907, a unified central administrative office and secretariat were created for the various organizations which had previously had their individual secretariats at the home of the Institute. This secretarial organ fixed the time and place at which the gatherings of over thirty international organizations were to be held. Finally, in 1910, Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine arranged the First World Congress of International Associations to which all organizations desirous of multiplying cooperative enterprises of an intellectual and scientific nature were invited to send delegations. It was from this Congress that the Union of International Associations stemmed. Soon the Union was joined by other organizations not having an essentially intellectual function, such as the International Postal Union. Institutions having functions related to the realm of thought, however, remained predominant.

The essential characteristic of the Union was that it was
a federation open to all International Associations, public or private, which were not "commercial" but had an intellectual or moral object or worked for the service of the public. The number of Associations which adhered to the Union rose, from one hundred thirty two, in 1910, to two hundred thirty in 1914. The latter figure represented nearly half of the total recognized International Associations; in fact it represented the greater part of those which were of importance or displayed activity. There were scientific or teaching associations, legal associations, associations of a moral or speculative nature, associations for social or economic union, philanthropic associations and technical associations; to illustrate the multiplicity of these groups and the diversity of their aims, it is sufficient to quote at random such names from this collection of Associations as: the Institute of International Law, the International Association for Protection against Tuberculosis, the International Statistical Institute, the International Federation of the Staffs of Secondary Public Schools, the International Council of Women, the International Association of the Medical Press, the International Congress of Social Insurance, the League of Esperantists, the International Office of Weights and Measures and the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Prior to and immediately following the First World War

62. For the complete list of members of the Union, see the list of International Unions, Associations and Bureaux published in 1919 by the Secretariat of the League of Nations with the collaboration of Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet.
the Union was aided by the Belgian Government. It not only
gave the Union its patronage, but placed at its disposal the
Grand Palais du Cinquantenaire, (later known as the Palais 63
Mondial) and an annual grant of twenty thousand francs.

The Union possessed a permanent office at Brussels and
issued a number of regular publications the titles of which
are in themselves an indication of their broad international
outlook. From 1906 to 1911, the Annuaire de la Vie Internat-
ionale took the place, on a larger scale, (two volumes of
1550 and 2652 pages), of a publication previously issued by
the International Institute of Peace. This annual publication
and the monthly review, La Vie Internationale, which appeared
from 1912 to 1914, were intended as permanent organs of
research on the organization of international life. In
addition to its leading articles, La Vie Internationale
published a calendar and the minutes of international meet-
ings and a periodical summary of all the chief events and
documents relating to the international movement in general.
The Annuaire contained the monographs of more than five hun-
dred associations and is still the only source available for
complete documentary information regarding those International
Associations.

63. L. of N., "Proces-Verbal of the Eighth Session of the
League Council: Proposal by the Union of International Associ-
ations for the establishment of a University and Request by
the Union for a Subvention of £1,500 Sterling, Report by Leon
Sept. 1920.
The World Congress of International Associations met three times - in 1910, 1913 and 1920. Before 1914 one of its principal activities had been the promotion of international collaboration in public education and in the methods used in the sciences and their application, such as the unification of scientific terminology and the standardization of units of measure in science and industry. It also dealt with the drawing up of general statutes for the internal organization of international associations and the coordination of their work. One of the interesting results obtained in this sphere by the World Congress was the preparation of a Draft International Convention giving private international associations an international legal existence as regards their status as cooperative bodies, and creating an International Office for the registration and publication of their statutes. The work of the World Congresses themselves was published as the *Actes des Congrès mondiaux*.

The interest of the Union in questions of education and intellectual cooperation was demonstrated by the resolutions passed by the 1913 Congress which urged the internationalization of education with a view to the development of a common plan of study, a much more frequent and simplified system of exchange of students and professors and the establishment of an International University.

The final proposal noted in the above resolutions, namely

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that of an "International University," had been foreshadowed, as we have seen, in the Renaissance ideas of Akbar the Great and Comenius and in the further developments of the idea during the succeeding centuries, especially the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the scheme was connected with the teaching of internationalism and international affairs. Among the nineteenth century schemes, for example, was a plan for an international university alliance which envisioned, as well, an International Universities' Bureau. Under the initiative of Professor Bernard Bouvier, of the University of Geneva, the latter plan was temporarily implemented, immediately before the turn of the century. Then, in March 1900, in the *Forum Magazine*, Professor Angelo Heilprin published another plan for an International University. Soon afterwards, the fourteenth Universal Peace Congress held at Lucerne in 1905 recommended the organization of a university which was to be owned in common by the people of all nations. While none of these plans proved practicable, numerous internationalists and educators continued to toy with this idea and, as we shall see, the Union of International Associations did succeed in setting up an International University following the termination of the First World War.

Almost at the same time as the International Union of Associations came into being, another plan, similar in nature, was brought to light by the learned German philosopher and

scholar, William Ostwald, who, in 1911, announced a scheme for an organization called die Brücke (The Bridge). His plan comprised an international institute for the organization of intellectual work. Its aims were to bridge the islands on which the majority of organizations with intellectual aims, especially libraries and museums, were isolated, by a unified administrative organization and by the use of various media for the creation of understanding between them. Included in these media were the following projects: an illustrated World Encyclopedia; a World Dictionary; and a World Museum Catalogue. Ostwald's projects apparently never went any further than the planning stage but in his fundamental ideas there was much that was identical to what the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization later attempted to do.

In practice, then, the Union of International Associations was the culmination of all the efforts at organized international intellectual cooperation attempted before the First World War. How it and the other organizations which were working in the same field fared during the War and its aftermath will be treated in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER III

The Plans for the International Organization of Cultural and Educational Cooperation at the Paris Peace Conference

The First World War effected a rapid transformation in the intellectual as well as the economic life of Western society. The War had brought to its culmination a revolutionary change in the material and "numerical" basis of intellectual life. It increased both the number of intellectuals and the magnitude of their problems and responsibilities. Proportionately it also augmented the need for adequate organizational machinery for the protection of their interests and the dissemination of their works.

Whereas in the nineteenth and preceding centuries, those who devoted themselves to a life of study and research, whether attached to universities or not, belonged on the whole to a class assured of a reasonable degree of comfort and stability, the twentieth century, and post-1918 conditions in particular, exposed intellectuals to the full rigours of the competitive struggle in which so much of the rest of the community had been engaged. Correspondingly, the older standards of thorough and disinterested work were imperilled. Furthermore, there was a great incursion of mechanical inventions in new fields, such as drama and music, inventions which had rapidly taken root in the cultural life of the masses and upper classes, both in their homes and recreational centres. The phonograph, the motion picture and the radio,
for example, all confronted scholars, scientists and artists with problems analogous to those with which manual workers had been familiar from the end of the eighteenth century, such as employer and employee relations. These problems naturally had their educational and moral as well as their economic aspects.

Then too, the vast extension of State instruction, the steady increase in school attendance, the increasing popularity of technical and higher education, and the close relationship established between applied science and business enterprise resulting from the growing number of elaborate scientific processes which were adopted by commercial undertakings and which obliged them to employ large staffs of intellectuals - all greatly increased the proportion of intellectual workers in the community. And it was not merely business enterprises of a large-scale character, but also governments, that had awakened to the practical importance, not only of the applied sciences, but even of the more basic and theoretical studies. Thus specialists in a great variety of subjects were being called upon to face wholly new practical responsibilities. It is worthwhile recalling in this connection that the League of Nations alone had recourse, during its first decade, to chemists, agricultural experts, theoretical economists, geographers, biologists and bacteriologists.

One of the accompanying effects of the First World War

was to disrupt and disorganize nearly every international organization which dealt with intellectual matters, at the very time when their services were most needed. For example, the War and its aftermath temporarily paralyzed the work of the Union of International Associations. In fact, by 1919 thirty of its constituent associations, including its most influential ones and those with the largest membership, were no longer in existence. The International Association of Academies was likewise broken up. Thus in every country during and after the cessation of hostilities great numbers of intellectuals had become virtually isolated from their colleagues in other countries.

Soon after 1919 two new organizations sprang into existence, dividing between them practically the whole range of higher studies. One of these was the International Union of Academies, which devoted itself to the humanities. The other, the International Research Council, had its origins in the pre-1914 International Research Institute and was later called the International Council of Scientific Unions; it covered the natural sciences. By 1922, however, when the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was established, neither of these two bodies had succeeded in re-establishing the contacts broken during the war or in gaining the full

2. See Appendix VIII, vol. , pp. , of this study for the Statutes of this body.

3. See Appendix IX, vol. , pp. , of this study for the Statutes of this body.
confidence of scholars in all the leading countries.

Perhaps this failure can be attributed, in part at least, to the fact that, while science remained international congresses of scientists were held during this period from which men of the former Central Powers were excluded or in which German and Austrian societies were prevented from taking part on equal terms. The same state of affairs existed in many of the other academic organizations dealing with the humanities.

Professor Gilbert Murray, speaking as a member of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1922, broached the difficulties which arose due to the anti-German feeling still prevalent at that time when he declared:

> One of the things we want is a certain cooperation between universities. Can you have a conference of universities with all the German universities left out? Can you have a conference of universities with representatives of the German universities there? It is impossible at present to hold the conference with German universities present. To hold it without the German universities seems to me, I will not say a useless step, but a step that actually is likely to do harm rather than good to the cause we have at heart.5

Professor Murray's somewhat resigned explanation may be taken as indicative of the difficulties that had to be faced by any body that sought to re-establish intellectual contacts after the First World War.

4. It was not until the formation of the International Committee on Historical Studies in 1926 that a completely international organization was brought into existence in any one branch of study.

5. L. of N., Records of the Third Assembly, Plenary Meetings, 1922, pp. 325-328.
The grave offence thus committed against the academic world of the former Central Powers in the period from 1919 to 1925 evidently imbued it with a spirit of truculence, non-cooperation and, possibly, even vengeance. At any rate, when repeated attempts were later made to overcome the reluctance of representatives of those nations to cooperate with the new international scientific organizations, they proved unsuccessful right up to the end of the League's first decade of activity.

In summary then, what the problem of intellectual cooperation meant to the League of Nations twenty-five years ago and what it means to world organization to-day may be made clear by the situation in which the world then found and now finds itself. Then, as now, a great amount of unorganized intellectual cooperation was going on, despite war and post-war conditions, under the most varied and diverse forms - circulation of books and periodicals of every kind, of literary works and of scientific information; close contacts between writers, scholars and students; art exhibitions and scientific expeditions. Never before had these exchanges been more important; never before had they been more urgently in need of organized assistance.

Thus after the cessation of hostilities in 1918 there was evident a great need for some form of organized international intellectual cooperation. In addition, there was perhaps an even greater necessity for a movement or organization, preferably international, which would and could focus the attention
not only of thinkers and scientists but of statesmen and politicians upon that need. Consequently, at the time of the birth of the League of Nations numerous intellectuals and men in public life founded their hopes on a new organization which might give to intellectual life the position which it deserved among the other essential activities of mankind. The League itself was the embodiment of an attempt to assuage the need for some form of world political organization. It was not unnatural, then, that many of the leading intellectuals considered that it should take up the task of officially bringing order to the world's international intellectual and educational activities. To cite only one example, three months after the Armistice of 1918 the school administrators of the United States met in Chicago for their annual convention. In July 1919 the "peace convention" of the National Education Association met in Milwaukee. Both these conventions passed strong resolutions in favour of "the creation of an International Commission on Education." The opening speaker at one convention said "The only League of Nations that gives any assurance of a permanent peace is the league which the teachers of the earth shall write in the minds and hearts of the children." The President of the University of Minnesota claimed that "It will be futile to . . . establish a League of Nations unless there is back of the peace terms and of the League of Nations a world-citizenry. . . . Only a peace . . . secured through definitely planned systems of education stands a chance of surviving." Another speaker declared that
"Another variety of educational cunning might enable Germany again to become a menace to mankind. Unless ... the children of all nations are trained for international sympathy and understanding, the safety of civilization cannot be guaranteed."

Despite the needs of the situation and despite the desires of innumerable intellectuals, however, the official, or rather, governmental concern for intellectual life, which had been evident in all civilized countries in the days before 1914, was undoubtedly overshadowed immediately after the First World War by other considerations. The new-born League was faced with countless other problems of extraordinary magnitude, as were the various governments which were gathered, for the first time, in an association of nations. Indeed, it may be said that the peace treaties had created as many new political and social problems as they had left unsolved; and four years of destructive warfare had inevitably pushed into the forefront problems of nationalism and of economic and financial reconstruction.

This situation necessarily led to a relative neglect, if not to the complete absence, of constructive thought and decision on the part of governments with regard to the solution of problems of a more intellectual and non-material nature.

It may even be said that the League itself, or rather, its member governments, seemingly failed to grasp the profound need of a peace strongly guaranteed and founded not only on justice but on comprehension and cultural cooperation. When, however, the delegates of the various governments met at the Peace Conference and drew up the League Covenant, they were not left entirely to their own devices. Representatives of private interests, both material and spiritual, felt it incumbent upon themselves to make their claims known. Although they had no direct access to the Council table, they attempted to do a great deal by judicious lobbying. Among the representatives who were most active in lobbying were those of four important organizations keenly interested in the peace: the Union of International Associations, the Inter-Allied Conference for the League of Nations, the International Council of Women and the Suffragist Conference of the Allied Countries and the United States, the last two acting together.

In this connection it should be noted that the Union of International Associations was a focal instrument in working towards the dual goal of international political and intellectual organizations. In fact, it may be stated that the Union of International Associations at Brussels was one of the chief pioneers of the League of Nations as well as being the spiritual father of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. As early as 1913 its Congress had proclaimed that "a League of Nations is the ultimate end of all inter-
national movements," and during the War the leaders of the Union had drawn up drafts of a covenant and an international constitution.

After the War, though weakened, the Union declared itself ready to cooperate with the League by establishing systematic relations with it; it also endeavoured to make use of the League as a permanent means of support for the work of the Union. M. Otlet wrote in 1919 that

> Il y a lieu de posséder un organ supérieur qui concrétise en quelque sorte les aspirations de l'humanité vers une vie intellectuelle commune. 
> ... Agissant en véritable Parlement des affaires de l'intelligence, sa mission est de donner une impulsion et de harmoniser constamment l'activité des institutions particulières.

In this sense the various Brussels activities were not merely the precursors of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, they were responsible to a not inconsiderable degree for the materialization of the League itself.

The origins of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization, therefore, were intimately bound up with those of the League itself. The movements for bringing both into existence were intermingling and contemporaneous. To some extent, however,

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the intellectual element was older, for "if an international intellectual life had not long been in existence," as M. Leon Bourgeois said, "the League would never have been formed," or, as Paul Valery put it in his celebrated phrase - "Une Société des Nations suppose une société des esprits." In consequence, the Intellectual Cooperation Committee could claim over the League a certain degree of priority in conception and even of parentage in its immediate originators.

The information published relating to the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference in its discussion on matters of education and intellectual cooperation is very meagre. In the imposing mass of official documents on the Conference the only reference to education takes up barely thirty lines and the references to the more general topic of intellectual and cultural cooperation are equally scarce.

In view of the many prior activities at Brussels, it was quite natural that the first suggestion for an International Committee on Intellectual Relations should be put forward, at the behest of the Union of International Associations, by the Belgian delegate and Prime Minister, M. Hymans, at Versailles. The Belgian plan consisted of a proposed amendment, in the form of an additional article, to the League Covenant. The text - translated - of this article of amendment was as

follows:

The Associated States will assure, to the fullest possible extent, the development of moral, scientific and artistic relations and will further, by every means, the formation of an international outlook.

There shall be created for this purpose an International Committee on Intellectual Relations. This proposed amendment was so coldly received by the Great Powers that it was withdrawn by M. Hymans, at the Peace Conference's Commission on the League of Nations, without discussion.

A petition had also been presented to the Peace Conference on February 5th, 1919, by the Union of International Associations itself. It requested the inclusion in the Covenant of a charter for intellectual and moral interests, just as one for the interests of Labour had been included. This charter, it was hoped, would aid in the development, coordination and protection of scientific, artistic and literary work. The petition seems likewise to have exerted no immediate influence on the course of events which terminated in the signing of the Covenant.

All efforts on the part of the lobbyists to have educational work included in the list of activities of the League under the Covenant were equally unavailing.


Dr. Andrews, who was at the Paris Conference in the capacity of Special Collaborator of the United States Office of Education, has related briefly how she presented to the Inter-Allied Conference for the League of Nations a resolution in favour of the creation of an International Bureau of Education. Under the chairmanship of M. Bourgeois this unofficial Conference adopted the resolution which - according to Dr. Andrews - was, along with several others, sent direct to the "Big Four." No doubt the highest political jurisdiction of the Peace Conference had more urgent business, for the "Big Four" apparently never discussed this resolution, no mention of which is to be found in any of the Minutes.

Although its final result was equally disappointing, a second resolution did at least have the honourable distinction of being presented officially to one of the Commissions of the Peace Conference. It figures in a memorandum drawn up jointly by the International Council of Women and the Suffragist Conference of the Allied Countries and the United States.

In his work, The Drafting of the Covenant, David Hunter Miller records the following facts as they are given in the


13. Dr. Rossello in his Forerunners, cited above, has noted, on p. 47, that in the pamphlet, Fannie Fern Andrews, Ph.D., International Lecturer and Author, it is stated that the resolution was sent to the "Council of Ten".
The League of Nations Commission of the
Versailles Peace Conference.

Seated (left to right):
Viscount Chinda; Baron Makino; M. Bourgeois;
Lord Robert Cecil; M. Orlando; M. Pessoa; M.
Venizelos.

Standing (left to right):
M. Diamandi; M. Tchu Wei; Colonel House, M.
Dmowski; M. Vesnitch; General Smuts; President
Wilson; M. Kramar; M. Hymans; M. Wellington
Koo; M. Batalha Reis; M. Scialoja; M. Larnaude.

- L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section,
The League of Nations: A Pictorial Survey,
1929, p. 5.
Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the Commission on the League of Nations, held at the Hotel Crillon, Paris, March 24, 1919:

President Wilson read a letter from the International Council of Women asking that they might present to the Commission certain important matters which had a bearing upon the claims of women. After a discussion of this request, it was agreed that the Commission should receive a delegation from the International Council of Women for half an hour before the last meeting.\(^\text{14}\)

The delegation of women led by Lady Aberdeen was received at the beginning of the fourteenth meeting, at 8 p.m., on April 10, 1919. The Minutes state that:

In introducing the delegation, Lady Aberdeen said that she was ready to place the experience of the organizations which she represented at the service of the League. She asked the President to give his earnest attention to the points which the Delegates would bring before the Commission.\(^\text{15}\)

The points which Lady Aberdeen wished to draw to the Commission's attention were noted in a memorandum addressed "to the President and Members of the Commission on the League of Nations, and to the Plenipotentiaries of the Peace Conference." It comprised five paragraphs:

\(^{14}\) Cited in, Miller, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 344.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 361-362.

The delegation in addition to its leader included the following persons: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Bratianu, Mrs. Brunschwieg; Mrs. Brigode, Mrs. d'Amelio, Miss Margaret Fry, Major Girard-Martin, Mrs. Grimberg, Mrs. Fuesch, Mrs. George Rublee, Mrs. Shovioni, Mrs. Schlumberger, Mrs. Jules Siegfried, Mrs. Avril de Ste. Croix, Mrs. Marie Verone. \(^\text{loc. cit.}\)
(1) The Position of Women on Commissions and in permanent offices of the League
(2) The abolition of the Traffic in Women and Children
(3) Women's Suffrage
(4) Education
(5) Health

Paragraph four, i.e., that relating to education, read as follows:

Considering that the League of Nations should be not only a means to peace but a means to civilization for all the nations that join it, or shall join it in the future;

Considering that the freedom of men and women can only be achieved through their development by a democratic education, better adapted to the needs of the future inasmuch as all citizens shall have equality of opportunity;

The International Council of Women and the Suffragist Conference of the Allied Countries and the United States wish to express the following desiderata:

(1) That the creation of an International Commission or a Permanent International Bureau of Education be stipulated by the Covenant of the League of Nations and ratified by the Peace Treaty;
(2) That since women are playing an increasingly active part in the field of education, there should be women on this Commission or in this Bureau with the same prerogatives as men.

The authors of the memorandum made their proposal more definite by adding to it the preliminary draft of an article to be inserted in the Covenant after Article XXI. The preliminary draft article read as follows:

The High Contracting Parties shall endeavour to bring the aims and methods of education into harmony with the guiding principles of the League of Nations and to this effect they shall agree to institute a Permanent International Bureau of

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17. The translation is that of Marie Butts, the translator of Dr. P. Rossello's book previously cited and appears on p. 49 of that work.
Education to form an integrant part of the League.\textsuperscript{18}

This very brief article gave no idea of the nature of the Bureau, it merely defined its aim, i.e., to enable governments to harmonize education with the principles of the League. Peace therefore was its raison d'\'etre. Thus this plan did not belong to the series of "technical" plans for an International Bureau of Education but resembled rather, the plans of Molkenboer and Kurnig. And, since a war had just been fought to an end and peace was the supreme goal to be aimed at, the immediate aim of this proposal was not surprising.

Following the presentation of the memorandum several members of the delegation commented briefly on the claims contained in it. The reference to education in the Minutes is laconic: "Mrs. Schivioni asked that the League should establish an international education bureau. - Mrs. Fannie Andrews supported her."

In her record of the occasion, however, Dr. Andrews writes:

> Having spoken in support of the resolution, I presented resolutions approving it from the Education Commission of the United States Army, from the Supervisors' Section of the National Education Association, who had sent a cable from Chicago where they were holding a meeting, and from the General Education Board; these

\textsuperscript{18} If this article had been included, the League Covenant would have had twenty-seven articles instead of the twenty-six which it already tentatively had and which were agreed upon.

represented the views of educationists in the United States; from Great Britain I had resolutions voted by the Workers Educational Association and by the National Union of Teachers. I also presented the resolution of the Leon Bourgeois group.  

The Commission did not commit itself to do anything in the matter: the Minutes merely stated that:

President Wilson said that it had been a pleasure to hear the speeches, and that if it were not possible to accede to all the requests, it was only because the League could not begin by arranging all the affairs of mankind, not because the Commission did not agree that the demands were excellent.

Eventually, of the five desiderata expressed in the memorandum, three were endorsed by the Commission, those on the nomination of women to positions in the League, on the abolition of the traffic in women and children, and on an international health organization. But education, unfortunately, met with the same fate as women's suffrage.

The Peace Treaty between the Allied Powers and Germany signed at Versailles, on June 28, 1919, is divided into fifteen parts, comprising four hundred forty articles. Two of these parts concern the organization of international life. Part I, with its twenty-six articles and its annex, constitutes the Covenant of the League of Nations; Part XIII, with its forty articles and its annex, constitutes the Charter of the International Labour Organization.

The Covenant of the League is essentially political.


Three of its articles, however, (Articles XXIII, XXIV and XXV) provide for international cooperation in fields other than the political. Among other things, Article XXIII specifies that:

... the Members of the League: will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children... will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League... will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease. 22

It should also be mentioned that the Preamble and Article XXIV may be considered to imply intellectual rapprochement, mutual comprehension and a "firm desire for cooperation in all fields of international endeavour."

Actually, however, the undertakings binding the members of the League to mutual cooperation, in any sphere, did not, as we have since seen - and to our sorrow - really go very far. The authors of the Covenant were most reluctant to ask sovereign states to assume obligations which might be considered too onerous or too difficult to live up to. Thus, while the Covenant refers, if only briefly, to the other technical activities of the League, it is silent as to the organization of intellectual work. And yet, considering the negotiations related for the holding of an international conference at the Hague in 1914 and the plans of the Union of

International Associations, certainly the idea of international cooperation in the field of education and cultural relations was quite as far advanced as those in the fields mentioned in Article XXIII of the Covenant.

It is a paradox that at the very time when proposals for the participation of the League of Nations in educational matters were rejected, a provision was incorporated in the Covenant whereby League Members would:

...endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations.23

Moreover, the Preamble to the part of the Treaties of Peace which formed the Charter of the Labour Organization also laid down:

(a) that social justice is recognized as a condition of universal peace
(b) that conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled
(c) that the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve conditions in their own countries.24

The same reasons that were advanced for the establishment of the I. L. O. applied with equal, if not with even

23. L. of N., Covenant, Article XXIIIa.

greater force to the creation of an International Education Organization, of which an agency for intellectual cooperation would have constituted an integral and important part. For if social justice is a condition of universal peace, the education of children, youth and adults is one means of inculcating that ideal. What was said in the Preamble on injustice, hardship and privation in labour conditions applied equally to education, producing "unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled," not only through the lack of educational facilities but also through the abuse of education. Indeed the question may be legitimately asked: what profits it a man to enjoy satisfactory conditions of labour if he is not equipped through education with resources that would enable him to enjoy these conditions? And finally, the I. L. O. inevitably raised the educational issue not only in its concern for vocational and technical training but also in restricting the labor of children without suggesting appropriate means to keep them occupied, physically, morally and intellectually.

Furthermore, the I. L. O. was not the only agency of the League of Nations whose activities could have been made more effective if they had been more intimately related to a program of education. The prevention and control of disease and the concern for the welfare of children are as much problems for education as they are for more specialized agencies such as the League's Health and Child Welfare Committees. In the United States and England, to cite only two examples, the schools have been recognized as the most important cen-
tres for the protection of health and the advancement of the welfare of children. Educational progress, physical well-being and mental health are so intimately related that their coordination has been recognized as a proper function of educational authorities. Hence the agencies of a world organization which was to be concerned with the improvement of the conditions of labour, health and the welfare of children divorced themselves, only with difficulty, from the responsibility of more direct contacts with national systems of education, such as would have been provided through an International Education Organization.

Why then, were none of the aforementioned articles inserted in the Covenant? Why does the word "education" not appear anywhere? Why do the fourteen volumes devoted by D. H. Miller to the Paris Conference contain no information whatsoever about the fate of paragraph four of the memorandum? We do not know for certain. But be that as it may, it is even more difficult to understand why a step that had appeared acceptable to governments in 1914 was no longer acceptable to them five years later. Seemingly it would have been more natural the other way round. This chapter cannot be really concluded until we have the solution of the riddle. Perhaps some day those who possess the key will hand it to us and enable us to clear up the mystery. Meanwhile the problem can be solved only by conjecture.

One explanation that has been offered by several close observers is that a fear, openly expressed in 1921, already
existed in 1919 - the fear that there might be danger in letting the League of Nations intervene in matters of education. Perhaps this unfavourable outcome was also due, in part at least, to the fact that the views of those who were opposed to "complicating" the Covenant with "unnecessary" matter were well known and potent and because the acceptance of one such amendment would have necessitated at least a discussion of what were considered more dangerous proposals, such as the establishment of an Economic Committee and a Financial Section (both of which were subsequently created by the League itself). Unfortunately, too, it would seem that the cause of education and intellectual cooperation were not defended with anything like the energy that had characterized the Hague Conference and the formation of the Union of International Associations. And finally, considering the nationalistic mentalities and the war demands of the delegates in attendance at the Peace Conference, it is not surprising that intellectual cooperation and education were neglected as potential League activities in the drafting of the Covenant.

None the less, the fact that the specific inclusion of such a provision would have been both a logical and useful corollary to the provision for the I. L. O. can hardly be denied. As a gesture it would have strengthened the position of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation which the League subsequently created. Further, it would have given the League a legal basis on which to deal with this question when it was eventually called upon to organize the activities of the
of the nations of the world in this sphere. On the other hand, the very fact that the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation came into existence without explicit provision for it in the Covenant, is, to some extent at least, proof that such provision was not of vital importance.

Having been omitted from the Covenant, education and intellectual cooperation obtained admittance into the League structure by means of the back door: through the good graces of the Assembly and the Council. We shall trace this development in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER IV

The Formation of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

We have related the sad fate of the Inter-Governmental Conference of The Hague, in 1914, and the failure of the efforts made in Paris, in 1919, to have an article relating to education and intellectual cooperation included in the Covenant of the League. One hope still existed, that the League might become interested in education and intellectual cooperation when its work was well under way.

To understand the roundabout manner in which the subject of intellectual cooperation and education came under consideration once again, we must follow, step by step, the procedure of the League, and begin at the very beginning, even if it should seem for a moment that we are digressing.

In 1920 much of the world was living in the blissful but none the less restive state of mind which was general during the first years of the peace. In many ways the international climate was very like that of Europe in the days of the Holy Alliance, when Jullien launched his plan for the international organization of education. The League, having been deserted by the United States, felt that it was necessary to be extremely prudent in the realm of politics. Hence it directed its first steps and devoted its youthful energies to activities "of a technical character." This policy caused some misgivings among a few of the private international organiza-
tions, and their directors wondered anxiously what fate awaited them. Would their work be superseded by the increasingly powerful League? Or would they be absorbed into the League and benefit by a sort of life insurance under Article XXIV of the Covenant? The time also seemed ripe to make up for the remissness of the Covenant by correcting its omission of cultural and educational cooperation. Hence the League of Nations was under considerable pressure, almost from the very beginning of its career, to examine proposals for the international and official organization of cultural intercourse, both in the field of the sciences and in education.

As early as February, 1920, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations had received a communication from the European Council of the Carnegie Endowment, forwarding resolutions voted at a meeting held on February 15, 1920, in favour

1. Article XXIV:
(1) There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.
(2) In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.
(3) The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

... the setting aside by the League of Nations of funds for the establishment of Chairs in a large number of Universities, and in favour of the League of Nations, as alone qualified and empowered for this task, taking the lead in the work of creating an international organization for the promulgation of reliable and independent information with a view to preventing or mitigating international conflicts. 2

The Union of International Associations was also not slow in presenting proposals of a similar nature. The fact that Geneva had been chosen for the seat of the League rather than the Belgian capital did not dampen the enthusiasm of those two devoted pioneers of internationalism - the directors of the Union - Senator Lafontaine and M. Otlet. In the process of their endeavours to bring their Union within the orbit of the League, the Union became a propitiatory victim of the League and eventually disintegrated. This process began at a


The Signatories were: Paul Appell, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Member of the "Institut de France" (French); Sir Wm. J. Collins, former M.P. (English); Eduardo Dato, former Prime Minister, Member of The Hague Court of Arbitration (Spanish); J. Efremoff, former Member of the Duma, former member of the Provisional Government (Russian); Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator, former Minister Plenipotentiary, Member of The Hague Court of Arbitration (French); Eduardo Giretti, former Deputy (Italian); Justin Godart, Deputy, former Under-Secretary of State (French); Houzeon de Lefaie, Senator, Professor of Political Economy (Belgian); Henri Lafontaine, Professor of International Law (Belgian); C. Nippold, Professor of International Law (Swiss); Count de Penha-Garcia, former Minister of Finance, former President of the Chamber of deputies, member of the Hague Court of Arbitration (Portuguese); Charles Richet, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine, member of the "Institut de France" (French); Ernest Solvay, Minister of State (Belgian); The Right Honourable Lord Weardale, member of the House of Lords (English); De Laprodelle, Professor of International Law (French); Andre Weiss, Professor of International Law, member of the "Institut de France" (French); Yo-Tsao-Yen, Chinese Charge d'Affaires in France, representing His Excellency Lou Tseng Tsiang, former Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs.
private meeting of the fifth session of the League Council, held at Rome, May 19, 1920, where the Belgian representative, M. Jules Destree, asked that "a proposal that the League of Nations should give its patronage to a University, which the Union of International Associations hoped to found, might be added to the agenda."

Meanwhile, another project, French in origin, had emanated from the French Association for the League of Nations. On June 20, 1920, its Director's Council (Executive Committee) unanimously adopted a two-pronged "Resolution in favour of the Creation of an International Bureau for Intellectual Intercourse and Education," the terms of which stated that:

1. The Council of the French Association expresses the wish that the League of Nations should at an early date include a Permanent Organization for Intellectual Work analogous to that already in existence for Labour.

2. Without desiring to dictate a solution to the problem, the French Association begs to submit to the Secretariat of the League of Nations as a basis for discussion a scheme which has been carefully drafted by M. Julien Luchaire in collaboration with M. Charles Carnier. It requests that this scheme should be taken into account, as far as may be judged expedient, when the Bureau for Intellectual Intercourse and Education comes to be established.


4. The meeting was presided over by P. Appell, Rector of the University of Paris, and was attended by Messieurs Aulard, Professor at the Sorbonne; Alexandre Berard, Senator; Justin Godart, Deputy; A. Keufer, Member of the Supreme Labour Council; F. Larnaude, Dean of the Law Faculty; Sarrut, First President of the Court of Cassation.

5. L. of N., "Institution of an International Bureau for Intellectual Intercourse and Education: French Association for the League of Nations, Meeting of the Directors' Council, June
This scheme was then forwarded, under a covering letter, on July 8, 1920, to the Secretary-General of the League for submission to the League Council. The letter explained that the scheme put forward by M. Luchaire, Chief of Cabinet to the French Minister of Public Instruction, should be read as explaining the intention of the Association's resolution, since it supplied full evidence of the importance, for the improvement of international relations, of the body whose early nomination was so much desired by the Association. The letter concluded with the earnest expression of the desire on the part of the Association for:

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 power.

A moral union of hearts and consciences is an essential preliminary to an agreement of interests, a juridical settlement of conflicts and political organization for peace . . .

and it requested that the Secretary-General draw to the attention of the League Council both the resolution and the draft scheme.


M. Luchaire's scheme was drawn up in the form of a "Draft Convention Setting up a Permanent Organization for the Promotion of International Understanding and Collaboration in Educational Questions and in Science, Literature and Art." This Draft Convention, incidentally, forms an excellent basis for comparison and contrast with the Committee which was subsequently set up by the League and, in some measure, it was on the basis of this proposal that the League Committee was eventually constituted. The Draft Convention, in summary, included the following points:

1. The foundation of a Permanent Organization for the promotion of universal peace by making possible a free and extensive circulation of knowledge, by coordinating the efforts of scientists and philosophers, and protecting intellectual rights of association and limitation of hours of work, and including all Members of the League of Nations.


3. The general procedure and financing of the Organization to be similar to that of the International Labour Organization, with its seat either at Geneva or Paris.

4. The International Office for Education to be placed in control of a Governing Body consisting of persons nominated by each League Member, and to be administered by a Director and Staff, and to include separate Offices for Educational, Scientific Research, Literature and Art Questions.

A little over a month later, at a private meeting of the eighth session, held at San-Sebastian, Spain, on July 30, 1930, the Council undertook to consider a report presented to it by M. Bourgeois, the French representative, on two requests of the Union of International Associations, the import of which was that the League should:

1. Give its patronage to the International University.
2. Subsidize the publication of a compilation of the proceedings and resolutions of international congresses.

We will therefore turn for a moment to a description of these two proposals and record the Council's decision with regard to them.

The plan to establish an International University was the culmination of all the efforts resulting from numerous schemes of a like nature which had been published and brought before international bodies for over a century. Like the Union of International Associations, which sponsored the International University, the arrangements were in the hands of Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine. The enterprise was also supported, from its beginning, by the cooperation of the International Federation of Students which had been founded at Strasbourg in 1919. Its immediate object was the holding of a conference in September, 1920, for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of and making the arrangements for, the creation of the University. Hence the League's blessing for the proposal was requested.

In the report presented to the Council of the League by the French representative, M. Bourgeois, on the "Proposal by
the Union of International Associations for the Establishment of a University," M. Bourgeois first gave a brief resume of the history of the Union of International Associations. He then went on to say that:

At the present day the Union comprises 200 international associations, the origin of which is due either to national organizations or to individuals. These associations have various objects (pure science, literature, the arts, history, education), and it is the Union's task to group them together into the various federations to which, according to the similarity of their labour, they would naturally belong, and to organize them by a process of gradual concentration by establishing correlation and cooperation between them all. With this aim in view the Union has taken the initiative of issuing important publications, has organized numerous meetings, and has regularly maintained an exchange of views and ideas on the various matters which might form the subject of international understandings. It has been helped by the Belgian Government, which has for a long time appreciated the importance of its work, and which does not merely give the Union its patronage, but has placed at its disposal the "Grand Palais du Cinquantenaire" and an annual grant of 20,000 francs.

At a meeting which is to take place in September, the Union proposes to establish at Brussels an International University, which will appeal for the collaboration of eminent professors from the various universities and international associations. The programme of this University will comprise three main divisions:

(a) General studies.
(b) Comparative national studies.
(c) The League of Nations.

The session will last for a short period only, in order that several may take place within the year. Several universities, including those of Paris and Liverpool, have already promised their help. At the first meeting, which should take place from the 5th to the 20th, September, 1920, a series of lectures will be given setting forth the aims and the organization of the League of Nations.
The Union has expressed the wish that the Council of the League should confer its patronage upon the International University.

M. Bourgeois' final recommendations to the Council on this subject were, however, rather disappointing to the sponsors of the International University:

Your Rapporteur recognizes the usefulness of the Union; he knows what great services it has rendered to private international associations; he knows the hard work which has enabled it to bring various reports to completion; he appreciates the lofty motives which inspired this proposal, but at the same time he cannot help remembering that this is the first experiment of this particular nature that has been attempted, and that therefore, like every new endeavour, it involves certain risks. We do not know the number of universities which will participate in the scheme, nor how they will come to an agreement between themselves. We do not know what professors will undertake the subjects of the programme which has been drawn up nor what kind of a welcome students will give them. It would, therefore, be premature, since the International University has not yet been created and has so far received only promises of co-operation, to grant at this stage the patronage you are requested to bestow, and which we cannot yet contemplate, to convey to the Union of International Associations the expression of our sympathy with the new work which it has undertaken, as well as our most sincere good wishes for its success, and to give it the assurance that the Secretariat of the League of Nations is authorized to facilitate to the fullest extent of its powers the achievement of the work of international interest which the University is undertaking.

These recommendations were adopted by the Council.

In response to this "expression of sympathy" given to it by the League Council, a letter, dated August 18, 1920, from the Union of International Associations and signed by Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet, was received by the Secretary-General of the League. The letter stated that:

It is with the greatest satisfaction that we have learnt of the decision adopted by the Council of the League of Nations in favour of the International University, which the Union of International Associations is inaugurating. It is needless for us to say how precious your encouragement is. It not only gives us support amidst the difficulties which a work as ours inevitably involves, but it furnishes a recognition of our labours for which we are especially grateful. . . . You will no doubt be interested to learn that for the inaugural session of the International University we have secured the collaboration of 47 professors. This is a beginning which encourages the highest hopes.

This letter was meant, of course, as a hint to the League Council to the effect that the International University was no longer just a vague plan but an important experiment, worthy of the League's financial support and official patronage. The Council, however, was unprepared to take such step and instead adopted a "wait and see" policy.

Meanwhile the aforementioned conference for the organization of the International University had convened in September of 1920. There the University's statutes had been drawn up and in the same month its inaugural session was most successfully consummated.

The International University was meant to form a centre for higher international education. It proposed to help complete the intellectual education of a certain number of students by instructing them in the principal international aspects of all leading problems. In the course of a few years it hoped to create amongst these men, who would be called upon, in their respective countries, to exercise influence in public affairs, in politics and in education, an "elite" consisting of several thousand individuals qualified to cooperate in the establishment of an international "entente" and in the work of the League.

The principle adopted for the organization of the University was that of collaboration between International Associations and the most important national Universities.

10. The International University had as its object, as defined by Article I of its statutes:

Unir dans un mouvement de haut enseignement et de haute culture universelles les Universités et les Associations internationales. . . . Elle doit permettre à un certain nombre d'étudiants de parachever leur formation par une initiation aux aspects internationaux et comparés de toutes les grandes questions. . . . Elle organise chaque année . . . un ensemble de cours et de conférences. . . . L'Université agira comme un centre d'études pédagogiques supérieures et de recherches scientifiques, techniques et sociales . . . ; elle contribuera notamment à établir une concordance aussi parfaite que possible entre les principes qui président à l'évolution de la civilisation et le développement de la Société des Nations.
under the administrative direction of the Union, together with the support of Governments and the League. The courses were to be short; its method of work was to be similar to the summer courses held in many universities. A scheme for an "Inter-University Tour," to make students acquainted with the principal universities of the world was intended to complete the program of studies.

From the above description this University may be pictured as a "laboratory for the production of the international mind;" as an instrument for spreading across the world the same ideas of progress and of peace as the League itself; as a sort of central impulse towards an intellectual life for all humanity; as constituting an immense fund of intellectuality. In order to achieve all these goals the International University, once organized, became a federation of Universities, "the University of Universities," as it called itself.

On February 28, 1921, the League Council requested the Secretary-General to give such aid as lay within his power to the holding of the second session of the International University. The Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, after consultation with Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet, sent a note to the various States Members of the League. The note was entitled "Plan for the Establishment of an International University at Brussels" and its terms were as follows:

11. By 1921 the University comprised sixteen universities from thirteen countries; three hundred forty-seven professors from twenty-three countries and twenty-three chairs. - *Annuaire de l'Université Internationale*, cited in Andre, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
At the request of the originators of the scheme, and by authorization of the Council of the League of Nations, I have the honour to draw the attention of the Government to the plan of the Union of International Associations for the establishment of an International University at Brussels.

The Council during its session of July 31, at San Sebastian unanimously agreed in recognizing this undertaking as one worthy of all encouragement.

The first session of the International University was held from September 5th to September 20th, 1920. It has now been decided to hold the second session at Brussels this year from August 20th to September 15th. The Council, at its last meeting in Paris on February 28th, authorized the Secretary-General to render in this matter such assistance as lies within his power.

In accordance with this Resolution, I have the honour to forward this letter to you, in support of the wishes expressed by the Directing Committee of the International University. The Committee desires that the Different Governments should give it effective co-operation in its work, by creating national Chairs, the holders of which should be instructed to explain the special conditions in each country, and particularly to show in what way their nation has collaborated in the past in the development of civilization, and will be able to collaborate in the future evolution of the world; and by inviting their national universities to join, as they have already been asked to do, in the disinterested effort which is being made to the International University, and in facilitating the participation of their nationals, professors and students in its sessions.

I am to express the hope that you will accede, as far as possible, to the requests made by the Directing Committee. The cooperation of all States members of the League of Nations, in the work of the International University, will greatly assist in forming an international public opinion capable of ensuring the consolidation of the great institution which is intended to prevent the recurrence of such terrible catastrophes as the world war. The Council does not doubt that your
Government will give efficacious and sympathetic support to this enterprise.\footnote{12}

The above circular letter constituted the last act on the part of the League in aid of the University. Very few further references to it are to be found in the official League documents. Being situated at a distance from the seat of the League, the International University was unable to carry out its program with the finances available and it was thus forced to cease functioning by 1922.

Returning now to the request of the Union: that the League should subsidize the publication of the Code des Voeux des Congrès internationaux (List of Recommendations and Resolutions of International Congresses) by granting the Union £1,500, the Rapporteur, M. Bourgeois, made it clear that the Code would consist of an "Introduction" comprising a brief general codification, quotations in extenso of the principal decisions and resolutions arrived at by the Congresses, and an "Index." The Code had been the outcome of a resolution adopted by the World Congress of International Associations in 1913 and its preparation had been carried on even during the War. It was a collection of the chief conclusions and principal recommendations of the three-thousand-odd international congresses or conferences held since the middle of the nineteenth century, the period in which, as we have seen, the development of international associations

\footnote{12. L. of N., "Plan for the Establishment of an International University at Brussels: Note by the Secretary-General, May 25, 1921," O.J., vol. 2, nos. 5-6, p. 621, July-Aug. 1921.}
began. Devised methodically and logically, the Code thus summed up the directing principles of contemporary movements towards international organization. It was meant to be kept up-to-date by means of periodical additions. Hitherto no attempt at codification of this matter had been made except in regard to special subjects.

Now, in any question of international organization, the conclusions arrived at by international congresses may be most useful in supplying international organizations, governments or such organizations as the League of Nations with definite suggestions adapted to existing problems, present requirements and expert opinion. The Code could not, therefore, be regarded merely as a retrospective collection of purely historical interest. It formed in practice an indispensable organ of research and information. M. Bourgeois recognized this fact in his report when he pointed out at the time that:

The publication of these data, which is indispensable to your Secretariat and which is to contain from 2,000 to 2,500 articles, would have had to be undertaken by the Secretariat if the Union of International Associations had not undertaken it. The work will be of first-rate value since it will formulate the resolutions adopted by the various international organizations.

In undertaking the publication, the Union spared the Secretariat a very serious loss of time and money. The sum asked for represents less than half the cost of publication, estimated at 90,000 francs, and the Union would doubtless have borne the entire cost, if the war had not curtailed the subscription to a very considerable degree, while prices were always rising.13

M. Bourgeois, therefore, proposed that the Council allocate the sum requested and, after due consideration, on August 3, 1920, the Council approved of the subsidy.

What were the implications of this League grant to a private organization? Did it mean that the League would henceforth give up some of its technical activities, leaving them to international organizations that had entered the field earlier? A clause in the Minutes gives the answer, showing that this generosity was to be considered as quite exceptional:

The Council in adopting the report noted that the grant of £1,500 which they were authorizing was not a contribution to the University, but was intended to help the Union to meet the expenses of an undertaking which, in default of action by the Union, would have fallen within the province of the League itself. It was not, therefore, a precedent to be cited by other international institutions which might ask for assistance.

The decision of the League Council to offer its sympathy to the Union of International Associations and the International University for the work it was undertaking, and to grant a small subsidy to the Union's publication, constituted the first step taken by the League in the field of intellectual cooperation.

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14. By April 1923, the work of compilation and editing was completed and over six hundred pages had been printed. The first edition appeared in 1923 as *la liste des Unions, Associations et Bureaux internationaux*, and was printed by the Information Section of the League Secretariat.

Some months later, in December 1921, the Secretary-General in a memorandum to the Assembly of the League, spoke in tribute to the Union's founders and claimed that their gallant efforts in the spreading of

... documentation and information, of co-ordination of effort, of general education, appears as a vast enterprise of international intellectual organization characterized by the breadth of its conception and design. Its action is twofold as regards principles, it owes to the logical force of ideas which it has brought forward as an educative influence which is highly conducive to the development of the ideas of union and international organisation. As regards facts, it has proved its efficacy by the institutions which it has created. The Union of International Associations, its Congresses, 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 collaboration. ... 16

But this praise was insufficient, if not insincere. For the League Council was willing to offer, at most, moral support. The judgment expressed by the Secretary-General in his memorandum is of a particular importance and interest since, in spite of the eulogy contained therein, it did not prevent the League from practically ignoring Brussels entirely from the moment, in 1926, when its Paris Intellectual Cooperation Institute was created; and in several instances the League's

Intellectual Cooperation Organization duplicated there the Brussels work without reference to all that had been attempted at Brussels.

It should be clear from the foregoing, then, that though the League Council specifically welcomed the activities of the Union of International Associations and the International University at this time, it was not prepared to make any commitments whatever for the future with regard to these manifestations of intellectual cooperation. No doubt it felt too preoccupied with items which it considered more urgent.

A different turn was given to the whole matter, however, when the question of intellectual cooperation at last came before the First Assembly of the League in 1920. The greater part of this Assembly's time was devoted to the organization of the newly founded League and to the setting-up of its machinery in accordance with the various articles of the Covenant. The Secretariat of the League had, in this connection, drawn up a plan for complementing the imperfect political and legal structure of the League as provided in the Covenant, by a complete system of organized cooperation in the social and economic fields. These Organizations of the League, which were considered technical, were created as early as 1920, at the First Assembly at Geneva. The general idea upon which the formation of these Technical Organizations was based was to bring together the national departments dealing with all sorts of technical matters and to have their delegates, with the help of independent experts, discuss problems of mutual concern which could be best attacked by
methods of international cooperation. When it was decided to extend this new form of collective action to every field of national activity, it was difficult to resist the pressure of those who insisted upon the inclusion of the realm of the intellect and education. Nevertheless, when the rules were adopted for the operation of the League's Technical Organizations, neither education nor intellectual cooperation was included.

Indeed, it was not until the twenty-first Plenary Meeting of the First Assembly, held on December 13, 1920, that the question of intellectual cooperation was even mentioned. At that time the supporters of the original petition put forward by the Union of International Associations, having failed in their efforts to interest the Peacemakers in this matter,

17. One may consider, by way of contrast, the beginning of the League's Health Organization which, perhaps of all the organizations of the League, most completely won the confidence of its States Members.

Its tasks, as defined by the First Assembly of the League, with the alteration of the word "health" to the word "education" might well have been the tasks of an International Educational and Intellectual Cooperation Organization:

(1) To promote by every means in its power the advancement of public health throughout the world, confining itself to the study of questions of general and practical interest.

(2) To assist such Governments as may apply to it in their efforts to attain a high standard of health.

(3) To aim at establishing closer relations between the health services of the various countries and to undertake work of co-ordination and unification that can only be done by an international body.


There was, of course, no haggling about funds for the Health Organization. Helped also by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation it forged steadily ahead.
now evolved the petition into a memorandum on a "League of Nations Intellectual Centre." The memorandum was presented to the League on behalf of the Union by a committee composed of a delegate each from Belgium (M. Poulet), Roumania (M. Negulesco), and Italy (Senor Naggiorino Ferraris) and headed by Senator Lafontaine. This committee, at the same time, presented a motion which was read to the Assembly on their behalf by the President, M. Hymans, also a delegate of Belgium. This official motion may well be regarded as the first real foundation stone in the edifice of the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization. The motion reads as follows:

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 the publication of the List of Recommendations and Resolutions of the International Congresses (Code des Vœux):

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 organization of intellectual work.

The Assembly further invites the Council to regard favorably 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 their duty to exert with a view to developing a liberal spirit of goodwill and world-wide co-operation, and to report on the advisability of giving them shape in a technical organization.
attached to the League of Nations. 18

The matter was at once referred to the Second Committee of the Assembly which was instructed to consider the whole question and to present a report to the Assembly. The Second Committee, thereupon, endorsed the memorandum and the resolutions attached thereto by the Union of International Associations. Hence the Verbatim Record of the proceedings in Committee on this question does not contain a single word of discussion.

Indeed, there was so little interest in the subject on the part of most of the delegates that the report of the Second Committee on this topic almost missed being brought up at the Plenary Session at all. However, it finally reached the attention of the Assembly, at the very end of the final session, when Senator Lafontaine succeeded in reporting on the Committee's findings. The fact that the record of this Plenary Session of the Assembly, which, as its last and probably least considered and least esteemed act, passed the resolution offered by the Second Committee on "The International Organization of Intellectual Work", contains any discussion on the matter whatsoever is due solely to an amusing but none the less serious misunderstanding.


19. At 4 P.M. on Saturday, December 18, 1920, at the Thirty-First Plenary Meeting of the First Assembly.
The fact that the very passage of the resolution was probably due to this misunderstanding adds to the irony of an event full of subtle ironies for those who hold that the world muddle of the past and of the present day is due, in great part, to the lack of organized brain work on the part of those responsible for the conduct of international affairs. If the time ever comes when all men feel it worthwhile to think before they act, this little event will probably be considered historic. Meanwhile it remains an ironical foot-note to the alleged purpose of the League - "to promote cooperation."

It is, of course, evident that the field of cooperation is two-fold: thought and action. Cooperative thought, in the form of organized intellectual work, necessarily precedes cooperative action. In this fact may lie part of the secret of the failure of the Versailles Peace Conference and the League alike - a possible neglect of and contempt for cooperative thought, an impatience with all the slow processes of thinking, a fear of facts, and a passion for results without concern for the ideas which the results express. This point is familiar but it seems worthy of repetition here because it gives emphasis, as nothing else could, to the tale of the passing of the resolution on the organization of intellectual work. The attitude of the Assembly toward cooperative thinking appears most clearly in this episode of the resolution on the international organization of intellectual cooperation.

One of the fullest, and perhaps most far-sighted accounts of what occurred at this session, published in English, is
that written by Ernest Cushing Richardson in the *American Library Institute Papers* for 1921. He reported the meeting in the capacity of an observer sent by the American Library Association. His account, in part, reads as follows.

It was the last hurried session, the afternoon session of Saturday, December 18, slated for the sweeping up of odds and ends. It was the duty of the President to clear the docket in the shortest possible time, and few men can drive a steam roller more efficiently or so suavely as President Hymans (Belgium). He was, moreover, himself ridden by the consciousness of approaching dinner and the need of time for getting in his own admirable closing speech. The delegates were tired and impatient, attending for the most part to anything by the speakers, except to turn a stare of disapproval now and then, on anyone who had the temerity to hinder the roller by discussing anything. Early in the session, the only concrete proposition of any importance for constructive co-operation in intellectual work by the League—the codification of international law—had been killed, perhaps wisely, by Lord Robert Cecil, the most outstanding moral figure of the Assembly and the man who for thirty sessions had stood steadfastly for the thinking aspect of things. Matters had reached a climax of neatness and dispatch in the tabling of a modest but ill-advised resolution of this Committee No. 2 on an international language. Senator LaFontaine held the platform as *rapporteur* (for the Second Committee, whose report, A.II. 254, was being presented at the time) and his many friends among American librarians would have been charmed at the way in which this veteran Vice President of the Belgian Senate handled his material, and finally by patient and habile discussion carried this last little ideal, this last tiny bit of recognition of the place of correct thinking in world welfare.

The *rapporteur*, introducing the resolution for the committee, spoke briefly but seemed long to hungry men of action impatient of ideas. Only one man appeared to listen and, as the event proved, he heard wrong.
In introducing this resolution Senator La Fontaine described it as 'asking the Council to see how far it may be possible to organize the intellectual work of the world?'

Senator Lafontaine's speech and resolution which followed have been reported differently by different writers. The present writer will, from this point onward, therefore, present the official translation of the speech, and include E.C. Richardson's commentary only where it differs from or adds to the official text. The official text reported Senator Lafontaine as having said that

The Council has already shown marked sympathy with the efforts of the world for collaboration of thinkers and investigators in the progress of humanity, and in forwarding the advancement of civilization by creating bonds of union between all thinkers. Great progress has been made during the past 75 years. While nations have been striving with one another, thinkers have been crossing the frontiers of their various countries and meeting one another in conferences, and since 1840 a real and extraordinary development of international relations has been apparent. From 1840 to 1850, there were only 10 international conferences called, but between 1900 and 1910, there were no less than 1,600 such conferences, and during the four years preceding the war there were 500.

To-day we ask the League of Nations to do for these workers the same as they have already done for manual workers. An International Labour Office has been established for manual workers, and a budget was recently voted for that office of 7,000,000 gold francs. We ask that the same may be done for the intellectual workers but we do not ask for the same amount of money; we shall not even ask for many hundred thousand francs to complete the work of such an organization. The resolution, therefore, which I wish to put before you is as follows:

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Senator Lafontaine then read the resolution which had been brought to the notice of the Assembly by its President a few days before, and which has already been cited in this study. However, his peroration was not rendered into English by the interpreter in order to save more precious time for oratory, and thereby hangs part of this tale. Hence Senator Lafontaine's concluding passages, as translated by E.C. Richardson, are worthy of citation in full.

'Chance has done well,' he said, 'in having us devote the last effort of the Assembly to the consideration of that which is the noblest, highest, most disinterested and most powerful element in human evolution - that is to say, human thought. We offer to it our last homage. This it is which raised man from barbarism and leads him toward the goal of permanent peace. Not one of all those accomplishments which are the glory of civilization is brought to pass unless men have first thought about it. It is in order to provide for this human thinking methods of action more perfect, more rapid and better co-ordinated that the League of Nations should itself exercise thinking. Intellectual labor should have its tools as well as manual labor. Industry has furnished manual workers with tools of prodigious dexterity. Brain workers should be furnished with equal tools in order to multiply their power of production, it may be, tenfold or even one hundred fold. They have told us often in this debate that the world moves with majestic leisure and that nature makes no leaps. But man has made nature his slave, torn her secrets from her, and hastened the pace of civilization to an ever accelerating speed. Steam carries us along like a tornado. Electricity sheds light in floods and sends our words to the antipodes with the speed of lightning and at last conquering space the airplanes will tomorrow carry us to the ends of the earth on wings swifter than eagles. All these tremendous changes we ourselves experienced and we cannot conceive of life without them, and they dare to say that in the matter of moral, economic, social and legal progress we must wait

and be patient! The peoples are tired of waiting. To miracles accomplished must be added other miracles. Those who are in the habit of working these miracles are not skilled in intrigue; they are modest and disinterested laborers. It is the duty of the League of Nations to aid them in their laborious and thankless task. What it ought to do should have been done yesterday. We ask you to do it tomorrow.'

This really eloquent conclusion had rallied a number of hearers and there was a good deal of applause, for so jaded an audience impatient to be off with the head of the resolution. It would probably have been guillotined promptly and neatly, if Mr. Barnes had not made his objections. . . . Mr. Barnes, the English labor representative, a man who had steadily gained throughout the course of the Assembly in the respect of observers for his common sense and tolerance of ideas . . . felt it his duty to object, although he realized, as he said, the unpopularity of taking time from action and oratory for discussion. He objected and it became a duel of labor leaders, for Senator Lafontaine, as we all know, has been elected and re-elected Socialist labor senator, election after election from time out of mind. This was not the least of many ironies of the situation, that here were two leading labor representatives in the Assembly debating the question of the recognition of ideas as a factor in world organization, while Mr. Balfour and scores of delegates distinguished in letters and in oratory either went out or buzzed about among the benches quite indifferent to the battle of ideas.23

23. The English-speaking people seem to have attached the connotation of "high brow" to the word "intellectual," and resent being classed as such. As Professor Gilbert Murray has since pointed out: "The name ('Intellectual Cooperation') has about it something priggish, something that sounds to our prejudiced ears 'Latin and not Anglo-Saxon.' It rouses, until it can explain itself, all the Englishman's instinctive mistrust of abstract ideas." - Murray, Gilbert, "This Inward Bond - The C.I.C.," Interdependence, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 161, Dec. 1931.
He (Mr. Barnes) did so (made his objections) in a speech full of good sense, save for the fact that he mistook Hamlet for the grave-digger; he thought that by "the organization of intellectual work" the resolution meant "the unionization" of intellectual workers. He was hardly to blame, really, for he probably had not followed closely the French speaker, and depended, as many of the British delegates did, chiefly on the English interpreter, while the interpreter, in order to economize time in the last hurry, omitted all that clarifying peroration of M. LaFontaine which has just been quoted. Without this the language might easily have suggested unionizing to one not familiar with the matter of the organization of learning, but familiar with the movement for "self-assertion" and unionizing among authors.

From that point of view his speech was an admirable contribution. 24

The official record of Mr. Barnes' objections to the motion reads as follows:

I am opposed to it in the first place because of the form in which it has been put before you. It is here said that 7,000,000 gold francs have already been given to manual labour, and we are asked, therefore, to give our support in gold francs to intellectual labor. I think it is very unfortunate that a distinction should be drawn between manual and intellectual labor at all. For my part, I think that the technical organizations are the best part, or one of the best parts, of the League of Nations. I believe that they will, to a large extent, attract the mass of mankind to the League in many respects. But you can have too much of a good thing. If and when the time may come when intellectual labor has to be assisted; if and when the time comes there is still a difference between one and the other, then I suggest that that will be the time for considering the natural and logical development of the activities of the Labor Office. I object to it also from the practical point of view. Everyone knows that there has been a great deal done already to assist intellectual labor in many phases of its activity, and if it gets abroad that the League of Nations is going to enter the field and subsidize intellectual labor, there is at least a chance, I think it is more than probable, that

other sources will dry up. Lastly why encourage intellectual labor to come begging at all? It seems to me that the proper course is for intellectual labor to assert itself, as manual labor has done.

... much has already been done in that direction by men of letters. Journalists have now rescued themselves from subservience and dependence and many men of letters are now getting away from the old idea of patronage... I believe that there are two lines of advance, first to help intellectual labor to assert itself, and secondly to help all labor to lift itself from the low plane of animal struggle on to the higher plane of social justice.25

E.C. Richardson, in commenting on Mr. Barnes' address, very appropriately pointed out:

The fact that Mr. Barnes was missing the point between intellectual work and intellectual labor, between organized work and unionized workers had now attracted some amused attention. The President asked the rapporteur for reply. M. La Fontaine reminded Mr. Barnes that both of them represented the working class and explained the misunderstanding in a capital speech which showed all the traits of the trained parliamentary debater. He distinguished the problems, spoke with sympathy and acumen of labor organization and its problems, agreed with Mr. Barnes that if the organization of intellectual workers was in question the Labor Bureau was the place for its attention. 'But,' he said, 'the intellectual organization which I desire to establish is not for this purpose but rather for providing the means by which men of learning of every nation can collaborate and through which the results of this work can be put together and published. What intellectual work requires is facilities: rapid means of information and places of collaboration, where scientists who are conducting researches in the same field may meet one another and where their results can be collected and published. The object of the institution which we wish to see under the aegis of the League of Nations is not the syndicalization of intellectual labor but to give to human thought more force and power. We

    See also, World Peace Foundation, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
hope that the manual laborers themselves, delivered from labor slavery, will have leisure for intellectual work and that by means of this organization they will be saved the immense difficulties which intellectual workers have hitherto had to surmount in order to complete their researches. The point is simply to give facilities for intellectual work of all sorts so that no human brain need find itself without employment. This object is not in opposition to those who seek the amelioration of manual labor conditions. On the contrary, it aims to give this worker when he shall have leisure, himself the chance to share in the magnificent progress of our civilization. It is only when thought has at its disposal a tool suited to its need that humanity will be able to move quickly towards the new era which we hope to see dawn tomorrow.

Mr. Barnes again moved the previous question. It was lost and the resolution was then passed (amid applause) by a rising vote.26

Thus the battle for intellectual cooperation was won on a very modest scale at the First Assembly and thereby was conceived the vast organ which became the League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization. The European delegations in favour of such activity - that is, the Belgian, French, Austrian, Italian, Polish, Spanish, Greek, Roumanian and Swiss delegations - were strongly and decisively supported by almost all the states which were chiefly interested in problems of a universal and general character. Foremost among these were the representatives of the South American republics, whose weight was great in the Assembly and who had long traditions of intellectual exchanges with Western Europe. China and India were also strong supporters of intellectual cooperation.

26. Richardson, op. cit., pp. 54-56.
Mr. Richardson has very ably depicted the emotional setting at the time of the passing of this motion, as viewed by a keenly interested observer. His account vividly narrates that:

The losing and passing was done so rapidly under the skilled driving of M. Hymans that it sounded like a machine gun and it was about as hard to follow as the gun's bullets; but there is one panorama which stands out on the film of memory significant enough to be worth telling. It is impossible to make affidavit that all details of the impression are correct. The movement was so rapid that one could not always be sure that a riser was a voter and no record of votes was kept by which impressions could be cross-checked; but the scene as I saw it was this: the standing vote for the resolution and against Mr. Barnes was called. In the near foreground Da Cunha, first on his feet as well as the foremost of the voters, independent, aggressive, rose and voted Brazil. Belgium in the front row and a little nearer was out of the line of vision but doubtless voting the same way. Beyond Da Cunha, across the aisle, adjacent to the powerful French delegation, rose Wellington Koo, self-possessed, intelligent, always to be counted on for anything human or progressive, and voted China. Just back of him rose the dark modest representative of Haiti who had shown in committee and diffidently on the floor a very sound appreciation of the value of ideas and a level head in expressing his own. Beyond and nearly in the line Paderewski stood up for Poland. Head and hair thrown back, his hands crossed at the wrists, he stood as if asserting Poland's championing of the things of the spirit. That was the picture - Brazil, China, Haiti and Poland each represented by a man of so definite excellence as to command admiration, almost in line, standing for the organization of intellectual work.

Then the vote against the resolution or for Mr. Barnes was called. Mr. Barnes stood up, calm, unshaken, sticking with tenacity to his objection although it had been answered, but withal not aggressive. Then the members of the South African delegation looked around at one another and at Mr. Barnes and someone got up and voted South Africa. Whether it was Canada immediately back of South Africa or New Zealand farther back, which next
looked first at Mr. Barnes, then at South Africa and then got up, it is hard to say; the film was moving too fast, but it was a British vote, and India was out of the line of vision. There were other votes but the total was light, and all that I saw, or seemed to see, was four figures for the international organization of intellectual work - Brazil, China, Haiti, Poland - and three figures against.

So the resolution was passed. It was a diffident resolution. It did not even propose to establish a bureau to organize intellectual work, but only to think about establishing one and report results of thinking. . . . However that may be, the resolution was passed and it is up to the League to think about the matter. By the same token it is up to all those who are interested in organized intellectual work to co-operate in thinking about it.27

It will be noticed that, notwithstanding the allusion to the "educational influence" of the Council and the Assembly of the League, the motion did not propose to create a world educational centre, but only "to bring about the international

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27. Richardson, op. cit., pp. 54-56.
A somewhat different but equally amusing and illuminating description of the passing of the resolution has been penned by the biographer of Lord Balfour, the principal British delegate at the First Assembly. In recounting this incident the biographer wrote:

. . . without previous consultation with one another and with very imperfect understanding of the project they desired to negative, every Delegation from the British Empire proclaimed a terrified "No!" They were defeated, for their only supporter was the Delegate from Cuba. The Committee was set up, and Balfour at a later date paid a handsome tribute to its usefulness. At the moment, however, he welcomed it chiefly as providing a felicitous object-lesson on the kind of proposal that could be reckoned upon to illustrate the solidarity of the British Commonwealth.

organization of intellectual work." Nevertheless, it was on the strength of this motion that the proposal to include education among the activities of the League was later drafted. This amendment came about in Paris some months later at the Palais du Petit-Luxembourg, during the twelfth session of the League Council.

Meanwhile, feeling that the League had taken no really decisive action with regard to the question of intellectual cooperation, the organizations interested in this problem continued their activities by calling upon the League to take more definite action and by submitting numerous plans and schemes to it for approval. For example, M. Luchaire's broad and well-defined scheme for a Draft Convention was considered by the Fourth International Conference of League of Nations Associations held in Milan. It was given the full approval of the Conference early in 1921 and was then forwarded to the League.

The next incident in this important series of events in the birth of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization occurred when the Council of the League, having been requested by the Assembly to study the question and to present a report on the matter to the next session of the Assembly, took up the problem on March 1, 1921. M. Quinones de Leon, the Spanish representative on the Council, was charged with the preparation of the report. In presenting it to the Council for approval he pointed out, by citing Article XXIV of the League's Covenant, that there was no mention in the
Covenant of the relations of the League to what were called voluntary associations of a private character, except the Red Cross organization, but that from the general tone of the Covenant it could be inferred that the League should "exercise its good offices in the interest of all international undertakings contributing to the advancement of good will and mutual understanding among the nations." He also reminded the Council that all its efforts to encourage the activities of private international organizations had been approved by the Assembly and that the efforts in this direction had not been confined to the Union of International Associations alone. He then referred to the fact that the Secretary-General had been "approached by a large number of international associations of different kinds, and though no financial help was ever given, assistance in other forms had been rendered in a most cordial spirit." M. de Leon also made it clear that more and more demands were being made upon the League in this respect and that they could be considered as signs of an increasing faith in the League.

He then turned to the problem of the League's patronization of the International University. Here his only comment was that the University had successfully held its first session, that it had made plans for the holding of another session and that if the Council still viewed the project with approval it could, if it desired, authorize the Secretary-General "to render such assistance to the organizers of the University as lies within his power."
The third point which he drew to the attention of the Council was the fact that it had been invited to prepare, for the next Assembly, a detailed report on "the educational influence which the Union of International Associations had exerted in cultivating the international mind." He reported that much progress had been made in the investigation of this question, that the Secretariat was already in possession of a mass of material furnished by the Union itself and by the members of the Secretariat who were dispatched to the Union from time to time.

Finally M. de Leon came to the fourth point which, in his opinion, was the most important of all. This was the question of the desirability of creating an organization for intellectual labour attached to the League of Nations. If the League were to create such an organization, he pointed out, it would have two possible courses before it: "make the existing Union of International Associations into an organization like the other Technical Organizations and attach it to the League" or "create an entirely new organization." In broaching the fact that there were two choices he added that:

Whichever way is adopted, we are confronted with two very serious considerations — considerations so serious that the Council may hesitate to recommend to the Assembly to pursue the matter at the present time and this notwithstanding the fact that in principle all may agree on the desirability of organizing intellectual labor as recommended in the Resolution. One of these considerations is whether the nations are ready for an enterprise similar to the International Labour Bureau. That Bureau was taken for comparison by the Rapporteur in his report to the second Committee of the Assembly and its establishment has been greatly facilitated by the progress of the organization of Labour in general and by the work of
conciliation which was the principal motive of its creation.

But there is a more immediate difficulty, namely, that of financial support for launching the scheme, not to speak of maintaining it on a scale commensurate with its high purpose. There seemed a general consensus of opinion in the Assembly that the expenses of the League should not be increased. It is true that a current of quite opposite opinion was noticeable, but until it becomes more pronounced it would be safer for the welfare of the League to restrict expenditure to more immediate demands.

The Council is in hearty accord with the fundamental desire that prompted the Resolution, of a close collaboration among the intellectual workers of the world, and is therefore in deep sympathy with the aims of such private associations as the Union of International Associations. It is of the opinion that under present world conditions, intellectual cooperation 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 organize intellectual labour.

The record of the Union of International Associations shows that voluntary efforts can do more in the future. Would it not be a mistaken policy to hinder these voluntary efforts by turning them into an official channel? 28

M. de Leon, in continuing his report, then recommended that the whole question as to the propriety of placing under the direction of the League bureaux "which have more or less a public character but are not established by general treaties" be studied by the Secretariat and its report be submitted to the Council at its next meeting.

During the discussion of the de Leon report it was proposed to establish an international office of education. M.

de Leon expressed his doubts as to whether the nations were ready for a cultural organization similar to the I. L. O.

The French delegate, M. Bourgeois thereupon stated that:

... there was, nevertheless, one question which the League could examine forthwith. The League of Nations Union and other national associations had proposed the establishment of an office of education. The task of this office would be to educate public opinion in the ideals of international co-operation which the League of Nations was upholding. In a recent letter to M. Leon Bourgeois, M. Appell, Rector of the University of Paris, said that M. G. N. Barnes and himself had agreed to support the creation of this office.29

The Belgian delegate, M. Hymans, was evidently surprised at this mission attributed to an office of education. He remarked that to him "the name 'Office of Education' suggested rather the idea of an organization set up for the purpose of collecting all information regarding education in different countries." M. Bourgeois replied that he did not intend in any way to imply that such an institution should not take up this kind of work, but that, in his view, the office of education "should co-operate actively in spreading among the universities and schools the ideals governing the League of Nations and the spirit which should inspire it." M. Hymans did not press his point, but he laid before the Council a recommendation that he had received from the Union of International Associations, which "concerned the summoning by the League of Nations of a conference for the purpose of organizing intellectual work." This recommendation, as well as

the proposal of M. Bourgeois concerning the establishment of an office of education could, he thought, be inserted in the report of M. de Leon. M. de Leon agreed to change his report in accordance with the suggestions of the other members of the Council. He therefore added the following final paragraph:

Before I close my report, I wish to take the opportunity of calling the attention of the Council to two observations that have been made in the course of our discussion. The first relates to a letter received by M. Hymans from the Union of International Associations recommending that an international conference be summoned by the League with the object of organizing intellectual labour; the second relates to the importance of drawing a clear distinction between the International Organization of Intellectual Labour and an International Bureau of Education. M. Bourgeois, who made this second observation, called attention to the proposal of the Association of League Unions in the meeting in Milan and to a letter from M. Appell, Rector of the University of Paris, both recommending the creation of an International Bureau of Education. I would suggest that the Secretariat of the League of Nations be invited to study this subject and report to a subsequent meeting of the Council. 30

The subsequent developments arising out of this report prompt the writer to make a few observations at this point. According to Mr. Bourgeois, the nations appeared "ready" to accept the idea of establishing an international bureau of education rather than the idea of founding an organization for organizing intellectual work. He felt that the League could examine the former proposal "forthwith." Moreover, the de Leon Report, as a whole, distinguished between the

two institutions, intellectual cooperation and education, and placed them on an equal footing.

On the other hand, the reader will have noticed that, from the outset, there was confusion concerning the aim to be assigned to an office of education. For M. Hymans the name suggested "an organization set up for the purpose of collecting all information regarding education in different countries;" M. Bourgeois, while not opposing this interpretation, believed that the task of the office would be "to educate public opinion in the ideals of international cooperation which the League was upholding." According to M. Bourgeois the office of education was to be, in the first place, an organ of propaganda for the ideals of peace and of the League of Nations. Instead of placing itself at the service of educationists, it would ask for their assistance in spreading the principles and the spirit of the League of Nations. For M. Hymans, on the contrary, the office of education would subordinate the interests of the League to those of educational authorities and educationists. These "internationalist" and "technical" conceptions of the functions of an international education office were not new: both had previously inspired, as we have seen in a previous chapter, numerous plans for an international office of education. What was novel was that by being thus opposed in the League discussion, the neutralized each other.

Thus, for financial reasons, for lack of a strong well-organized intellectual cooperation organization, which the
League could take under its wing, for fear of hindering voluntary groups already in the field and because of a lack of agreement between the two ideas for an international office of education, the League Council had seemingly set its face against any proposal for either intellectual cooperation or education. But even though M. de Leon's report was adopted by the Council in March 1921, a different and opposite report was forwarded to the Assembly for approval in September of that year. There are no documents available to explain why the Council virtually reversed its decision between March and September but there is the possibility that lobbyists and pressure groups had had some effect. For example, in Vienna on June 23, 1921, the Chancellor of the Austrian Republic had made public a plan for the organization of intellectual work which had been drawn up by M. Matsch. This action was followed early in 1922 by the presentation of a report on the subject of intellectual cooperation by the President of the Federation of Swiss Intellectual Workers and M. S. Kaidanowsky.

Nothing further was done by the League in this matter, however, until the fourteenth session of the Council, held in Geneva at the temporary offices of the Secretariat of the League, at the time of the Second Assembly. By a curious coincidence the subject was discussed in the very rooms that afterwards became the headquarters of the International Bureau of Education, an inter-governmental, non-League organization, founded in 1925.
On Friday, September 2, 1921, at a private meeting of the Council, M. Bourgeois read a report on the organization of intellectual work. This report stated that the Secretary-General had drawn up two other reports, the first dealing with the work hitherto undertaken by the Union of International Associations, the second being the preamble to the draft resolution recommending that the Assembly should ask the Council to appoint a committee to lay before it in 1922 a report on measures which might be taken by the League for the purpose of facilitating international exchange in the domain of intellectual activity. In proposing that the Council adopt these two supplementary reports M. Bourgeois, with all the force of French rhetoric, said:

They do not, at first sight, come up to our expectations, but on consideration I think that they are more suitable than other and more ambitious schemes.

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 philosophic research. 31

M. Bourgeois then went on to cite examples of what the educational activities of the League might be. All of them concern the "technical" rather than the "internationalist" or "pacifist" aspects of the subject:

It would be unthinkable that the League should endeavour to improve the means of exchange of national 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 members.

For example it is clear to all how much the League would benefit by any new measures which, by establishing a more definite parallelism between the diplomas of the various countries and a more frequent exchange of Chairs between professors of various nationalities, could lead to a more active interchange of teachers and students between nations.

A still greater benefit would result from measures which permitted a more rapid and more accurate communication of all work undertaken simultaneously in the field of scientific research in various parts of the world.

There is no question of detracting from the originality of national workers whose very diversity is essential for the general progress of ideas. On the contrary, the object is to enable each of these national thinkers to develop his ideas with greater force and vitality, by making it possible for him to draw more fully upon the common treasure of knowledge, methods and discoveries. We are, therefore, agreed that 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 connects the nations. But in proportion as we consider this spiritual connection a vital one, we 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 sensibilities.

To avoid all risk of the reproach of interference, a risk which the League would undoubtedly incur if it put forward on its own responsibility a scheme or organization of intellectual activity between nations, the League should request its members to appoint a Committee composed of the persons best qualified to deal with matters of education and science, to draw up a plan of action. . . . It is, then, merely a question of defining,
simplifying and extending the relations already existing; and it is to universities, to the 'savants,' and to the academicians that we must go for information upon the present extent of these relations and upon the immediate needs of their schools, their laboratories and their associations, so that wider access may be provided for the great intellectual currents of the world. 32

The reader will no doubt have noticed that any clear-cut distinction between "the international organization of intellectual work and an international bureau of education," which M. de Leon's report had made, was blurred in the M. Bourgeois report. In the latter education and science were to be referred for study to one committee. Education came first and science second, but that order was reversed when, in the conclusion of his report, M. Bourgeois with the assent of the Council, said:

I propose, therefore . . . that the Council should recommend the following draft resolution for adoption by the Assembly:

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 not more than 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 Office of Education.\textsuperscript{33}

This recommendation to the Second Assembly was not, of course, what had been requested by the Union of International Associations nor what had been pleaded for by the French Association for the League of Nations. Nor was this committee to be a Technical Organization such as the Health Organization of the League or an autonomous organization like the I. L. O. It was to be merely a temporary advisory committee, having no power other than that of offering its advice to the Council and the Assembly of the League.

The reasons for the Council's advocacy of this type of committee rather than that suggested in the resolution endorsed by the First Assembly were enumerated in the latter of the two supplementary reports mentioned above, namely, the report on "The Desirability of Creating a Technical Organization for Intellectual Work." It was submitted by the Secretary-General to the Second Assembly and was meant to be a preamble to the draft resolution submitted to it by M. Bourgeois. The Secretary-General's report stated that:

\begin{quote}
It is one of these forms of activity in which not only from the point of view of the practical services which it may render, but also from the point of view of its own future, the League of Nations cannot remain disinterested. It is an activity which may be called educational - an activity which in every country influences
\end{quote}

intellectually and morally national bodies both of the learned and also of the masses of the people. The League of Nations cannot pursue any of its aims, either the general aims of cooperation as laid down by 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 the last Assembly. It is unanimously of the opinion that the League of Nations should include in its program the coordination of intellectual activity and international co-operation as regards education.

The Council would like to have submitted to the Assembly, at its present meeting, a plan of action based on the methods which have enabled the League to undertake progressive work in other technical fields: but the Council realized that, for the very reason that this field was particularly open to international action and that, in consequence, much private activity and many efforts, on various lines, have been expended upon it, the present situation must above all be well weighed and considered, in order that any action taken by the League may be supplementary to that of bodies already constituted, and that it may not in any way overlap their work.

The first task is therefore one of investigation, and in the draft resolution . . . the Council only asks 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 coming within its competence.34

Thus the Second Assembly now had to consider M. Bourgeois' picture of a Utopia for the intelligentsia and decide whether or not it would agree to the formation, in the interim, of a League committee - a small committee, for this was not to be an expensive luxury - which would make out a program whereby intellectual cooperation might be achieved.

Once again, as in 1914, it seemed as if success were in sight. Although not mentioned, for the first time, "methods of education" were placed, in the intellectual exchange between nations that it proposed to facilitate, on the same level as "scientific information." And one of the first tasks of the proposed commission was to be the examination of the scheme for establishing an international office of education.

But once more the latter scheme was fated to come to naught. The report, with the recommendation regarding the establishment of the world centre for education was indeed unanimously approved by the Council, but Mr. Arthur Balfour, delegate of the British Empire, observed that although he did not desire to oppose the adoption of the report, he "was doubtful whether the machinery of the League of Nations could be usefully employed to further the objects in view."

Unfortunately the Second Assembly was of the same opinion with regard to education. Objections of all kinds were raised when the question was brought before it in 1921. The most striking assertions were that such matters were either the

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exclusive province of each government or of private initiative and that the League could therefore have nothing to do with them.

The Bourgeois resolution was submitted to the Second Assembly first at a meeting of the Fifth-Committee, (Humanitarian Questions) then in a Plenary Session, where it was reported on by Professor Gilbert Murray. It was the Fifth Committee which, at its second meeting, on the 10th of September, 1921, with the Rt. Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, M.P., delegate of Canada, in the Chair, destroyed the hopes aroused by the approval of the de Leon and the Bourgeois reports. Here is the sad story as it figures in the Minutes:

M. Avramovitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene) was of opinion that the present Committee should do more than merely confirm an opinion already expressed in the Council's report. Leaving unprejudiced the final decision, he considered that M. Leon Bourgeois' report should be referred to a Sub-Committee for further consideration, in view of the opinions expressed by the Committee. He submitted that, if the words 'particularly' and 'education' were to be replaced by some different terms, the Committee would be able to accept the proposal unanimously.

After a further exchange of views, the Chairman reminded the Committee that it was now faced with three proposals:

1. That of M. Hennessy: That the Committee should register its approval of the report by M. Leon Bourgeois.
2. That of M. de Yanguas: (a) That the Committee should approve M. Bourgeois' report, and refer to the Committee the study of the questions in connexion with intellectual co-operation. (b) That the present Committee should enumerate, for the benefit of the Committee proposed in M. Bourgeois' resolution, the matters which it considered desirable should be included in the terms of reference of that Committee.
3. That of Mlle. Bonnevie: To refer M. Leon Bourgeois' report, together with the resolution contained in it to the examination of a Subcommittee, which should then make a report upon the subject to the present Committee.

The Chairman asked for the opinion of the Committee as to 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.

The Committee agreed to omit this word.

M. Hennessy's proposal was then carried unanimously in the following terms:

This Committee approves the draft resolution put forward by M. Leon Bourgeois in the name of the Council, namely, the nominating by the Council of a Committee, to consist of not more than twelve members, to examine international questions regarding intellectual cooperation.

Thus the scheme for the international organization of education had once more miscarried. No one has as yet brought to light the reasons for the adoption of so negative an attitude on the part of the Serbian delegate, nor has the reason for the double failure of the scheme been made clear. For it was indeed a double failure, since M. Bourgeois' draft resolution approved unanimously by the Fifth Committee, on September 2, 1921, offered two possibilities: the establishment of an international office of education (last paragraph) and the appointment of a committee to examine international questions regarding intellectual cooperation and education

Both were side-tracked in the re-worded resolution presented to the Second Assembly by its Fifth Committee.

Some individuals, familiar with the procedure of the League, believed that all hope for League activity in the field of education was not lost even then. The result of the Fifth Committee's deliberations had still to come before the Plenary Assembly, whose decisions had to be unanimous. Therefore, if a single delegate opposed the amended resolution, it would not be passed. But such a thing was rarely done: it was customary for the Assembly to adopt in Plenary Session the reports presented by its Committees; delegates who disagreed simply refrained from voting.

An attempt was made, nevertheless, to save education at the last moment. Professor Murray, delegate of South Africa, had been appointed Rapporteur and, at the Plenary Session held on September 21, 1921, he read the report of the Fifth Committee on the international organization of intellectual work. "It will be observed," said Professor Murray, "that the wording is not identical with that of the draft resolution in M. Bourgeois' report. There is both an omission and an addition. The words 'and education' have been omitted after 'intellectual co-operation.' On the other hand, a provision has been added that women should be included on the Committee." (This provision was not mentioned in the motion agreed to by the Fifth Committee.)

Professor Murray did not allude to the schemes for an
international office of education mentioned in the last para-
graph of the draft resolution put forward by M. Bourgeois.
He considered that international action for the coordination
of intellectual work would fall under the following three
heads:

(1) international action for the protection of
the intellectual worker;
(2) international action for the practical advance
of knowledge;
(3) a more remote but fully as important subject, -
international action with a view to the spread-
ing of the international spirit of the con-
sciousness of human brotherhood.

From this he somehow inferred that the League would be inter-
ested in education for peace though not in general education.
"It is obvious," he continued, "that a great work has to be
done, not perhaps by the League, but, on the other hand, not
entirely without the cooperation of the League, in counter-
acting the nationalist tendencies which have invaded education
in almost every country." Professor Murray brought his
report to its conclusion by summing up his previous remarks.
Nationalist education, he said

... is one of the great dangers that lie before
humanity in the future.

It is a great danger if any one nation con-
centrates its intellectual effort and directs the
minds of its young people entirely upon its own
glory and its own interests. That danger is, I
am afraid, in different degrees, quite a real one
in many countries. In fact we do find in most
countries in the ordinary education given that
there is traditionally - not through anybody's
fault, but merely as a result of tradition - an
inculcation into the minds of the young of a some-
what excessive sense of the military glories of that particular country, a somewhat excessive interest in their own wars and their own differences from their neighbours. We find sometimes instilled into the mind the germs of contempt for other nations. That is pure poison, of course, from our point of view. It is not patriotism; it is something we must try, with all tact and caution, in different countries - each in his own country - to eradicate. . . .

In England and America, there has been a great attempt to reconsider the teaching of history in the schools, not so as to falsify history or to carry into execution any form of propaganda, but to bring the idea of the League of Nations into the minds of the teachers and the taught. This is taking place, not only in America and England, but in one form or another in many countries. It may be possible, or not possible, for the League of Nations in some way to take advantage of this movement and give it help. That is the kind of question which this Committee will have to consider. 38

It seems strange that an inter-governmental body, so diffident about doing anything for general education, should have made no objection to these opinions put forward by the Rapporteur, which might have been considered to imply interference in the internal affairs of States jealous of their sovereignty. None of these delegations, who were apparently afraid of an exchange of information on the teaching of grammar or arithmetic, expressed any opposition to possible external interference in the field of the teaching of history thus brought almost for the first time, to the notice of the League of Nations. It is most surprising to find, nonetheless, that Professor Murray's speech, pleading so eloquently and so aptly for the cause of "collective security" or

38. L. of N., Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meetings, 1921, p. 310.
"internationalist" education, or as some have called it "pacifist" education, would serve as a funeral oration for "technical" collaboration in the field of general education.

M. Dante Bellegarde, delegate of one of the smallest countries in the world, the Republic of Haiti, made a last attempt to place the problem once again on its proper basis. And it was one of the paradoxes of that day that a diplomat should defend the broad interests of education in opposition to the much more limited conception of a Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford.

M. Bellegarde boldly reopened the discussion on the suppression of the words "and education" which were in the text of the report originally submitted by M. Bourgeois to the Council of the League. He said:

I should like to have these words re-inserted, because it seems to me that questions of education should hold the foremost place in our efforts. I did not have the pleasure of being present at the discussions of the Fifth Committee, and consequently I do not know what considerations led them to come to that decision, but I have read rapidly the minutes published, and I note that the Committee has been careful to avoid the reproach of intervening in the domestic affairs of nations with regard to education. It appears to me that this is entirely beside the point. What is our object in forming this Committee which will have to deal with all international questions of intellectual cooperation? 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?

There can be no doubt that education tends more and more to become a scientific question. I admit that it is not for the League of Nations to give directions or to prescribe to each State the best methods of education to be adopted, but
it seems to me that it is of capital importance for all the nations to be kept informed of the progress arrived at by the various peoples in the sphere of education. In one of those slightly bombastic formulae at which the disrespectful irony of our age is wont to smile, Victor Hugo said: 'All men are mankind.' The great poet affirmed thereby the universality and permanence of the characteristics of the human soul. It is obvious that methods of education must vary in different States, because all nations are anxious to develop along the lines of their national traditions, but it is none the less true that the human soul is one, and that methods of education which aim at the development of all our faculties may be applied to all men irrespective of nationality. Exchange of information with regard to the efforts made by the various nations in the field of education is undoubtedly of considerable value, and I move, therefore, that the Assembly restore the words 'and education' to the text of the motion before us.

I consider that the words 'and education' which are in the original draft by M. Leon Bourgeois, should be restored because it is extremely important for us, with a view to the formation of that international spirit of which Professor Gilbert Murray has just spoken, that an exchange of information should take place with regard to the pedagogic work carried out all over the world, so that we may arrive at that unity in varied form which we are endeavouring to achieve in this institution.

Professor Gilbert Murray replied:

I think we are in the presence of a slight misunderstanding. I agree, as far as I follow them, with the remarks of the delegate of Haiti, but the Committee left out the word 'education' for one principal motive, and perhaps for a secondary subsidiary motive. The principal motive was that, as we looked at the resolution, some members of the Committee formed the idea rightly or wrongly, that the resolution in that form might possibly convey the impression that the League of Nations wanted to map out a scheme of education and impose it on the different nations. We all felt that that would be a perfectly untenable

39. The translation given in the minutes is not very felicitous. Victor Hugo said: "Tous les hommes sont l'homme."
proposition, and a thing to which we did not wish to give cognisance. Some of the Committee then considered whether, if we left out the word 'education' the League might be taken as having no interest in the improvement of educational methods, or in the sort of movement I dwelt upon just now, going on in England and America, of trying to get the League of Nations into our text-books, and trying to remove some of the military enthusiasm from our text-books. Of course, we wanted to include that possible action, and if educational improvement is thought out in some countries, we should be very glad that it should be considered in other countries. Then the people who felt that the League of Nations might take some cognisance of education considered, I think quite rightly, that the very broad phrase 'cooperation in intellectual work' certainly included education among its other activities, and that if the Committee emphasised education, it might seem as if we wanted the League to interfere in educational systems. That we entirely laid on one side. With all the other ideas suggested by M. Bellegarde the Committee would be in sympathy, and I venture to ask him, after that explanation, if he will withdraw his amendment.

M. Bellegarde replied:

In view of the explanation furnished by Professor Murray, I do not insist that my motion should be discussed and put to the Assembly. It is understood, nevertheless, that education considered as 'a science' should be added to the list of questions submitted to the expert Committee.

Assent was given by Professor Murray to the interpretation of the motion before the Assembly whereby "education considered as a science should be added to the list of questions submitted to the expert Committee." He then moved the adoption of the resolution as amended and a few minutes later the following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Second Assembly of the League of Nations:
The Assembly approves the draft resolution put forward by M. Leon Bourgeois in the name of the Council, namely, the nomination by the Council of a Committee to examine international questions regarding intellectual cooperation, this Committee to consist of not more than twelve members and to contain both men and women.40

Professor Murray was indeed right when he said that, in the amended form of the resolution there were both an omission and an addition. But by an irony of fate — when we consider the efforts made, both up to 1914 and in 1919, by women on behalf of an official international bureau of education — the word "women" in 1921 took the place of the word "education" in the document that registered the birth of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

The adoption of this resolution marked the official entry of the League, in its own right, into the field of cultural relations and intellectual cooperation. As for education, having gained a reluctant foothold on the attention of the League through the broad term intellectual cooperation, it remained for many years only by implication in the League's program.

At the following Assembly, in 1922, Mr. Tcheou-Wie, delegate of China, submitted the following resolution:


See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Second Session," O.J.S.S., no. 6, p. 34, Oct. 1921.

The second amendment, providing for the admission of women to membership on the Committee, had ostensibly been included in accordance with Article VII, Section 3 of the League Covenant which provided that "All functions of the League or organizations attached to it are open to women."
In view of the importance of moral education, of the successful results of the last session of the International Congress on Moral Education, held at Geneva in 1922, and of the resolution adopted by that Congress for the creation of a permanent international office of moral education, the Third Assembly of the League of Nations instructs the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to give a favourable hearing to any proposals which may be made to it by the . . . Executive Committee and Organization Committee of the above-mentioned Congress, with a view to intellectual cooperation.41

M. Avramovitch, a representative of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, replying to the Chinese delegate, reminded him that . . . the educational question which he had raised had already been dealt with last year, and that on the suggestion of M. Leon Bourgeois, the Assembly had decided that it would be wise to make no mention of education within the League of Nations, as this question was exclusively one of a national Character.42

And, in 1925, when the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation was founded in Paris, one of the most influential members of the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Professor Gonzague de Reynold, wrote in the Journal de Genève, of May 29, 1925:

The Institute will have a modest beginning, its activity will never go beyond certain limits; it will not interfere in realms that do not concern it - we refer to matters relating to schools, which are so delicate and so closely connected with the sovereignty of States, with the internal affairs of nations and with the home life of the people.43

41. L. of N., Records of the Third Assembly, Plenary Meetings, 1922, p. 324.
42. Loc. cit.
43. p. 3.
Thus, the world after the last war not prepared to understand that the issue was not "one of interfering with the right of each nation to organize and conduct its educational system in its own way, but of keeping the world informed about the major aims which each nation seeks to achieve through education." 44

Intellectual Cooperation, not being so thorny a subject, fared somewhat better, however, than education. Following the discussion of the Second Assembly the Secretary-General was instructed by the Council to prepare a list of world-renowned personalities composed entirely of the names of persons chosen for their individual eminence in the world of thought. The object of the League was to summon to its councils a carefully selected group of the best thinkers of the age drawn from the chief intellectual disciplines. Since "it was of the utmost importance that all candidates should be of the highest standing," 45 the Secretary-General took several months to submit names to the members of the Council for suggestions and additions.

Finally, on January 14, 1922, the Council decided to set up the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and on


46. Loc. cit.

47. Henceforth referred to in this study as the C.I.C.

May 15, 1922, it decided to send invitations to eleven individuals of especial competence in different branches of the sciences and letters, as well as in matters of international intellectual organization, asking them to form a part of this new Committee.

Thus it came about that in August 1922 there met in one of the rooms of the Secretariat a committee of unusual and striking composition. There was an Indian who was a Professor of Political Economy at Calcutta, M. D. N. Bannerjea; there was a Norwegian lady who was a most distinguished zoologist at the University of Christiania and the Norwegian delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, Mlle. Bonnevie; there was the American Director of the Mount Wilson Observatory, Dr. Ellery Hale; there was the Professor of Greek Philology at Oxford and delegate for the Union of South Africa at the League Assembly, Professor Gilbert Murray. M. Henri Bergson, the noted French philosopher of the élan vital was present, as was the Director of the Medical Faculty of the University of Rio de Janeiro, M. de Castro. M. Jules Destree, formerly Minister of Science and Fine Arts in the Belgian Government; M. Gonzague de Reynold, Professor of French Literature at Berne University; M. F. Ruffini, Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at Turin, formerly Italian Minister of Education and President of the Union of Associations for the League of Nations; Senor de Torres Quevedo, Director of the Electro-Mechanical Laboratory at Madrid, were also in attendance as members. The world-renowned Mme. Curie-Sklodowska and Albert Einstein had also been chosen as members. Pro-
fessor Einstein, however, was unable to attend this first meeting since he was at the time on a scientific mission in Japan. A technical councillor representing the International Labour Office, M. Martin, was also invited to attend.

While an analysis of the composition of the C.I.C. and the qualifications of its original members will be considered at some length in a later chapter of this work, it is important to note that the Committee, from its beginning, had members who were nationals of states, not members of the League (Germany was not a member of the League until 1926 and Professor Einstein was a citizen of Germany; similarly Professor Hale was a citizen of the United States which never did become a member of the League).

Such, then, was the Committee out of which there grew, in a period of six years, the Intellectual Cooperation Organization. Stemming from this purely advisory Committee, appointed to act only temporarily, there came in time the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, the International Institute of Educational Cinematography in Rome, the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat and over forty National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in countries in every part of the world.

How this organization developed, how it functioned and what it accomplished will be discussed in the pages that follow.

48. In 1924, with two other members, he was again named to the Committee.

CHAPTER V

The Making of a Program of Work
and the Growth in Functions
of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization

The League of Nations, having taken cognizance of the
great need for organized intellectual cooperation and desir­
ing to allot a place in its organization to activities in
this sphere had, in 1922, at last appointed a Committee "to
examine international questions regarding intellectual co­
operation." But it was evident from the Committee's terms
of reference that few of the delegates who had signified
their approval of the appointment of the Committee were cer­
tain as to precisely what duties it was to perform. The
numerous conflicting reports and recommendations, approved and
amended by the Council, the Committees of the Assembly and the
Plenary Sessions had, in all probability, confused most of
them and left them without any clear picture of the subject
whatever.

No doubt, too, most of the delegates returned home with
the idea in their minds that, as M. Hanotaux expressed it in
his report to the Council:

La Commission s'occupera de toutes les
questions de co-opération intellectuelle.¹

Consequently, it was not long after its appointment that there
arose considerable discussion in various countries as to the
Committee's practical value. The question was legitimately

¹ L. of N., "Minutes of the Sixteenth Session of the
p. 175, Feb. 1922.
asked in many quarters: how could the League, as a creation of Governments attempting to apply the methods of collaboration to the study of problems that concerned it as a whole, create and establish bonds of union with or between intellectuals through its newly created Committee? It seemed to many, especially to a number of delegates and officials of governments, that it would be nothing more than a Utopian scheme or a waste of time to attempt the translation of such vague notions into an administrative organization of any kind.

In addition, the fear was emphatically expressed that the League ran both the danger of dealing with secondary problems and of encroaching on areas that lay within the exclusive competence of individual governments. As a result, even the most convinced internationalists of the day were obliged to pay at least lip-service to the strong official sentiment against any shadow of super-government, which was, of course, a very illusory apprehension in view of the real powers of the League.

Thus from the outset the Committee was deprived of the support which was so essential to it in order to secure the full cooperation of subsequent gatherings of the Assembly and the Council. Instead, as a result of this lack of understanding, some delegations to the Assembly, notably those from the British Commonwealth, were later unwilling to assign to the Committee sufficient funds to enable it to engage in a thorough preliminary exploration of the field.

In addition to the serious handicaps of not having the
full moral and financial support of the League and most of its Member Governments, the C.I.C., even before it first met, was deprived of the whole-hearted support and the experience of the Union of International Associations. For the Union, having been unable in the preceding years to receive the patronage of the League and adequate financial assistance from the Belgian Government, was itself now in the process of disintegration. The Union was, nevertheless, still the only body that comprised really active official and non-official member organizations dealing with topics of an intellectual nature in the various countries. The passage of several years was necessary, however, before the disappointment and chagrin felt by the Union's founders and supporting members, resulting from the diffident attitude taken by the League Council, were sufficiently overcome to permit them to cooperate with the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Hence the scholars who accepted the Council's invitation to become members of its Committee on Intellectual Cooperation were at first compelled to cope, virtually unaided, with the problems of the vast area assigned to them.

Considering the League's parsimony and the Committee's additional lack of support, both from organized bodies in the intellectual world and from League Members, it was not unnatural that the C.I.C., and the League which sponsored it, conspicuously failed, in the first few years of its existence, to build up a solid intellectual cooperation organization or even to formulate precise guiding principles upon which the Committee could properly function.
The C.I.C. began its labours at Geneva, August 1-5, 1922. Its first act was to elect Professor Bergson as its Chairman and Professor Murray as its Vice-Chairman. After assuming the Chair, Professor Bergson welcomed the gathering of representative intellectuals to the work they had come to undertake. The Committee then proceeded to make a preliminary survey of the possible scope of its work.

The members knew, to some extent, what was desired of them by the League, first, from the report submitted by M. Bourgeois to the Council and the Assembly, and secondly, from the report which their Vice-Chairman, Professor Murray, had submitted to the Second League Assembly. The latter report—given while Professor Murray was acting as the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, had stressed the moral aspects of the work:

... the future of the League of Nations depends on the formation of a universal conscience. This can only be created and developed if the scholars, thinkers and 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.

Stemming from these two reports, the Committee, from one point of view, may be considered to have had two immediate tasks to perform: first, to examine the possibility of setting up a Technical Organization of the League to deal with intellectual cooperation and secondly, to consider the


schemes for the creation of an international office of education. Considering the Committee's final terms of reference, and the Assembly debate preceding its appointment, on the other hand, it could legitimately be claimed that the performance of neither of these duties was expected of the Committee but that it was merely to "advise the Council on any further matters referred to it."

Fortunately, the Committee was practically absolved from the need for deciding between these widely divergent, though not necessarily conflicting duties, by the League Secretariat, which, in May 1922, a few months before the Committee first met, had formulated and published in the official Monthly Summary a draft program for the Committee. The Monthly Summary stated that:

While it is impossible to foresee the exact detailed programme of its studies, the discussions which have already taken place in the Assembly and the Council indicate the three following general lines of consideration:

1. The possibility of encouraging and perfecting the international organization of scientific research, especially in taking into account efforts made to the same end by different associations.

2. International relations between universities, the means of exchanging professors and students, the different proposals for organizing an international university. 4 

3. International organization of bibliography and the exchange of scientific publications, questions which are of special interest to countries of low exchange rates and distant from great intellectual centres. 5

4. Both the League Council and the Assembly had expressed their approval of the International University which was already in operation at Brussels in 1920 and 1921.

The Committee had to consider, in addition, some fifty proposals and recommendations submitted by its members and, through the League Council, by governments, international and national associations, academies, etc. How multitudinous and how heterogeneous these proposals proved to be can be seen by anyone who so much as glances through the Minutes, or even the indices to the Minutes, of the first ten sessions of the Committee, in the period 1922 to 1929. Indeed the Chairman, Professor Bergson, had correctly observed that the number of questions which could be addressed to the Committee was practically unlimited. Hence the Committee received a further admonition from Professor Bergson that it should work for practical ends and withstand the temptation of formulating "platonic resolutions."

Despite the many handicaps and the embarrassing range of choice, the Committee was remarkably quick in singling out spheres in which it felt it could do effective work. It selected certain of the proposals for immediate examination, either because of their urgency or because they appeared more realizable in the near future in that, by their very nature, they seemed to offer opportunities for relatively easy and rapid settlement. Other problems, though important and interesting, were, the Committee held, beyond its limited means and hence it could do nothing to immediately facilitate or expedite their solution. Among the latter were a certain


7. As we shall later see, however, the Committee was not entirely faithful in following this lead, even though a desire for clarity of purpose and method appears in all the reports and minutes that record its work.
number of schemes designed to further organized cooperation between universities and university professors and students. There were, for example, proposals for an International University Congress and the formal association of the International University with the League. Unfortunately the Committee felt obliged to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the majority of these schemes and proposals made and to confine itself to recommendations of a less ambitious nature.

Similarly, when a plan to include education in its program was proposed, some of its members and many others outside its membership felt that the implementing of such plans would amount almost to interference with freedom of thought and religion, and would constitute clear proof of the "intentions of the advance guard of the League to create a centralized super-state. This criticism was, of course, directed equally against the other technical activities of the League. But the cumulative force of these adverse comments, evoked by previous public discussions, was sufficient to keep the C.I.C. from even enquiring into the matter.

There were, however, two negative and limiting principles of action upon which all the members of the Committee were in agreement. They decided once and for all that it would be sufficient for them to try to supplement the existing cooperating bodies throughout the world; and that, in consequence, they would not endeavour to substitute their own action for what was already going on, but would, instead, establish as
much collaboration as possible with these organs. The Committee further agreed to respect the genius of the various nations by relying in the main upon the scientific and cultural apparatus already in existence in each country. For it felt that only by this means could the concepts of nationalism and national sovereignty be adequately recognized and taken into consideration as potent forces which could either aid or hinder the harmonious development of the world community.

After five days of discussion the Committee prepared the following program of work, drawn up in the form of a report and presented to the Third Assembly:

1. Institution of a general inquiry into the conditions of intellectual life.
2. Examination of the problems of assistance to nations whose intellectual life is especially endangered.
3. Study of questions of intellectual property and the appointment of a sub-committee for this purpose.
4. Study of University cooperation and appointment of a sub-committee for this purpose.
5. Study of bibliographical questions and appointment of a sub-committee for this purpose.

This report further pointed out that the three Sub-Committees had been formed in order to supervise the work undertaken and to avoid the necessity of calling together the full Committee too frequently, and this, the report made abundantly clear, would be a saving of expense. (The note of apology here is significant, indicating that the C.I.C. was already aware of the fact that the Assembly was clearly unwilling to vote more

than a very nominal sum for this department of its work, for it doubted that anything valuable could be done in this direction.)

A dramatic though none too realistic resume of the work of this first session of the Committee and the atmosphere in which it laboured was given in the words pronounced by its Chairman at the close of its last sitting:

To sum up: the result of our deliberations is that the object of our discussions is clearly defined, that there are a great number of questions to settle, and that there are very definite methods of settling them.

I think that we shall all agree to transmit, before separating, some kind of message to the League of Nations, and to tell it, on behalf of the intellectual workers of the whole world, whom we are supposed to represent here, that we consider that it has conceived a fine and noble idea, that we have done everything in our power to realise this idea, and that, after profound study of the question before us, we have arrived at the conclusion that the idea is certainly and entirely realisable.

The Third Assembly, in September of the same year, after discussion in Committee and in Plenary Session, pronounced its approval on the work of the C.I.C. At the same time it approved the C.I.C.'s recommendations regarding the possibility of international initiative in favour of a rapid and more complete distribution of scientific information, the ensuring of better cooperation in research and the protection of intellectual proprietary rights. The Assembly approved, as well, of the investigations undertaken by the C.I.C. regarding the

material situation of intellectual workers in different countries and of the C.I.C.'s proposal for assistance to those nations whose intellectual life was especially endangered. It was not, however, until the Rapporteur to the Assembly had stated:

The Committee's action in this domain should in no wise duplicate or replace that of private and semi-official organizations for the development of international scientific relations, for inter-university intercourse or that of learned bodies. The task of the Committee should be co-ordination of these bodies and the organization of international co-operation . . . 10

that the Assembly agreed to provide the material resources necessary for the accomplishment of these most urgent tasks. The Assembly thereby indicated both its agreement with and its insistence upon one of the basic principles of operation for the Committee, to which the Committee itself had already decided to adhere.

It will be noted that in the report of the C.I.C. and in the decisions of the Assembly thereon there was no mention or expression of approval for any effort on the part of the C.I.C. in the broader and more lofty field of moral education. Indeed, owing chiefly to British skepticism of the wisdom of extending the League's activities to the study of theoretical conceptions of international peace, which, it was feared, might preoccupy the labours of the C.I.C., the Assembly, in the first years of the Committee's history, did not see fit to have it function as an institution seeking to create the "international mind." Thus despite the appeals of Professor

Murray, himself an Englishman, on behalf of such educational tasks, the duties of the Committee were limited, temporarily, to those intellectual pursuits which were furthest removed from politics, to the more technical aspects of intellectual cooperation, to the extension and organization of contacts among intellectuals. This policy was in line with the other projects which the League was undertaking at this early stage of its career.

This period of limited functions covered the years 1923 to 1925, and in it were initiated schemes for inter-university cooperation; the creation of an International Office of University Information; plans for cooperation in the unification of scientific terminology; work on analytical abstracts and a bibliography of the physical sciences; the first attempts at cooperation between the great libraries of the world, and the outlines of a program of action in the field of archaeology and the history of art.

Gradually, however, a mass of new proposals almost overwhelmed the Committee. There was the cinema: could it not be directed by international effort to more educational and artistic purposes? There were museums and libraries: how little one country knew about another's treasures - might not further collaboration here be fruitful? There was the radio, a new power to educate and influence public opinion: surely it was important to make it a means of real enlightenment?

There were also many barriers to be gradually removed in order to enable scientists to follow each other's methods, classifications and technique, as well as other barriers keeping the universities of the world all too separate one from another. And then there was the question of "internationalist" education. Surely one task of the Committee should have been to permeate the schools and universities of the world with the new international spirit? And here we come at last to that part of the Committee's work which was inspired with more eagerness than any other and with which we must now deal at greater length.

During the formative period, from 1920 to 1925, the League of Nations had chiefly sought to base the relations between its members on respect for legal rules. But many of its protagonists felt that agreements, treaties and other instruments were living organisms and must produce definite results if they were to perform any function whatever. This naturally assumed the existence of a number of favourable conditions; for without these conditions, the best framed agreement became a dead letter. And as long as nations were harried by distrust and paralyzed by fear of one another enduring peace was unlikely. Many League supporters believed that there could be no building for peace if in the international world there were no generally accepted moral and ethical standards to restrain conduct and if the observation of treaties was regarded as a matter of mere expediency. For in international life as in a family, civic and national life,
the maintenance and the progress of civilization depended upon accepted moral standards. Security and happiness in the world, as in the home, depended upon the restraints that were born of spiritual, i.e. moral and ethical, concepts. As Henri Bonnet said: "Peace must be founded on a community of ideas and faith, and a real spiritual affinity must permeate the relationships between nations." Consequently a number of Members of the League became anxious that the young should be educated in the cause of peace and should become familiar with the principles and work of the League.

The subject of the instruction of youth in the existence and aims of the League was pointedly brought before the League Assembly of 1923 by Dame Edith Lyttleton, of the British delegation. In the same year the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly, M. Jacques Bardoux of France, in submitting his report on Intellectual Cooperation to the Assembly made this whole matter indelibly clear when he said:

The League of Nations has created an Intellectual Committee - Why? Is it only with the hope that foreign languages will be learned and scientific books exchanged, boy scouts well-received? I think that the League pursues a further objective. International conflicts are not always and only brought about by economic interests. Memory, a theory, a word, weigh sometimes on a Government's decision as heavily as tons of steel and shipyards of ammunition.

There is the problem of industrial markets but what about the problem of human misunderstanding? Thought, like industry, is a force that makes for peace, but may lead towards war. An economic nationalism may refuse to share and may dream of dominating, but cannot an intellectual nationalism refuse to understand and dream of isolation? Slowly, carefully, we must arrive at some kind of equilibrium and harmony between clashing minds, as between clashing interests. How? By mutual help and by interpenetration.

This is the unanimous belief of the Fifth Committee.14

Taking heed of these demands the Fourth Assembly passed a resolution which urged

... the Governments of the States Members to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries ... be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.15

The matter was not allowed to drop. The Assembly of the following year instructed the Secretariat to investigate the action which was being taken, to investigate the means by which efforts to promote contact, and to educate the youth of all countries in the ideals of world peace and solidarity could be further developed and coordinated, and to submit a report thereon to the Assembly of 1925. (In the same year M. Lugones had laid certain proposals before the C.I.C. with a view to bringing education more into harmony with the spirit of the League of Nations - the Committee had decided


to consider these proposals. ) The enquiry, undertaken in 1925 by the Secretary-General and other members of the Secretariat, indicated that instruction of this nature was already being given in several countries, and that many private organizations favoured the teaching of the principles of international collaboration in the schools.

Up to this juncture the League had not referred the problem to any permanent technical body. In 1925, however, the Assembly decided to take another step in the furtherance of its policy and to call upon the C.I.C. The Assembly did not, on the other hand, feel that it could leave the question solely in the hands of that Committee and it therefore required the Secretariat to continue part of the work involved.

To that end the Assembly passed the following resolution:

The Assembly notes with satisfaction that most of the States Members of the League have acted on the resolutions adopted by the Fifth Assembly on the subject of the instruction of youth in the ideals of the League of Nations and the encouragement of contact between young people of different nationalities. It expresses


The reports included: (1) a summary of the information supplied by Governments and by non-official organizations as to what had been done to make known the work of the League of Nations and to disseminate the ideal of international cooperation; (2) information supplied by Governments and non-official organizations regarding what was being done to promote contact between young people of different nationalities.
its satisfaction with the report prepared by the Secretary-General on this subject and considers that the report should be regarded as a first stage.

It therefore invites the Council:

(a) To consider the possibility of requesting all States Members of the League of Nations and non-Member States to keep the Secretary-General informed of the progress made in their respective countries as regards the various points mentioned in the report, and to forward to the Secretary-General all publications on this subject as soon as they appear.

(b) To instruct the Secretary-General to collect the information mentioned above. This information should be communicated from time to time to States Members of the League and to other States interested in the question.

(c) To forward the Secretary-General's report, together with the proposals submitted by the Chilean, Haitian, Polish and Uruguayan delegations, to the C.I.C. and

18. The Chilean delegation had proposed a study of the desirability of convening "a conference of school teachers to study the best means for creating a spirit of world fraternity in the schools."

19. The Haitian resolution read: "With a view to moral disarmament, the League of Nations invites its Members to undertake as far as possible the revision of their history manuals so as gradually to reduce the number of pages devoted to military events and especially those passages in which wars of conquest are justified and held up for admiration."

20. The Polish proposal suggested that the League should "consider the question of spreading universally the works of great literary and artistic value of all nations whose spirit corresponds to the principles and aims of the League of Nations."

21. The Uruguayan delegation proposed the appointment of "a qualified person or persons to prepare documents for use as models or examples for the guidance of members of the teaching profession in explaining the organization, the aims, and the work of the League of Nations."
to request it to consider the possibility of summoning a sub-committee of experts to consider the best methods of co-ordinating all official and non-official efforts designed to familiarize young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations and to train the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.22

From the above it may be seen that the C.I.C. was asked by the League itself to consider the most appropriate methods of coordinating official and private enterprise in this realm; that it was to the representatives of intellectual life that the League turned for a definition of principles that could remove the deep-seated misunderstandings between peoples and mark out a path for the future. And once the C.I.C. endorsed the proposal, as it immediately did, it began to enlarge the scope of its activities accordingly. It could no longer aim merely at the promotion of direct cooperation between representatives of intellectual life, that is, limit its duties to liaison work. Nor could it continue to take refuge in specialization alone and rest satisfied with fulfilling the task of providing experts with technical equipment. It now had to enlist, for international ends, the support of leading thinkers, to create a "league of Minds" to use the expression of Paul Valery.

Thus, after 1925 the work of the C.I.C. was increased by tremendous proportions. And its members applied themselves with such vigour to the fulfillment of their constantly...
growing functions that the Committee was never accused of inactivity. On the contrary, as we shall see, by 1929, its labours had become so numerous that it was laid open to the accusation of unduly diffusing its energies. And indeed, by that time the Committee's activities had, in growing up "in an empirical manner as and when problems arose," become complex to an excess. Consequently in 1929 it was decided that the time had come for a systematic survey of the C.I.C.'s program, work and organization and a Committee of Enquiry was convened for this purpose.

The report of the Committee of Enquiry outlined in detail the program and methods of work for the C.I.C. and the order for carrying them out. Included in the report was a statement of the scope and aims of the Organization, which has already been cited in part, in the first chapter of this work but is worthy of repetition in full here:

The object of intellectual cooperation is international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilization 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 Nations.

The activity of the League of Nations in the form of intellectual cooperation aims at the promotion of collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort, in order


24. See Appendix XIV, vol. , pp. , of this study for a summary of the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry.
to promote the spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace. 25

It was at this time, too, that the C.I.C. and all its subsidiary bodies were given the title of Intellectual Cooperation Organization to denote the whole structure.

In the last seven years of its existence, during the period 1933 to 1939, despite the fact that the world's economic and political situation became increasingly worse, the C.I.C. continued to enlarge its activities. Its work for the schools deepened in its content. It turned somewhat from its concentration on teaching about the League of Nations to focus attention on the kind of teaching which would help young people to realize that history is a unit and the world a neighbourhood. And, in order to do this, it began to build bridges between official departments concerned with higher education. Soon it began, at times in cooperation with the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, to deal with possible methods of coordinating Secondary Education.


See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Eleventh Session," O.J.S.S., no. 83, p. 21, 1930.


The League's Intellectual Cooperation Organization will, in the pages that follow, be abbreviated as the I.C.O.
A still further extension of the Committee's functions occurred when, as a result of the depression, scholars, statesmen and the public of the various nations became more seriously concerned than ever before with the organization of international life, the relations between nations, and the interchanges that should take place between them. It was felt that a satisfactory solution to these problems would give the public the assurance that civilization would continue to develop in a state of assured peace and the sentiment of the moral unity of the world would be strengthened thereby. The common ambition to go further in the direction of linking together all the social sciences in the study of international problems was summed up by the American member of the Committee, Professor James T. Shotwell, who outlined a plan which would have led to the establishment of a department of the Organization entrusted with the task of promoting and facilitating international cooperation in the whole field of the social sciences. Resolutions giving effect to these proposals were adopted in 1933 by both the Assembly and the Council of the League. Consequently the Organization began to develop projects for the study of economic, political and financial relations between nations. And, forming as it did, part of the general international system based on the League, and yet being relatively free from political preoccupations, the I.C.O. was able to make increasing use of its contacts with the world of learning in order to secure the objective and disinterested consideration of these various problems with
which the League itself was dealing from a different aspect.

Viewing all the increments in the Organization's scope in retrospect, it will be noticed that it attempted to remain true to the principles that the C.I.C. had laid down for itself in 1922: respect for the genius of the various nations and reliance on the scientific and cultural apparatus already existing in each country.

In 1938, when the short history of the I.C.O. was drawing to a close, and as the cataclysm of war prepared to descend upon the world, M. de Reynold, a member of the Organization throughout its history, further elaborated these sound points when he enunciated four basic principles upon which the Organization operated:

First Principle: The Organization has been established to serve intellectual life.

Second Principle: The establishment of the Organization on a solid national basis.

Third Principle: To respect the diversity and originality of all forms of culture and all aspects of civilization.

Fourth Principle: The supreme aim of the Organization is universality.

In commenting on the above principles M. de Reynold pointed out that:


See also, Appendix I , vol. , pp. of this study for the full text of M. de Reynold's Four Principles.
The Council . . . asked us to study three questions - the renewal of exchanges between universities; the renewal of exchanges between libraries, and the international organization of scientific documentation; and, finally, the renewal and organization of scientific congresses. Anything that we have added to the original programme - such as assistance to countries where intellectual life was specially endangered, and the whole question of intellectual rights - only represents a wider application of the same principle. To serve intellectual life is to show it the utility and efficiency of the League of Nations. Such indirect propaganda is, indeed, more convincing than the direct method, because its arguments are its achievements themselves.

True we have not disregarded the direct method; none the less, experience and the force of circumstances have turned us back to the indirect method.28

With these signposts to indicate the directions and goals of the organization's labours we must now turn to a discussion of where and how the I.C.O. fitted into the League edifice and what the Organization's machinery for carrying out its functions comprised.

CHAPTER VI
The Intellectual Cooperation Organization as a Part of the Structure of the League of Nations

Although many of the questions arising out of the Treaties of Peace were reserved for investigation and decision by non-League bodies, the League of Nations, from the time of its foundation, was entrusted with the responsibility of seeking for the solution of numerous, pressing, international political, economic, financial and social problems. The League Council and Assembly accordingly set up appropriate committees to deal with these questions. The various governments, nevertheless, retained the ultimate power and responsibility. And, being fearful lest the sovereignty of the Great Powers might be in some way infringed upon, the framers of the League Covenant, while granting the League considerable freedom in the development of its system of committees, in the drawing up of their programs and in providing their secretariat, had thrust upon the Council the burden of approving all appointments of any importance, of ratifying every promotion in the League Organizations and the Secretariat, and of scrutinizing, in theory at least, every detail of League activity. In addition to these safeguards, the Great Powers represented on the League Council, in delimiting the terms of reference of the various League committees, made certain that all of them were, essentially and constitutionally, advisory in capacity, their basic function being to
advise the Council and the Assembly of the League rather than to take action on their own account.

Thus while on the one hand the League committees were not able to act on their own account, on the other hand the League Council was too pre-occupied with a growing accumulation of urgent political issues and other items of business awaiting

1. Thus, for example, the duties of the various "technical" committees of the League, as delimited by the First Assembly, which set them up, were restricted to: "... facilitating the task of the Assembly and the Council by the setting up of technical sections on the one hand and on the other to assist Members of the League, by establishing direct contact between their technical representatives in the various spheres, to fulfill their international duties. With this double object, they must keep enough independence and flexibility to make their effectivity useful to the Members of the League, and yet they must remain under the control of the responsible organizations which conduct the general business of the League" (i.e., the Council, Assembly and Secretariat of the League). - L. of N., Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings, 1920, p. 71.

The First Assembly, furthermore, put forward the following principles to guide the work of the "technical committees."

a. The interior working of the various organizations should be independent.

They will prepare their own agenda, and communicate it to the Council of the League before discussion thereon takes place. In exceptional cases in which it is necessary to add to the agenda during the progress of a conference of a technical organization, and time does not admit of the communication of the additional item to the Council, any decision arrived at thereon shall be provisional only until the Council has had an opportunity of exercising its control.

b. Their relations with the Members of the League should be under control.

Before any communication of the results or proposals of the technical organizations is made to the Members, and before any action concerning a Member is taken, the Council of the League must be immediately informed in order that they may be able to exercise their power of control, if necessary . . . .

The technical organization may, however, request that the decision taken by the Council shall be discussed at the next meeting of the Assembly. - L. of N., Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings, 1920, p. 74.
its consideration, to be able to take prompt action.

It was soon found, therefore, that in operation the League machinery for technical cooperation — the very machinery which was meant to enable the Governments to consider jointly specific problems which required and were capable of international solution — acted as though a brake were being applied to it.

The League also found that mere negotiation and the adoption of conventions by diplomats were patently insufficient for the solution of problems requiring immediate action. For, by the time these matters were dealt with by general Assemblies in which each country was represented, or by official committees composed of delegates acting under instruction, the situation would become so changed that the action decided on, if implemented, would prove useless or unnecessary. Indeed, in such matters as international finance and trade, or maritime, land and river communications, for example, a relaxation of the rule whereby decisions were made solely by Assemblies or official committees of delegates acting on the Conference level, became imperative.

Eventually, therefore, it was agreed that if the League's technical functions were to be fulfilled, the League committees would have to assume somewhat more than purely advisory capacities and would have to be more than mere means of liaison between government departments. Thus it was not long


after their formation that each one of these organizations began to manifest tendencies of increasing independence. In fact, in the first ten years of the League's existence, due to the Council's political preoccupations, any change in the constitution of a League committee had the general effect of stressing this tendency.

In addition, many of the League's committees gradually came to be not merely groups of national delegates but assemblies of experts, appointed by the League Council to administer and direct work in certain technical fields. These administrative and secretarial bodies were not meant to replace the great national institutions, but rather, to provide, whenever possible, for contact and regular exchanges between them, that is, to function at the international than the supra-national level. Thus there was both a formal recognition of national sovereignty and a tacit recognition of the fact that the concept of unlimited national sovereignty was untenable in the modern world. In effect, then, the principle upon which the League's committees worked was to secure a reconciliation of nationalism and internationalism, i.e., the harmonious development of the world community without depriving it of the contributions of the individual nations. Thus in practice it developed that the League had


not created committees which were ephemeral, provisional or
dependent but rather, ones which were, in a good measure,
international permanent and autonomous.

The expert committees, appointed by the Council and desig­
nated as the "Technical Committees" of the League, eventually
included the Communications and Transit Committee, the Economic
Committee, the Finance Committee, the Health and Hygiene
Committee and, at times, the C.I.C.

Eventually, the Technical Committees became the nuclei of
larger international bodies known as the League's "Technical
Organizations," the most fully developed of which consisted
of the following three parts:

1. A section of the Secretariat to serve the
other two parts of the Organization as an
exploring, recording and secretarial body.

2. An advisory or technical committee of limited
membership composed of experts designated by
Members of other states or by the Council,
serving to give definite form to the material
placed before it by the respective section of
the Secretariat.

3. A conference composed of the representatives
of Member and other states convened on the
advice of the committee and on the invita­
tion of the Council, resulting in international
conventions submitted by signatory states to
their appropriate internal organs for ratifica­
tion.

In addition to those League bodies which were officially
designated as Technical Committees or Technical Organizations,
the League had also built up a system of committees which did
not function as bodies of experts actually administering
League activities in particular spheres of international life,
but rather remained more purely advisory in their capacities,
though their membership usually comprised specialists in their respective fields and though they had become permanent and autonomous organs in their internal functioning. The latter group of committees came to be known as "Permanent Consultative Committees" and included, eventually, the Permanent Mandates Committee, the Disarmament Commission, the Opium, Child Welfare and Slavery Committees. And due to the peculiar nature of its functions and its composition, the status of the League's Intellectual Cooperation Committee was, on a number of occasions, officially recognized by the League Council and Assembly as being similar to that of this latter group of committees. Consequently, on most charts depicting the League structure, the C.I.C. appears as such. But we shall see that while the C.I.C. and the organization built up around it went through an evolution similar to the Technical and Permanent Consultative Committees as regards permanence and autonomy, it actually differed considerably in many ways from both of these groups of League committees. In reality it comprised an Organization which in composition and powers occupied a position midway between these two groups.

In its attempts to uphold intellectual interests and give its support to intellectual workers themselves and their organizations, the C.I.C. had to obey the same rules as other bodies dependent on the League. And instead of reporting to the Economic and Social Council as the new United Nations' Cultural and Educational Organization apparently will have to do, the C.I.C. reported to the Council and Assembly of the League, which each year had to pass on its work and to author-
ize its continuation along the lines of a proposed program.

The relations of the C.I.C. with the Assembly reflected, in part, the make-up of the Assembly itself. It consisted of delegations from all States Members. Each state was allowed three representatives in the delegations but only one vote. The governments were free to appoint these delegates in any manner they chose. Meeting in ordinary session once a year, the Assembly began by hearing and debating the reports of the Council and taking action on the decisions of the preceding Assembly. The Assembly then divided into six (seven after 1938) committees. Each government was represented on each committee either by an official delegate or an advisor. These main committees were as follows:

1. Legal and constitutional questions.
2. Technical organizations.
3. The reduction of armaments.
4. Budgetary questions.
5. Social and general questions (Humanitarian questions).
6. Political questions (mandates, slavery, etc.).
7. Health, opium, and intellectual cooperation questions.

The discussion of intellectual cooperation questions in the Assembly thus came up both in Plenary Sessions and in Committee. It was shifted around among the various permanent committees from year to year. At first it was part of the work of the Fifth Committee (Social and general questions); then it came under the Second Committee (Technical organizations); then the Sixth Committee (Political questions, mandates, slavery, et cetera), and finally the new Seventh Committee (Health, opium and intellectual cooperation) which originated in 1938 as an experiment. Furthermore the Fourth
Committee (Budgetary questions) also took a hand in the matter of intellectual cooperation by deciding on the annual budget for the C.I.C. Thus, in 1934, for example, the Sixth Committee of the Fifteenth Assembly held four consecutive meetings for the discussion of questions relating to intellectual cooperation, from September 18 to 24 of that year.

Not only did the Assembly approve the program set up, but on numerous occasions it requested the I.C.O. to undertake other tasks in addition to the program submitted. For example, in 1931 it asked the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to consider the use of modern methods such as motion pictures, automatic speech recordings, phonograph records and broadcasting in the interests of peace; it also instructed the C.I.C. to examine a suggestion for an ethnographical and historical collection on the origins of Latin-American civilization; and it requested the Organization to prepare for the Assembly's 1938 meeting a general plan of action that might be taken to promote a rapprochement between the nations of the earth.

On a few occasions the Assembly even acted directly in close collaboration with the I.C.O. - as when it adopted a declaration on the teaching of history prepared by the C.I.C. and offered it for the signatures of the governments.

The relations of the C.I.C. and the League Council were on a somewhat different plane. For, having come into existence a little later than most of the League committees, it was appointed by the Council from the outset. And, due to
the uncertainty, in the first few years of its existence, as to what its exact functions were and what form its recommendations would take, the Council made certain that the C.I.C.'s powers were more strictly limited than those of its sister committees. Thus, even though it went through a process of evolution which increased its functions and powers to the extent that it was several times officially recognized as being one of the League's Technical Committees, nevertheless it remained throughout its career more dependent and more advisory in its capacities than the other Technical Organizations.

Indeed, the most significant fact about the I.C.O. in this connection is that by its very terms of reference it was, in the last analysis, no more than an advisory and consultative body. It had no authority for direct action. All decisions of the C.I.C. had to be submitted as recommendations to the Council or Assembly of the League which, in turn, could only propose or suggest. The C.I.C. could not enter directly into communication with any parliament, any government or any government body. It could not, for example, take part in the examination of the project for the formation of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation when it was first broached to the French Parliament in 1925, nor could it raise any objections to the terms of that proposal. As in other League affairs, the governments and the League Council retained the decisive power and it was with them that the ultimate responsibility rested.
Emphasis on this almost purely advisory capacity of the Organization is necessary if its essential nature is to be properly understood. The extent to which this dependence was evident in the operations of the I.C.O. may be best shown, perhaps, by reference to an item which figured on the agenda of the sixty-third session of the Council, where the question was raised as to whether or not the League should accept four thousand dollars from the American Council on Education in order to enable the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to revise and issue a second edition of the handbook on University Exchanges in Europe.

The C.I.C.'s evolution from this very menial status within the League structure to that of a considerably more authoritative body was due to several important developments related to acts of the League itself. The initial change occurred when the Third Assembly, in 1922, invited the C.I.C. to fix its functions without limiting its mandate. The next stage was reached when the name of the Committee was listed in the League's budget. And then, in June 1926, the League Council affirmed the Committee's "permanent" character and fixed the duration of the mandate of its members at five years,

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subject to renewal.

On two later occasions, moreover, in 1929 and in 1936, the C.I.C. was requested by the Council and Assembly to revise its organization and constitution in order to insure the continuity of its work, thus reaffirming its permanence within the League structure.

Like the other League committees, the C.I.C. soon found that, so long as the centres of ultimate decision remained in the hands of national and state governments, it could not act in its sphere or even exist within the League without close contacts on many points with Government and administrative machinery - in the C.I.C.'s case it was essential for it to obtain the support of the various Ministries of Education and Fine Arts. But, being unable to contact these national administrations directly, because of its terms of reference, the C.I.C. endeavoured instead to secure the establishment within each nation of a National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation which could serve, along with other functions, as a means of liaison between the various governments on the one hand and the C.I.C. on the other. As a result of this policy numerous National Committees were set up after 1922 and consequently the C.I.C. gradually came to be known as the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. But it was only with the foundation and opening of

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7. The International Committee will henceforth be abbreviated in this study as the C.I.C.I. - this is the abbreviation which appears on most League documents and is actually the French abbreviation for Commission international de la coopération intellectuelle.
the executive or administrative organ of the I.C.O., i.e. the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, in 1926, that provision was made, in its statutes, to allow the Institute to draw around itself official representatives whose duties consisted of keeping their respective governments in touch with matters that concerned them. And, when it proved impossible, owing to the difficulties of distance and travelling time, to maintain temporary accredited delegates to the Institute, permanent specialists were often appointed by the various nations.

It was at this time too, in 1926, that the I.C.O. was first designated by a special resolution, as one of the League's Technical Organizations.

The relations between the I.C.O. and the League, as outlined above, developed and, like Topsy, they "just grewed," until 1928 when, at its ninth session, the Assembly began a discussion on the relations between the League of Nations and those institutes or bodies set up under its authority. At that time the Assembly agreed to certain general principles with regard to the acceptance of new institutes established by Governments and placed at the disposal of the League. In this connection it felt that the following considerations should be borne in mind:

(a) That the object of the Institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the Institution serving as a working instrument;

That the legal status of the Institutes should provide for their independence vis-à-vis the local authorities, and that they should be constituted as "autonomous entities possessing civil personality" under the laws of the country in which they are situated; and

That the Assembly, Council and technical organs of the League should be able to exercise supervision over the work of the Institutes.

On September 20, 1928, the Assembly also approved of the application of this set of formal rules concerning the relations between the League and all international bureaux already set up under its authority.

The Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, both integral parts of the I.C.O., were two of several institutes to which the new regulations relating to League institutes applied. But since their terms of reference did not differ in any important particular from those allowed by the League's decision, the only effect of that decision on the I.C.O. was to strengthen its position within the League structure by being officially included among its list of technical branches.

By 1931 the C.I.C.I. felt itself in a position to request the League to officially recognize the existence of the I.C.O. as a whole and to renew its resolution designating it as a "Technical Organization" with an official status within the League structure.

9. L. of N., "Relations Between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies Set up Under its Authority," Document A.12.1928.XII, p. 3.

10. L. of N., "Relations Between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies Set up Under Its Authority: Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly," Document A.71.1928.XII.
the League edifice.

In response to this request the Twelfth Assembly on September 24, 1931, recognized the existence and the relations of the League of Nations' Intellectual Cooperation Organization comprising:

1. The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, which is the advisory body of the League of Nations;
2. The Commissions and Committees dependent on it;
3. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, its executive organ;
4. The International Educational Cinematographic Institute, (these two institutes having been placed at the League's disposal under the conditions laid down in their respective statutes); and
5. The National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, whose representatives may be called upon to meet occasionally in conference on the proposal of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

This decision was confirmed by a subsequent session of the League Council.

Thus on paper the I.C.O. was one of the most complete of all the League's sections. It had, at one time, as many as forty odd National Committees, which were brought into touch with one another by periodical conferences, and were unofficially directed and coordinated by an international super-committee. Furthermore, the International Committee


12. Hereafter abbreviated as the I.I.C.I.


had an executive and secretarial instrument in Paris under its control with a small but independent budget. It had, in addition, until 1937, a subsidiary institute at Rome and, until 1940, a section of the League Secretariat managed by an Under-Secretary-General. Moreover, even though a narrow enough nationalism had certainly played its part in the relations between Geneva, Paris and Brussels, there were few powerful vested interests in intellectual cooperation in comparison, for example, with those which stood in the way of the effective working of the League Economic or Opium Committees.

The Organization remained, none the less, in a rather anomalous position in its relationships with the Council and the various nations, and hence, through its International Committee, it also joined the bandwagon of League organizations demanding greater autonomy within the League structure. As late as 1937, M. de Reynold, a prominent member of the International Committee, proclaimed:

"It is agreed that intellectual cooperation was born of the League of Nations, that it belongs to the League of Nations and that it is at the service of the League of Nations. But I believe that if intellectual cooperation wants to fulfill the vision which its founders assigned to it, it must claim full and complete autonomy within the framework of the League of Nations." 15

These demands were not acceded to within the lifetime of the

Organization, however, and it continued to operate, to the end, under the control of the Council as regards its external affairs. Thus, even though it was officially and theoretically recognized on several occasions as one of the League’s Technical Organizations, the I.C.O. actually never achieved real autonomy and therefore, in practice, it was not included among these bodies but instead was generally considered as one of the Permanent Consultative Committees of the League.

An "over-all" picture of the working of the I.C.O. within the League structure may perhaps best be seen from an example of how the program of the I.C.O. proceeded during the period 1931-1932. The year's activity was first determined by resolutions voted by the C.I.C.I. in July 1931; it was approved the following September by the Council and Assembly of the League, which as usual, unreservedly expressed themselves in favour of the working plan and the methods adopted by the I.C.O. but at the same time neglected to supply it with adequate funds for it to operate properly.

In writing in retrospect about the relations of the League of Nations and the I.C.O., M. Bonnet, the Director of the Paris Institute from 1930 to 1940, very succinctly synthesized their nature when he said that:

Although this work was done within the framework of the League of Nations and was thus subject to the approval of the Assembly and Council, these organs never interfered with the freedom of activity, nor brought any political pressure on the International Cooperation or those connected with its program. Proper financial aid was not always forthcoming but the Committee's proposals, as well as the results of its activities, always met with
the approval and support of the directing organs of the League.  

Several writers have pointed out that there was a considerable similarity between the I.C.O. and the I.L.O.; but there were, as well, striking differences between these two League Organizations. The I.L.O., for example, had been created by the nations in a formal signed document. It rested upon the Treaty of Peace and could not, therefore, be altered or abolished without a revision of the Treaty. The I.C.O., on the other hand, as we have seen, was not mentioned in the Versailles Treaty but was created largely by the same nations through formal resolutions of the Assembly and the Council. The mechanical functioning of the Governing Body of the I.L.O and the C.I.C.I. did not, however, vary in any essential feature. While the Governing Body controlled the Labour Office, the C.I.C.I. controlled the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, each appointing its respective Director. Both had the power of making recommendations and that, in fact, was their principal recognized function. For the purpose of arriving at suitable conclusions both created special committees of study; both had the power to authorize investigations in their respective fields. In the case of the I.L.O., however, the machinery was much more elaborate.

and developed. Its Conference met annually before 1939 and could adopt conventions and oblige member governments to submit the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of these conventions to their respective parliaments. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. had the Conference, so to speak, at its elbow, and could decide whether any draft convention would be considered by the Conference, whereas the C.I.C.I., in a like case, required a formal resolution of the Council before a conference could be called. The Governing Body of the I.L.O., it is true, had certain further powers, which it never employed, for dealing with recalcitrant governments which had ratified conventions without properly applying them. But this again was a difference in the degree of authority and not in the essential nature of their methods of functioning which, in fact, were the same in both cases: one advised on cultural cooperation and, at times, on education; the other, on labour. Thus the only basic difference lay not in the character of their functions but rather, in the character of their personnel, in the interests openly represented and in their degree of independence.

Thus, though weaker than the I.L.O. and the League Technical Organizations and though dependent upon the various

17. A movement was put on foot in 1937 to create a General Conference of representatives from different nations, though not state representatives, which was designed to make the I.C.D. into an autonomous body resting upon National Committees and financed by cooperating Governments. This "International Act," unfortunately, did not come into effect until January, 1940, just prior to the time when the I.C.O. was forced to cease operations due to the War. See Chapter XIV of this study for a further discussion of this matter.
Governments and private organizations for the implementation of its policies, the I.C.O. nonetheless definitely constituted and remained a League organ rather than an instrument for reconciling national sovereignties. For the members of the C.I.C.I. did not come to its sessions as mere government representatives, as the accredited agents of their sovereign princes or states, meeting to drive a bargain and gain the utmost advantage which the powers of their respective countries could extort. Nor did they come to negotiate officially (though such conferences were called by the League Council from time to time at the behest of the Organization for the purpose of having Conventions signed): they came, for the most part, informally, as the servants of an international body, to discuss problems which were not purely national in their incidence. The fact that they often influenced the making of policy at home, and that they were able to talk over a question before it became a part of national policy, to talk it over outside the formal and highly charged atmospheres of Foreign Offices, was the really significant feature of the League's whole committee system of which the I.C.O. formed a part. And, by this means, much informal cooperation was possible. It resulted in the continual exchange of ideas. It sent views back and forth from one country to another, creating, as it were, an international pool of ideas. When the permanent advisors of ministers were kept constantly in touch with this pool of ideas, some of it inevitably was included in the content of their advice. Policy was thus, at least in part, shaped by the interplay of national and inter-
national considerations.

Thus the creation of the I.C.O. by a single international organ charged with a general surveillance of the world as a unit, together with the fact that it was the only body at the time which was attempting to deal with its increasingly important tasks from a non-national standpoint, gave its recommendations a growing importance and more and more its expert activities became legislative in their character, either directly through the drafting of conventions, or indirectly through recommendations being applied nationally. It was in this way that the Organization found its niche in dealing with one of the major functions of world society and acted, together with its sister committees of the League, to transform national into international administration. And their combined efforts were thereby becoming the acts of a world government. Their success in this direction may have been very much greater than it appears, though it is not obvious or susceptible of estimation and proof.

Such, then, was the place of intellectual cooperation in the general scheme of the League of Nations; and, contrary to the widely accepted political maxim that prestige depends on might, the I.C.O. owed its entire authority to its moral prestige. But prestige, whether it be moral or otherwise, in the case of an international organization, must be applicable to the mechanical structure of that organization. The chapters which follow will attempt to delineate the basic features of the mechanical structure upon which the I.C.O. was built.
CHAPTER VII

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation - The C.I.C.I., the Executive Committee and the Sub-Committees.

In order to carry out the duties assigned to it and the functions which it voluntarily assumed, the Intellectual Cooperation Organization (I.C.O.) had to devise a completely new structure, a new, intricate and complicated machine. This mechanism, while conforming to the general pattern of all League machinery, had, at the same time, to be so flexible and so adaptable to the ever-changing conditions in all intellectual fields as to render it capable of coping with the many problems with which it was to be confronted. More specifically, it had to establish contacts between private and public, national and international bodies concerned with cultural, scientific and educational questions; to develop cooperation between them; and to coordinate their work with the help of small but active secretariats. Considering the magnitude of this task, it was not unnatural that on several occasions overhauls had to be made or entirely new units added and out-worn parts scrapped.

It is with this mechanical structure, comprising Committees and Sub-Committees, Institutes and Bureaux, Offices and Research Centres, which the I.C.O. empirically evolved during the course of its all too brief existence, that we shall deal in this and the following seven chapters.

The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (C.I.C.I.), throughout its history, constituted the supreme
organ of the I.C.O., examining its work, dictating its program in a broad fashion and rendering an annual account of the whole to the Assembly and the Council of the League. The C.I.C.I. met in Geneva, for an average period of five days, at least once a year, or wherever and whenever summoned by its Chairman. On several occasions, such as in 1937, it held additional extraordinary sessions in Paris. Officially, nominations for membership in the C.I.C.I. were made by the League Council but in practice the choice was made by the Chairman of the Committee, in consultation with incumbent members, the Secretary-General, and the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat. When, however, a difference of opinion arose, such as occurred for example in 1923, it was the advice of the Chairman that the Council was most likely to accept.

When first convened, in 1922, the C.I.C.I. comprised twelve members. This number, however, was soon increased to fourteen. Indeed, the C.I.C.I. had barely been in existence one year when requests were made to enlarge it. During the Committee and Plenary Sessions of the Fourth Assembly, in September 1923, it was contended that, in order for the Com-


See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Second Session," O.J.S.S., no. 6, p. 34, Oct. 1921.

mittee to be entirely representative, it should include in its membership not only the representatives of the various disciplines or intellectual methods but also the various national cultures. M. Bardoux of France, speaking as the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly, said, in this connection, that:

It has never been the intention of the Fifth Committee to change the character and composition of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. It merely wishes to point out that the Committee could never truthfully reflect the various forms of human thought except by taking into consideration not only the original creations of intellectual training, but also those which are the result of collective thinking. 3

Many of the Assembly's delegations of national cultures not already represented on the C.I.C.I. agreed with this sentiment and thereupon made demands for representation on the Committee. As a result, the Assembly, at its meeting of September 27, 1923, passed the following resolution:

Considering it desirable to increase the authority of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation by enlarging it so that it should represent not only the various intellectual methods but also the various national cultures;

Having noted with satisfaction the intention expressed by the Council at its meeting of April 23rd, 1923, of adding to the Committee on the occasion of the next vacancy a professor of the University of Vienna as representative of the Germanic culture;

Having noted also the legitimate demands expressed by the delegates of Roumania, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Czechoslovakia, by the Spanish-speaking delegates of America, by the Asiatic delegates and by the delegates of Ireland and of the Finno-Ugrian nation

Requests the Council to consider the possibility of increasing the number of members on the Committee, introducing at the same time a system of rotation to be determined.4

Meanwhile the C.I.C.I. had already received the approval of the League Council for a scheme which the International Committee had devised for a system of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, the representatives of which were to be invited, on occasion, to attend the sessions of the C.I.C.I. in an advisory (i.e., non-voting) capacity. Thus, when confronted by the Assembly resolution, the C.I.C.I. felt that it had already taken measures to ensure representation for the various national cultures, at least as regards those cultures which had secured or were securing the establishment of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation. Hence, while approving of the ideas expressed by the Assembly resolution, the C.I.C.I. disapproved of the methods which the Assembly recommended for achieving those ends. The Committee's resolution was expressed as follows:

The system of rotation does not appear to be compatible with the method of appointment originally adopted, a method with which the Committee is entirely satisfied from the point of view of its work.

The proposal to enlarge the Committee might frequently provoke keen rivalry, and this should be avoided. The smallness of the financial


resources of the Committee must also be taken into consideration. In these circumstances, the Committee is of the opinion that the appointment of several new correspondents would be the best means of satisfying such legitimate desires as have or may be expressed.\(^6\)

Finally the League Council, at its session of June 16, 1924, accepted the C.I.C.I.'s decision with regard to the question of the rotation of its membership but it also accepted the recommendation of the Assembly with regard to increasing the number of members of the C.I.C.I. and proceeded to appoint two new members in addition to providing replacements for the seats left vacant due to the resignation of two of the original members.

In addition to the voting members appointed by the League Council, a number of other persons ordinarily attended the meetings of the C.I.C.I. On many occasions, for example, the C.I.C.I. took cognizance of previous efforts made in the sphere of intellectual cooperation and, desiring to work in close association with existing international organizations, invited as advisory members to its Plenary Sessions or to meetings of its Sub-Committees, representatives of the two great inter-academic associations, namely, the International Academic Union and the International Research Council. Repre-

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Dr. Hale (American) had had to resign on account of ill health in 1922, without having ever attended a meeting. He was replaced by Professor R. A. Millikan, also an American. D.N. Bannerjea, too, had relinquished his position in 1924 and was replaced by J.C. Bose.
sentatives were also invited, on occasion, from the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers (which had been founded at Paris in April 1923); the International Students' Association; and, for bibliographical questions, the International Institute of Bibliography.

The meetings of the Committee were also attended by representatives appointed by the League Secretariat, the I.L.O. and, after 1926, by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (I.I.C.I.), all of whom acted in an advisory capacity and without voting power.

Further, by 1925 the sessions of the C.I.C.I. were attended by a number of persons who were designated as correspondents. The first of these had been appointed by the C.I.C.I. as early as 1922, subsequent to the approval granted by the League Council on October 4, 1922. At that time the C.I.C.I. had requested the appointment of Professor Alphons Dopsch, a former Rector of the University of Vienna, a member of the Vienna Academy, and a professor of History, to act, in the capacity of a correspondent, as a liaison officer between itself and Austrian organizations of an intellectual nature, in connection with a C.I.C.I. enquiry which was being conducted on the conditions of intellectual work in that country. Then, at its meeting of December 1923, the C.I.C.I., as we have already noted, proposed the appointment of a number of additional correspondents, for the purpose of giving representation to

national cultures not already represented at its sessions. Finally, at its session of July 1924, the Committee decided that it was especially necessary to appoint correspondents in those countries where National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation did not yet exist.

The duties of the correspondents, as outlined by the C.I.C.I. in 1924, were as follows: to supply the C.I.C.I. with information on all matters concerning their country or group of countries when similarity of language and civilization or geographical proximity rendered it possible for several nations to be represented by one person; to keep in touch with the work of the C.I.C.I. and send their opinion on the questions with which it dealt; to support the C.I.C.I.'s recommendations in their countries, and endeavour to secure their application when such endeavour was not precluded by other considerations.

In practice the C.I.C.I. alone determined the nature of its collaboration with the various correspondents and it summoned them to its meetings, in an advisory capacity, only when it considered their attendance advisable. In such cases, the travelling expenses of the correspondent were paid by the C.I.C.I.

9. Thus, in July 1925, the C.I.C.I. appointed the following correspondents: Professor Emile Racovitza (Roumanian), Professor Jaroslav Kallab (Czechoslovakian), and Professor Hoot-Tsi (Chinese). In July 1926 the Venerable Henry J. Cody, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Toronto, and Minister of Education in Ontario, was appointed as the Canadian corresponding member.

With regard to the duration of the C.I.C.I.'s membership, we have already noted in passing that the Committee's members were originally appointed for an indefinite period. On June 9, 1926, however, the League Council decided to limit their term of office to five years, subject to renewal. According to the details of this arrangement, the C.I.C.I.'s members were considered to be in good standing for the duration of this period, unless they died or resigned, even if they did not attend a single session. In addition, members, once appointed, remained in office until the first day of the annual meeting of the Committee on the sixth year following their appointment.

The Chairman or President of the International Committee was elected annually from and by its own membership, by a majority vote, in accordance with Article 3 of the Rules of Procedure, adopted at its first session in 1922. A Vice-Chairman was similarly elected by the members from among their own membership. In July 1928 the number of Vice-Chairmen was raised to two.

The Chairman had an important role to play aside from his duty of presiding at meetings of the Committee. In addition to advising the League Council with regard to the appointment

11. v. supra, p. 226.


See Appendix XII, vol. , pp. , of this study for the text of these Rules of Procedure.
of members to the C.I.G.I., he also designated and appointed the members of the various Sub-Committees. His approval was necessary, too, before the proposed agenda of the Committee's meetings, which was drawn up by the Secretariat (and the Executive Committee, after 1930), could be adopted.

Professor Bergson, the first Chairman, assumed office in 1922 and remained in the chair until August 12, 1925, when he resigned from the Committee. He was succeeded by Professor Lorentz, who retained the position until his death on February 4, 1928. He was followed, on July 25, 1928, by Professor Murray whose chairmanship lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War.

The C.I.C.I., in addition to choosing its own Chairman and officially adopting its agenda, also selected its own Rapporteur to the League Council.

The principle of taking action on a question as the result of a majority vote was accepted at meetings of the International Committee but in practice most of the final resolutions adopted were the results of unanimous decisions.

In the matter of publicity for the Committee's activities, Article 10 of its original Rules of Procedure stated that the C.I.C.I. could decide by a majority vote to make one or more of its meetings open to the public. Hence the publicity for the different sessions varied. The press itself was not admitted to the C.I.C.I.'s debates and received after each session only a resume of the Committee's deliberations and such clarifications as were demanded. The International Association of Journalists often protested against
this arrangement, but the Committee, on the insistence of Mme. Curie, pronounced its decision on this question by declaring:

... our meetings must be private, though not, of course, secret, since the Secretariat and the members of the Committee themselves, will at all times be glad to furnish you with information.

... we realize how inadequate this one source of information is and we have therefore decided that at the next session one meeting at least will be held in public.\textsuperscript{14}

The "Minutes" of the C.I.C.I.'s meetings were published by the League Secretariat after each session from 1922 to 1931. For reasons of economy the Council found it necessary to suspend their publication after that date. However, the reports on the Organization's work, which were submitted annually to the Council and the Assembly, help to fill in the gap created by this cessation in the publication of the "Minutes."

The foregoing material has indicated the basic features of the C.I.C.I.'s composition and functioning during the period 1922 to 1930. By that time, however, as we have already noted in a previous chapter, the whole Organization had become somewhat unwieldy both in its activities and in its structure. For, on the one hand, as a result of the ardour aroused by its interest in the whole field of intellectual cooperation, the C.I.C.I. had undertaken more pro-

\textsuperscript{14} I. of W., Document A.20.1924.XII., p. 18, and, Annex 7: Publicity of Meetings of the C.I.C.I.: Letter from the Chairman of the Committee to the International Association of Journalists ... July 28, 1924, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{15} v. supra, p. 212.
jects than it could possibly carry to completion. And, on the other hand, due to the fact that it met only once or twice a year, it was virtually impossible for it to follow and direct the development of its projects or even to secure the proper execution of its decisions.

The complexity of the organization which had thus grown up led the C.I.C.I., at its ninth session in July 1927, to the conclusion that "the time was ripe for a general revision of its organization and the whole field of its activities." It took no action at that time, however. But by the time of its tenth session in July 1928, it was determined to review both its program and its mechanism. "The organization," said the Rapporteur of the C.I.C.I. to the League Council, "must be informed by a single guiding spirit which will insure the smooth working of all its parts." For further guidance in this matter, the C.I.C.I. convened a conference of representatives of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

On July 19, 1929, it requested the C.I.C.I. "to examine in the light of experience the practical working and the ultimate purpose of the whole organization of intellectual cooperation."


See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 8, no. 8, pp. 234-5, Aug. 1928.

17. See Chapter XIII of this study for a fuller discussion on National Committees.

Following a discussion on this recommendation, the C.I.C.I., at its eleventh session, after receiving the approval of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.I.C.I., passed the following resolution:

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation requests the Chairman, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and with the Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, to appoint a small committee of not more than five members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to study the programme, the work and the organisation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and of the organizations under its authority and to give opinions on improvements which might be introduced therein, so as to increase the positive results of their work. The Committee shall be free to add to its number, after consultation with the Chairman, not more than three other persons possessed of special knowledge and experience with regard to the problems under consideration.

When the work of the Committee is finished it will report thereon to the Chairman, who shall convene a meeting of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to consider what steps should next be taken.19

This action was subsequently approved by the Council of the League on August 31, 1929, and by the Tenth Assembly on September 21 of the same year.


   See also, L. of N., O.J., vol. 11, no. 11, pp.1423-1433, Nov. 1930.
The Committee which was subsequently set up by the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. and which was known as the Committee of Enquiry, was composed of eight members, five from the C.I.C.I. and three outside experts, the majority being educational administrators. The Committee met under the Chairmanship of M. Roland Marcel in Geneva on April 14-19, 1930. There M. Fernandez y Medina of Uruguay was invited to explain the point of view of the Latin-American States with respect to the Organization. The Committee then left for Paris where it studied the work of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, from April 20 to May 2. It then returned to Geneva where it drew up and unanimously adopted its report, which was, in turn, adopted with a few revisions by the C.I.C.I. at its twelfth session of July 23-29, 1930. The report was later approved by the Council and then by the Assembly of the

22. The members of the Committee of Enquiry were: Mlle. K. Bonnevie, Member of the C.I.C.I. (Norwegian); Jules Casares, Member of the C.I.C.I. (Spanish); Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education (American); Sir Frank Heath, Secretary of the Universities' Bureau of the Empire, London (British); Dr. Hugo Kruss, Director of the State Library at Berlin (German); Gonzague de Reynold, Member of the C.I.C.I. (Swiss); Alfredo Rocco, Member of the C.I.C.I. (Italian); Roland Marcel, Director-General of the Bibliothèque national, Paris (French).


The report of the Committee of Enquiry answered the questions put to it on the following points:

1. Definition of "Intellectual Cooperation" within the sphere of the League.
3. Order in which this program should be executed.
5. Duties, organization and methods of work of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, its relations with the C.I.C.I., the Governing Body and the League Secretariat.26

In accordance with the scheme of reorganization which the Committee of Enquiry recommended, an Executive Committee was founded in 1930. Its duties were to:

1. Carry on the work between the annual sessions of the Plenary Committee;
2. Follow and guide the development of intellectual cooperation by carrying out the decisions made by the C.I.C.I.27

As applied to the practical work of the Organization, the fulfillment of these functions meant that the Executive Com-


26. The various points noted in the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry will be dealt with, in this study, not as a whole, but will be discussed separately as they arise in connection with the different branches of the I.C.O.'s structure. Only the section of the recommendations bearing upon the C.I.C.I., its composition and functions, will be dealt with at this point.


mittee had to deal with the following problems:

1. Questions of an exceptional nature.
2. Questions submitted to it by the C.I.C.I.
3. Questions as to whether or not certain projects should become a part of the I.C.O.'s program.
4. Examinations of criticisms and suggestions made concerning the I.C.O.'s work.

The Executive Committee, at first, consisted, in addition to the Chairman of the C.I.C.I., of eight persons, namely, the five members who formed the Committee of Directors of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and three other persons elected by the C.I.C.I, from outside its own membership. The three latter members were chosen for their administrative qualifications and their practical knowledge of intellectual cooperation. They were also expected to take part, in an advisory capacity, in the meetings of the C.I.C.I., the Governing Body and the Committee of Directors of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. The Executive Committee was presided over by the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. Its quorum consisted of four members and no substitutes were permitted. Meetings of the Executive Committee were held regularly four times a year, usually at Geneva, but occasionally at the I.C.C.I. in Paris. One of the four annual meetings always took place immediately following the ordinary session of the C.I.C.I.

The Executive Committee was permitted to set up two Sub-Committees, one to be responsible for supervising the work of the Paris Institute and the other for the financial adminis-

28. The nature and functions of this body will be discussed in Chapter XIX of this study.
In 1932 the League Council, at its sixty-sixth session, demanded a reduction in the number of annual meetings of the Executive Committee, in their duration and in the number of its members. The C.I.C.I. refused this demand and was prepared to accept only the possibility of a reduction, on a provisional basis, of two members, one from among representatives of the C.I.C.I., the other from the persons chosen from outside the C.I.C.I. The Executive Committee of nine (including the Chairman) was thus temporarily lowered to seven. With the passage of time, however, the number of sessions fell from four to three and was eventually fixed at three.

In 1936 it was decided by the C.I.C.I. that one of the members of the Executive Committee should be of French nationality and in September of that year the League Assembly and Council therefore agreed to increase the number of members on the Executive Committee to ten.

As for the C.I.C.I. itself, its duties as re-defined by the Committee of Enquiry in 1930 were:

a) To develop the exchange of ideas and to effect personal contacts between intellectual workers of all countries.

b) To encourage and promote co-operation between institutions doing work of an intellectual character.


c) To promote a knowledge of the literary, artistic and scientific effort of different nations.

d) To study jointly certain major problems of international bearing.

e) To support the international protection of intellectual rights.

f) To make known by educational means the principles of the League of Nations. 31

After 1930 the C.I.C.I. also reviewed, annually, the work of the International Studies Conferences and the various permanent Sub-Committees of the C.I.C.I. It also drew up the program for the following year for the latter group of Committees. The C.I.C.I., furthermore, made the appointments to membership on the following Committees:

a) The Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I.
   b) The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.
   c) The Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Cooperation.
   d) The Directors' Committee of the International Museums' Office. 33

As regards its agenda, after 1930 a Draft Agenda for the meetings of the C.I.C.I. was always drawn up by the Executive Committee. From this draft the C.I.C.I., with the assistance of the League Secretariat, drew up its Final Agenda. In 1937, however, an additional item was added to the agenda of each annual session when the C.I.C.I. decided that it would thenceforth devote one meeting in the course of its ordinary


32. The nature and functions of this body will be discussed in Chapters XI and XII of this study.


session each year to hearing the representatives of the National Committees and to discussing the annual reports on their activities. At such meetings the C.I.C.I. decided to consider, as well, matters relating to the carrying out of resolutions of the General Conference of National Committees and to prepare for the next session of the General Conference.

Changes were brought about, too, in 1930, in the number of members on the C.I.C.I. On May 13 of that year the Committee, by an agreement between the Council, the Assembly and the Committee itself, was again enlarged, this time to include a membership of sixteen. Then, on September 9, 1930, the League Council decided, on the request of the C.I.C.I. and in order to maintain the continuity of the Committee's work, to proceed with the re-appointment of the C.I.C.I.'s members in an alphabetical order of one third of its membership each year. In 1931, with the coming of the depression, the League Council asked the C.I.C.I. whether it could envisage an eventual diminution of its members. The Committee opposed such a restriction on the grounds that it would be unfair to the smaller states. The Council, accepting the Committee's reasoning, abandoned this project in September, 1932.


36. In practice these re-appointments were not made in accordance with this system but occurred, instead, in January 1931, September 1932 and January 1934.

In fact, the Council actually made further appointments to the Committee in the period 1932 to 1937, although no vacancies had occurred, and consequently the C.I.C.I. comprised seventeen members by 1934 and eighteen by 1937. In 1935 the Council authorized the Committee to have as many as nineteen members but only seventeen had actually been appointed by that time, thus leaving a vacancy of two seats.

Substitution was permitted if a member was unable to attend the sessions of the C.I.C.I. Since no precise system for the selection of substitutes was evolved, the absentee usually designated a substitute of the same nationality as himself. The latter was always accepted by the Chairman.

In accordance with the General Regulations for League Committees, the Council, in agreement with the C.I.C.I., decided, in 1937, to limit the duration of membership on the

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By 1934 M. de Reynold and Professor Murray were the only members of the C.I.C.I. who had been among the original appointees on the Committee in 1922.


40. The American member on the C.I.C.I. in 1940 was Professor James T. Shotwell. On several occasions Dr. Waldo Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington, and Dr. George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, acted as substitutes for him.
International Committee to three years instead of five. The members were, however, still eligible for re-appointment.

As to the nature of the C.I.C.I.'s composition, the Committee of Enquiry had recommended that the International Committee be so composed as to represent "the main branches of intellectual activity," and, at the same time, to maintain a "certain balance between the representatives of the exact and natural sciences and those of the humane sciences, including letters and arts," but there were to be no observers or corresponding members. However, the C.I.C.I. continued to invite a certain number of non-members to attend its meetings even after 1930. These persons were usually the representatives of interested international organizations or individuals invited to attend in their own right, as experts, when the C.I.C.I. so decided by a majority vote. The I.L.O. was given the additional right to delegate an expert to sit on the C.I.C.I. in an advisory capacity whenever questions of interest to the I.L.O. were being discussed. In addition, all members of the Executive Committee not already members of the C.I.C.I., a representative of the League Secretariat and a representative of the I.I.C.I. were permitted to take part in the meetings of the International Committee in an advisory capacity. On several occasions, too, the Director's Committee of the International Museums' Office sent a representative to the C.I.C.I.'s sessions. After 1933 it also became the practice

See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 18, no. 5, p. 221, May 1933.

42. The nature and functions of this body will be discussed in Chapter IX of this study.
of the C.I.C.I. to invite one representative each from five of the various National Committees on Intellectual Coopera-
tion to attend its sessions. These invitations were sent to different countries each year, according to a system of rota-
tion. Since there were a number of countries which possess-
ed a National Committee but which were so distant from Geneva as to make it financially impossible for them to be invited to send a representative, the C.I.C.I., in 1933, decided to invite, in such cases, their respective Délégues d'État (State representatives accredited to the Paris Institute of Intellectual Cooperation) in their stead. Then, in 1937, after the C.I.C.I. had agreed to convene regular General Conferences of the National Committees, it was decreed that in those years in which such General Conferences were scheduled to be held, representatives of the National Committees would not be invited to attend the sessions of the International Committee.

Thus, though the League Council had decided, in 1924, not to inaugurate a system of rotation of membership, the C.I.C.I. nevertheless remained, throughout its existence, in a very broad sense, representative of many different cultural areas, if not national groups. The Committee, for example, always included among its members a South American, a native of India, a citizen of the United States, and, in accordance

with the wishes of the Second Assembly, at least one woman. 44

When the C.I.C.I. met on July 17-22, 1939, for the last
time, seven groups were in attendance. These were:

1. The eighteen members of the Committee itself.
2. Two members of the Executive Committee who were
   non-members of the International Committee.
3. One representative of the Director's Committee
   of the International Museums' Office.
4. Three representatives of the I.L.O.
5. Two representatives of the I.I.C.I.
6. Two representatives of the League Secretariat.
7. The Chairman of the Permanent Committee on Arts
   and Letters, by special invitation. 45

Such, then, were the principles of the C.I.C.I's and the
Executive Committee's organization and the character of their
composition. The question of their efficiency and the need
for a further replanning of their work and structure must be
left over until some of the other organs of the I.C.O. have
been described.

Just as the League Assembly was obliged to divide its
duties among various committees, so the I.C.O. was led to dis­
tribute its work between a number of Sub-Committees, Institutes,
Bureaux, Centres and Offices. Turning first to a discussion of
the Sub-Committees, the reader should note that, in accordance
with Article 9 of the Rules of Procedure adopted by the C.I.C.I.
in 1922, the International Committee assumed the power to
"constitute Sub-Committees and define their duties and their
composition."

44. The women who were, at one time or another, members of
the C.I.C.I. were: Mlle. K. Bonnevie (Norwegian), Mme. Curie-
Sklodowska (Polish), Mme. Cecile de Tormay (Hungarian), and
Mme. Virginie de Castro (Spanish).

45. L. of N., "Work of the C.I.C.I. at Its Twenty-First
Session: Report Submitted to the Council and Assembly of the

46. L. of N., "Minutes of the First Session of the C.I.C.I."
In principle each Sub-Committee was composed of three members of the C.I.C.I., who were especially interested in the subject under examination, and a number of outside specialists appointed as expert associate members by the C.I.C.I. or co-opted by the Sub-Committee itself. In practice, however, the number of C.I.C.I. members on the Sub-Committees ranged as high as six, while the number of associate members varied according to the needs of the particular enquiry. The Sub-Committee on Bibliography, for example, was composed, in 1926, of six members of the C.I.C.I. and five associate members. The role of the various Sub-Committees consisted of preparing the work of the plenary body in their respective fields of activity. In 1925, following the foundation of the I.I.C.I., which was itself divided into sections, the Sub-Committees were given the additional task of supervising the work of the corresponding sections of that Institute.

The C.I.C.I., as we have already mentioned, appointed the following three Sub-Committees at its first session, in 1922: Intellectual Rights, Inter-University Relations and Bibliography. In 1924 another Sub-Committee dealing with the Exchange of Professors and Advanced Students was constituted. Then in 1925 another Sub-Committee, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was added to the list. Finally, in 1926 a special Sub-Committee for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League was constituted. These Sub-Committees were presided


over by a member of the C.I.C.I. and ordinarily their meet­
ings preceded those of the Plenary Committee. Until 1930
they ordinarily met once a year, with the exception of the
Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth, which met in 1926
and 1927 but was not convened again until 1930.

Though the composition of these six Sub-Committees
changed over a period of years, they were considered more or
less "permanent" in nature, as compared with numerous "tem­
porary" or "provisional" committees of experts which were
subsequently set up as Sub-Committees of the permanent Com­
mittees and of the C.I.C.I. itself. These temporary or pro­
visional Committees usually met for only a few sessions over
a period of a year or less; in other instances they were
appointed to deal with problems capable of being disposed of
in a few meetings.

The history and functions of the six permanent Sub-
Committees constituted by the C.I.C.I. during the period
1922-1930, that is, up to the time of the reorganization which
took place as a result of the recommendations of the Committee
of Enquiry, will be described in somewhat more detail in the
pages that follow, commencing with the Sub-Committee on Biblio-
graphy.

Originally this Committee was composed of two members of
the C.I.C.I. and experts, the number of whom was not to be
under three or over five. These experts were to be librarians
and scientists, to be chosen as far as possible from differ­
cent countries. On July 25, 1927 this Sub-Committee was

renamed the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography. At that time, too, its work was divided into three parts: technical questions and bibliography per se, scientific relations (exact and natural sciences), and humanitarian sciences.

With the permission of the C.I.C.I., the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography initiated regular meetings of a Committee of Library Experts composed of the Directors of central and national libraries. This new subordinate Committee, which reported to the Sub-Committee of Science and Bibliography, first met on April 7, 1927. Several of the most important libraries of the world were represented at this meeting by their respective Directors.

A similar Sub-Committee of Archives Experts was also set up by the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography to carry forward work in the sphere of archives.

In addition to the two above-mentioned Sub-Committees, a number of other subordinate Committees, each dealing with the problem of coordinating the bibliography of one of the various sciences or arts, were also convened by the permanent Sub-Committee. Thus, for example, the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Bibliography of Physics and Chemistry was constituted in 1923.


51. Ibid., p. 102.

52. The Bibliothèque National was represented by Roland Marcel; the Bodleian Library by Dr. Cowley; the Library of Congress by Dawson Johnston; the Prussian National Library by Dr. Hugo Kruss; the Swiss National Library by Marcel Godet. Mr. Bishop attended the meeting in the capacity of an observer on behalf of the American Library Association.
Among the questions dealt with by the permanent Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography, in addition to the immediate problems of the organization of bibliographical practice, was that of an examination of the quality of ink and paper used in official documents and eventually it set up a Sub-Committee of Experts to deal with this matter.

Another permanent Sub-Committee appointed by the C.I.G.I. at its first session was the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Property, renamed the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights in 1926. As was the case with the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography, the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights also had a number of subordinate Committees working under it. For example, a Sub-Committee of Experts met at Geneva on January 28, 1923, for the purpose of studying the information supplied in answer to a questionnaire addressed to governments, academies, universities, associations of intellectual workers, etc. as to the difficulties of intellectual life of the day and the remedies that might be applied thereto. The Sub-Committee of Experts which met at Paris in December 1927 in order to prepare a revised Draft Convention for Scientific Rights may be cited as another example. A Sub-Committee closely related to the latter one in function was the Sub-Committee of Insurance and Legal Experts Convened to Prepare a Draft Convention on Scientific Property, which was appointed to study a system of insurance to cover industrial enterprises.

utilizing scientific discoveries. This Committee met twice in Paris, on December 2, 1929 and on March 17-18, 1930.

The third permanent Sub-Committee appointed by the C.I. in 1922 was the Sub-Committee on Inter-University Relations. Within a year its title was shortened to Sub-Committee on University Relations but it was often referred to by either title thereafter. It, too, convened a number of subordinate Committees for purposes connected with inter-university relations. Thus, for example, the Sub-Committee of Experts for Post University Scholarships was appointed on July 11, 1928.

Another Sub-Committee which was convened by and reported to the Sub-Committee on University Relations was that of Directors of the National University Information Offices. Following the first meeting of this group in July 1926, the C.I.C.I. approved the report of its work and emphasized the necessity of setting up similar offices in all countries to deal with the relations between their own and foreign universities and to develop further relations between them. The Directors of the National University Information Offices met annually thereafter on the invitation of the I.I.C.I. The Institute of International Education and the American University Union acted for the institutions of higher learning of the United States in this connection.

In 1924 the C.I.C.I., at its fourth session, accepted a proposal made by its American member, Mr. Millikan, for the

appointment of a fourth permanent Sub-Committee which was to "take over a small part of the very large field of activity of the Sub-Committee on Inter-University Relations." The new Sub-Committee was called the "Sub-Committee on the Exchange of Professors and Advanced Students between different countries." Its duties were as follows:

1. To inform itself fully regarding the score or more of agencies which are already operating in this field and regarding others which may in the future be created.
2. To furnish information and advice to any agencies wishing to make use of its services.
3. To take full responsibility for providing information from the League of Nations to the public through the Bulletin (of the International Universities Information Office) or otherwise as to the conditions of operation of any of these agencies.
4. To devise new plans, if it so desires, for facilitating and extending the type of interchange with which it deals.

Since the influence of this Sub-Committee was to be largely advisory and moral, Mr. Millikan and the C.I.C.I. felt that, "for the sake of efficiency, its membership should not exceed five."

This Sub-Committee was reorganized at the ninth session of the C.I.C.I. and its membership was increased to six. Its functions, too, were enlarged so as to permit it to deal with the promotion of the exchange of professors not only for the purposes of lecturing but also for purely scientific purposes. The Sub-Committee thenceforth differed somewhat from its brother Sub-Committees in that it had an additional category.

58. Loc. cit.
of members called corresponding members.\(^59\)

The fifth permanent C.I.C.I. Sub-Committee was first constituted on July 28, 1925, when, on the proposal of M. Destree, the C.I.C.I. decided to set up the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. Originally this body included four members of the C.I.C.I. and a number of associate members.

The C.I.C.I.'s paramount idea in setting up this Sub-Committee was to endow the international community with a strong intellectual structure. For this purpose the C.I.C.I. felt that it was necessary to discover and formulate a doctrine which should govern not only the relations of individuals to the world community but also the relations of the various national communities to one another. The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was entrusted with the task of defining this doctrine and of insuring the support of the intellectual forces of the world for the I.C.O. As the Director of the I.I.C.I. later pointed out, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters handled all the questions of doctrine transcending the technical work of the Organization, indicating the direction to be followed, especially with regard to


\(^61\) The affirmation of such principles did not mean, of course, that a uniform way of living or the same form of government should be imposed throughout the world. Self-determination in cultural matters was never questioned by the C.I.C.I., especially as it was felt that the variety of national cultures constituted the real wealth of universal civilization and the guarantee of its continuous progress; but at the same time, to the leaders of the I.C.O., the past had proven that it was desirable that a real spiritual affinity should permeate the relationships of nations.
matters of principle. 62

Soon after its formation the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, following the pattern set by the other permanent Sub-Committees, began to appoint subordinate committees. An example of one of this latter group or organisms may be found in the Committee of Representatives of Official Chalcographical Institutes which first met at Geneva on Oct. 11-12, 1926 under the chairmanship of Professor Henri Focillon of the Sorbonne. This meeting was held in connection with the establishment of the International Museums' Office, at the I.I.C.I. At that time the Committee of Representatives also drew up resolutions for submission to the C.I.C.I. and the competent authorities of the countries concerned, providing for the exchange of proofs between chalcographical institutes. Following the meeting of Representatives of Official Chalcographical

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(This article was also separately published under the title of Intellectual Cooperation in World Organization, Washington, D.C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, see p. 10.)

This Sub-Committee, during the latter part of its existence, was presided over by Paul Valery. It enlisted the collaboration of such people as Mme. Curie, Thomas Mann, Sigmund Freud, Salvador de Madariaga, Gabriela Mistral, Alfonso Reyes, Albert Einstein, Georges Duhamel, Julien Benda, Miguel Unamuno, Jules Romains, Johan Bojer, Rabandranath Tagore, T'sai Yuen-Peu and a number of prominent Americans.

63. The nature and functions of this body will be discussed in Chapters of this study.
Institutions in October 1936, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters convened a Committee of Museum Representatives which first met in January 1937. Then, acting on a proposal made at the meeting of the Chalcographical Institutions and the Museum Representatives, a meeting of Experts on Casts of Works of Art was held at Geneva in January 1925, in order to initiate cooperative activities among museums of casts of works of art and casting studios. Meanwhile, a Committee of Experts to study the Educational Role of Museums had met at the Paris Institute of International Cooperation on October 28-29, 1927, also under the sponsorship of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters.

The sixth and last permanent Sub-Committee set up by the C.I.C.I. before its reorganization in 1930 was the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations. Its constitution came about as a result of the fact that the Fifth and Sixth Assemblies of the League had invited the C.I.C.I., in 1924 and 1925, to consider the questions of familiarizing young people with the principles and work of the League and to examine the possibility of summoning a Sub-Committee to seek the best methods of coordinating all official and non-official efforts in this field.

The League Council, in order to give effect to these resolutions, instructed the Secretary-General, on September 6, 1925 to collect the necessary information and refer it

to the C.I.C.I. for its recommendations on how to pursue the subject. At its session of January 14-18, 1926, the C.I.C.I. marked its appreciation of the importance of the new duties entrusted to it by the Assembly, noting, at the same time, the various difficulties which might arise in that connection. It therefore decided to appoint an Expert Sub-Committee to examine the whole question and proposed to the League Council that this Sub-Committee should comprise ten or twelve members, including three members of the C.I.C.I. On March 15, 1926, the Council, after consulting the Chairman of the C.I.C.I., instructed its President to appoint the members of the Sub-Committee, the primary qualification being experience in teaching. The Council also suggested that the non-official organizations which played so important a part in the education of youth might be asked to give an opinion either by letter or verbally. The Committee subsequently appointed in March 1926 comprised fourteen voting members, many of them high officials in national ministries of education and all of them engaged in educational work, either as directors of educational institutions or as teachers. In addition to its regular members, this Sub-Committee permitted the attendance at its meetings of one representative each from the I.I.C.I. and the I.L.O. This Sub-Committee occupied a rather special position among the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committees in that it was the only

one whose members were appointed by the League Council, rather than by the C.I.C.I. itself. Thus it was a sort of adopted son in the C.I.C.I. family. However, since its activities were definitely propagandist in their nature, it became closely associated with the Information Section of the League Secretariat and gradually took over much of the propagandist work of that Section. And hence, though an adopted son of the C.I.C.I., it gradually came to be the League's favorite grandson among the C.I.C.I.'s family, from the point of view of financial support.

The Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth did not deviate from the accepted pattern set by its step-brothers in the matter of appointing subordinate Committees, as evidenced by the special Sub-Committee which met in Paris at the I.I.C.I. on March 23-25, 1927 to examine the reports made by international associations on the recommendations which had been put forward by the Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth. Another subordinate Committee, set up to "Consider the Question of the publication of a League of Nations Educational Review," was also appointed by the Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth but it reported directly to the C.I.C.I.

Furthermore, on the instigation of the members of the Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth, the I.I.C.I. took cognizance of the importance of international school corres-


pondence and created a Standing Committee whose mission was to encourage the creation of national bureaux of international correspondence and to coordinate their activities, thus helping them to improve their methods of work. As a result of the efforts made by this Committee, the number of such national bureaux had doubled by 1940. It had also brought the Directors of these bureaux together to examine common problems and to unify certain of their methods of work.

In January 1926 the C.I.C.I. recommended to the League Council that:

It would be desirable to constitute a sub-committee for sciences. M. Lorentz, Mlle. Bonnevie, Mme. Curie, Sir J.C. Bose, M. Einstein and M. Painleve should be members of it and should be instructed to constitute the sub-committee by co-optation as soon as the Council has authorized its creation.69

The League Council evidently took no immediate action on this question, however, and the proposal for the setting up of a sub-committee for sciences was consequently not discussed at the C.I.C.I. meeting of July 1926. It was not brought up again until some years later, when a Committee of Scientific Advisers was set up instead. The discussion relating to the latter Committee will appear later in this Chapter.

In addition to the Sub-Committees of the C.I.C.I., a number of other important bodies were created by the I.C.O. to insure permanent contact and liaison with private inter-

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national organizations already in existence. One such body was the Liaison (or Joint) Committee of Major International Associations; another was the Joint Committee of the International Students' Organizations.

The first of these two Committees stemmed from the work which the C.I.C.I. had undertaken from 1925 onward in collaboration with the major international associations which dealt with the problems of instruction and education for peace. In January 1926 the I.I.C.I. was able to convene a meeting of representatives of these groups in order that their work might be better coordinated. The institutions represented felt that a permanent liaison body should be brought into existence, with the I.C.O. acting as its Secretariat. The C.I.C.I. was agreeable to this arrangement and the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations was consequently set up. The organizations concerned were some thirty in number and included such bodies as the International Federation of Primary Teachers, the International Bureau of Education, the International Federation of Teachers of Living Languages, the International Federation of University Women, the International Council of Women, the Y.M.C.A., the Boy Scouts and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Almost all the organizations represented on the Liaison Committee were constituted on a federal basis and the Liaison Committee itself usually met three times a year, either at Geneva or

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70. See Appendix XV, vol. __, pp. __ of this study for the complete list of associations represented on the Liaison Committee.
Paris. Hence through this Committee and the associations which it represented the I.C.O. was able to maintain close touch with public opinion in all matters relating to education for the maintenance of peace and the ideals of the League.

The second international liaison body instituted by the I.C.O. was the Joint Committee of International Students' Organizations. This Committee had its origin in a meeting which was convened by the C.I.C.I. at Geneva on April 5-10, 1926, and which was attended by representatives of nearly all the international students' organizations then in existence. This meeting resulted in the formation of a permanent body which was to function as a means of liaison and coordination between the C.I.C.I. and seven major international student bodies: the International Confederation of Students; the International Student Service; the three large religious organizations of students, the Pax Romana (Catholic), the World Students' Christian Federation (Protestant) and the International Jewish Students (Jewish); the International Federation of University Women; and the International University Federation for the League of Nations.

This body, the Joint Committee of International Students' Organizations, later, especially after 1930, became known as the Committee of Representatives of International Students' Organizations.

The duties of the Committee of Representatives were, on the one hand, to coordinate the activities of the various international student organizations, in order to ensure a proper
division of labour among them and to delimit their respective spheres of action, and, on the other hand, to see that those organizations carried out concerted enquiries in the more general problems of student life.

In addition to the Committees noted above, there were at least two others which must be mentioned at this point due to their close relationship with the C.I.C.I.'s activities. The first of these bodies was the Committee or Conference of Press Experts. Its formation came about as a result of a proposal put forward by the Chilean delegation at the Sixth Assembly of the League on September 25, 1925. The Assembly, in approving this proposal, adopted the following resolution:

The Assembly

Considering that the press constitutes the most effective means of guiding public opinion toward that moral disarmament which is a concomitant condition of national disarmament:

Invites the Council to consider the desirability of convening a committee of experts representing the press of different countries with a view to determining methods of contributing toward the organization of peace, especially:

(a) By insuring the more rapid and less costly transmission of press news with a view to reducing risks of international misunderstanding;

(b) And by discussing all technical problems the settlement of which would be conducive to the tranquillization of public opinion.

Following the passage of this resolution, a number of enquiries and negotiations were initiated by the League Council and Secretariat with a view to giving it effect and the first Conference of Press Experts was finally convened at Geneva on August 24-29, 1927. It was attended by sixty-three experts, twenty assessors and thirty-five technical advisers, from thirty-five technical advisers, from thirty-eight countries including both Members and non-members of the League, representing not only the different continents but also the various categories of press interests - newspaper proprietors, news agencies, press bureaux and journalists.

This Conference or Committee soon sought the advice and expert knowledge of the C.I.C.I. on a number of questions with which both bodies were dealing at the same time, though from different aspects. It was not long, therefore, before a close cooperation was arranged between them and on most occasions at least one member of the C.I.C.I. attended the numerous meetings of the Conference of Press Experts.

The other important body whose work was closely integrated with that of the C.I.C.I. was the Advisory Committee of Intellectual Workers, set up by the I.L.O. The I.L.O. had notified the League Council on April 27, 1927 of the proposed constitution of this Committee, whose work was to have some points of contact with that of the C.I.C.I. The new Committee was to include three members chosen from the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and two members of the C.I.C.I., provided, of course, that the Council concurred. The Council, while approving the constitution of such a Committee, requested the C.I.C.I. to
place the question on its agenda and to consider what lines of demarcation should be established between its own program and that of the new organism. The C.I.C.I., after considering the matter, decided that there would be little likelihood of any duplication of effort on its own part and on the part of the proposed Advisory Committee and it therefore agreed to appoint two representatives to act as members of the proposed Committee. From 1927 onward the Advisory Committee worked in close cooperation with the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights and in time it absorbed a number of the original functions of the latter body.

The complex system of Sub-Committees and subordinate Committees, as delineated in the preceding pages, was found to be too unwieldy by the Committee of Enquiry in 1929. Indeed, the division of work in the manner outlined above had led to endless complications and "red tape" in every branch of the I.C.O.'s activity. For each of the major Sub-Committees, being composed largely of the same theoretically omnicompetent members of the C.I.C.I., found the same problem of personal differences in outlook and method of work cropping up at each Sub-Committee meeting, thereby creating inevitable delays and dispersals of effort. Consequently there was to be found among the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry one recommendation to the effect that, in order that the Organization might be simplified and rendered more fruitful, the complex system of Sub-Committees and subordinate Committees should be abandoned and their functions distributed among a
number of Committees of Experts.\textsuperscript{72}

The C.I.C.I., following its receipt of the report of the Committee of Enquiry and its recommendations regarding the Sub-Committees, made a further analysis of its committee structure. As a result, there was a re-assignment of duties, an abolition of certain Committees and a shifting of others from the immediate jurisdiction of the C.I.C.I. to that of the Paris Institute. The net effect of the reorganization may, in summary, be said to have resulted in an absorption by the Institutes of most of the functions of the Committees which had formerly operated under the immediate direction of the C.I.C.I.

The aim of the new system was to group around each problem or project undertaken by the I.C.O. the persons most competent to deal with it and to suppress the need for intermediaries. The method devised to accomplish these aims was the appointment of a number of Expert Committees, the majority of which were convened at and by the I.I.C.I. But since the I.C.O. was universal in its liaisons and since it dealt with almost every topic known to the human mind, the Organization could proceed only with the aid of a great number of these international Expert Committees. Naturally, their terms of reference, their powers and functions and their terms of office varied according to the circumstances. All told, how-


ever, these Expert Committees did not include more than a few hundred persons, which was very few considering the I.C.O.'s global scope and aims.

Individually, the experts were, in the main, heads of national or state administrative departments, university professors, representatives of recognized academies, educational and scientific organizations, and persons occupying positions of authority in the world of art and letters, who had agreed to place their experience and talent at the disposal of the I.C.O. And since the I.C.O. nearly always took their different points of view into consideration in the work which they pursued in common under its impartial authority, these experts served to assure a thoroughly impartial character to the whole Organization. Hence there was no longer an absence of close connection between the Organization and the work it was called upon to undertake, as there had evidently been under the old system of Sub-Committees. Now, instead, the composition and nature of each Committee of Experts was determined by the work to be assigned to it. It was, therefore, no longer a matter of fitting a question into a rigid Sub-Committee framework, but rather of allowing the problems, as they arose, to determine the framework. And now, too, the work was more likely to be done by those experts most qualified to do it.

Thus, for example, when a new problem came to the notice of the C.I.C.I. it first summoned a Committee of Experts for a preliminary study, to determine whether or not the question
should be placed on the program of the Paris Institute. If
the question was definitely acceptable, another Committee was
summoned to study it and determine by what method and by what
plan of work international coordination could be established
in the sphere in question. Problems demanding a plan of work
of several years' duration were referred to a Committee of
Experts appointed for a longer period.

In summary, it may be said that there were three main
types of Committees of Experts working under the auspices of
the I.C.O. after 1930:

1. The type charged with studying a question to
determine whether or not it should be placed
on the agenda of the I.C.O. This type of
Committee was temporary in character but worked
in close liaison with the C.I.C.I. An example
of this type of Committee may be seen in the
Preliminary Committee for the Examination of
the Question of an Enquiry into the Intellectual
Life of the Various Countries.

2. The type whose purpose was to act as a temporary
group to study a special problem in order to aid
the I.I.C.I. in its work. It met at the seat of
the Institute. The Committee of Representatives
of Juridical Institutions Interested in Intel­
lectual Rights affords an example of this type
of Committee.

3. The most common type: when the problem in question
necessitated a plan of work spread over several
years. Such Committees could sit at Geneva or
Paris or any other city. The Committee of Library
Experts exemplifies this type adequately.

During the period 1931 to 1940 a number of the Expert
Committees had their status revised, either upwards or down­
wards. Some lost their more permanent character and became
temporary in nature or were completely abolished. Others had
their status gradually raised and eventually were recognized
as "permanent" Committees, very much in the manner of the former Sub-Committees. Thus by 1939 the following Permanent Committees were in operation under the auspices of the C.I.C.I.:

1. The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.
2. The Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Cooperation.
3. The Committee of Scientific Advisers.
4. The Committee of Architectural Experts.
5. The Advisory Committee of Experts of the International Museums' Office.
6. The Directors' Committee of the Institutes of Archaeology and of the History of Art.
7. The Committee of Directors of Higher Education.
8. The Committee of Library Experts.
10. The Publication Committee for the Japanese Collection.
11. The Publication Committee for the Ibero-American Collection.
12. The Committee on Intellectual Rights.
13. The International Commission on Historical Monuments.
14. The International Committee on Folk Arts.

The Permanent Committees themselves were of two types. Some were directly attached to the C.I.C.I. itself, for instance, the Committee on Arts and Letters, the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching and the Scientific Committee. Also in the class of Permanent Committees were the Directors' Committee of the International Museums' Office, the Bureau or Office of the International Committee on Folk Art, and the Committee of the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and the History of Art. But this latter


75. L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section, Essential Facts About the League of Nations, 1939 ed., p. 266.
group of Committees, instead of being directly attached to the C.I.C.I., were convened by the Paris Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

Certain of the Permanent Committees were brought into existence chiefly in order to ensure contact with government departments or autonomous national or international organizations whose activities were being encouraged by the C.I.C.I. and its Institutes. In such instances official representatives met one another to work out together problems connected with their particular field of activity. Such Committees also decided on the investigation of certain questions by enquiries and helped to direct the work of the C.I.C.I.'s secretariat or of the Paris Institute. The International Commission on Historical Monuments was a case in point.

Among the Permanent Expert Committees there were actually three which were not the result of the 1930 innovations but were, rather, evolved from the former C.I.C.I. permanent Sub-Committees. These three Committees, namely, the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching and the Committee of Representatives of International Institutions Dealing with Intellectual Rights and Cognate Legal Problems, merit our special attention at this point.

The Committee on Arts and Letters was the only permanent Sub-Committee which came through the reorganization of 1930 without any very great changes having been made either in its

The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, July 1931.

From left to right:

1) On the far side of the table: MM. G. de Reynold, H. Pocillon, Thomas Mann, C. Capek, B. Bartok, G. Murray, J. Destree (Chairman), G. de Montenach (Secretary of the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation), H. Bonnet (Director of the Institute), J. Masefield (Poet Laureate of Great Britain), U. Ojetti, R. Paribeni, G. Opresco;


composition or its functions. However, even it was given a somewhat new and extended form. And, although it was not provided with a fixed program of work, the C.I.C.I., at its session of July 1931, adopted a "Provisional Statute" for the new Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.

In accordance with its Statute, the Committee on Arts and Letters was to be composed of fifteen members from different countries, literary men, artists and professors, nominated by the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. for a period of three years, with the possibility of re-appointment. The Committee was to meet at least once a year. The Chairman of the C.I.C.I. could, in exceptional instances, designate one or more individuals, especially qualified, to attend the meetings of the Permanent Committee, but these individuals could take part only in those debates in which the discussion related to their respective fields of specialization.

At its sixty-eighth session, in October 1932, the League Council took cognizance of the intention of the C.I.C.I. to proceed with certain modifications in the composition of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, in order to conform with the general movement of the time towards economies. The League Council at that time, decided that a reduction in the number of members to fourteen would still permit the Committee, under compelling circumstances, to call in outside experts, belonging to various countries and representing all


See also, L. of N., Document A.23.1931.XII., p. 17.
cultures and as many forms of art as possible.

The functions of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters remained, in essence, much the same as they had been before 1930. Within a year, however, the Committee had devised and instituted two new methods of work: "Conversations" and "Open Letters." The Conversations consisted of what has, in more recent times, been termed "round-table" or "panel" discussions, and they examined the general and dominant problems of the age. Specialists in different branches of scientific research or of artistic production were invited to participate in the Conversations, in addition to the members of the Permanent Committee. The Open Letters consisted of correspondence between a few chosen scholars eminently able to contribute by this means to a similar type of discussion or forum as the Conversations. This correspondence was later published in book form by the Paris Institute.

The League Assembly verified and approved of the development of the Conversations organized by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters or under its auspices. Indeed, the marked interest displayed in this activity by the various governments increased to such a degree that, by a resolution of October 10, 1936, the Assembly agreed to a decision of the League Council made on September 25, 1936, to increase the size of the Permanent Committee to eighteen members; and, to give this decision effect, it included in the budget for the ensuing

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year a supplementary credit of 5,050 Swiss francs. The C.I.C.I., while accepting the supplementary credit, did not, however, appoint any new members to the Permanent Committee so that in 1938 the Committee on Arts and Letters was made up of only fourteen members with four seats left vacant.

The second permanent Sub-Committee which survived the reorganization of 1930, though under a different title, was the former Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League. In 1931 the League Council made provision for a meeting of a number of members of this Committee. And on September 22, 1933, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the League Council and approved by the Fourteenth Assembly, the C.I.C.I. replaced the former Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth with the Advisory Committee for League of Nations Teaching. In its revised form the Advisory Committee was appointed by the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. rather than the League Council.

The Advisory Committee was composed of three full members and up to six associate members who were designated as "assessors." These assessors were appointed by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. for one session only, and their number varied in accordance with the nature of the questions.

See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 16, no. 9, p. 271, Sept. 1936.

under discussion. The I.L.O. and the I.I.G.I. were also permitted to send one representative each to the session of the Advisory Committee.

Thus, for example, in 1934 the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching was composed of three members of the C.I.C.I. including Gilbert Murray, the Chairman of that body and of the Advisory Committee; two other members of the former Committee on Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League; and six assessors appointed by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. By 1938, however, the Advisory Committee was composed of three members of the C.I.C.I. nominated by the Chairman of the latter body for a period of four years; two persons non-members of the C.I.C.I., also named by the Chairman of the C.I.C.I.; an assessor named for a period of three years; and an indefinite number of assessors appointed ad hoc by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I.

The Advisory Committee met annually and at its third session, in 1937, it requested the C.I.C.I. to change its title to the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Cooperation. This recommendation was accepted by the C.I.C.I. and the Advisory Committee was thenceforth referred to by that title.


After 1930, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry, the work of the I.C.O. in the sphere of intellectual rights was, in a large measure, initiated at, reviewed annually and limited to the Meetings of International Institutions Dealing with Intellectual Rights and Cognate Legal Problems. The institutions represented at these annual meetings, which were held in Paris, were: the I.L.O.; the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (Rome); International Bureaux for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works and Industrial Property (Berne); the Secretariat of the League of Nations (Legal Section and Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section); and the I.I.C.I. Though composed of representatives of institutions rather than individuals, this body, had, in effect, the same functions as those previously performed by the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights and was consequently often referred to, both in League circles and elsewhere, as the Committee on Intellectual Rights.

The Committee of Library Experts and the Committee of Expert Archivists were both continuations of the Sub-Committees of the same names which had been convened at irregular intervals before 1930 under the guidance of the former Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography. Since their titles are indicative of the nature of their work and since their work itself will be dealt with in the chapter which follows, no further discussion on these Committees is necessary at this point.

Two I.C.O. Committees of Experts which had no counterpart in the pre-1930 Organization but which nevertheless
became permanent in character by 1937 were the Committee of Architectural Experts and the Committee of Scientific Advisers.

The first of these, the Committee of Architectural Experts, was originally constituted as a Temporary Committee by the League Council on September 22, 1933, on the advice of the C.I.C.I. The composition of the Committee was decided upon by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. It included four members and a chairman. The United Kingdom Government later proposed that the League should set up a Permanent Committee to regularize the organization of international architectural competitions. The C.I.C.I. was asked by the League Council for an opinion on this matter and it decided to consult an Expert Committee, which, owing to administrative difficulties, did not meet until 1936. Following the recommendation of this Committee of Experts, the C.I.C.I. finally decided to appoint the Permanent Committee of Architectural Experts, to undertake the functions proposed by the United Kingdom.

The Committee of Scientific Advisers was set up by the C.I.C.I. in 1935 in order to examine the possibility of securing an agreement for a more permanent collaboration between

the International Council of Scientific Unions (formerly the International Research Council) and the I.C.O. The I.C.O. had previously endeavoured to initiate, maintain and strengthen all forms of cooperation with the International Council and its constituent unions, as well as with other major scientific organizations. These efforts, however, had not borne real fruit until July 5, 1934, when the International Council, for the first time, invited the I.C.O. to send a representative to its General Assembly at Brussels. For this purpose the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. delegated the official of the I.I.C.I. who had been responsible for maintaining liaison with the Council in all problems common to both organizations. At that General Assembly the International Council considered the desirability of establishing regular contact with the I.C.O. It envisaged the possibility of assuming, within that Organization, and, in the matter of the exact and natural sciences, a role similar to that of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters in its particular field.

The International Council, after discussing the matter at its Assembly, appointed a committee to examine this question. The Committee decided to favour the project and prepared a draft convention which was to serve as a basis for negotiations between the two bodies.

85. The committee was composed of the following persons: M. Niemec, International Union of Biology (Czechoslovakia); Jean Gerard, International Union of Chemistry (France); M. de Martonne, International Union of Geography (France); Elas Cabrera, International Union of Physics (Spain); Sir Henry Lyons, International Council of Scientific Unions; M. Establier, I.I.C.I.
At its session of July 1934 the C.I.C.I. was officially informed of this proposal. It provisionally accepted the offer of collaboration and requested its Executive Committee to continue the negotiations with a view to reaching a contractual agreement. Then, at its meeting of July 1935, the C.I.C.I. decided to set up the Committee of Scientific Advisers to examine the text of the proposed agreement. This Committee, consisting of eight members, first met on July 18, 1935, under the chairmanship of Dr. Blas Cabrera of Spain. It soon reached full agreement on the text of the draft agreement and sent it for approval to the C.I.C.I. The C.I.C.I., though approving the agreement, could not take any action on the matter until the League Council and Assembly had granted their approval as well.

Having been approved at Geneva, the draft agreement eventually came before the Executive Committee of the International Council for ratification in September 1936. It assented to it in principle, while reserving it for final acceptance by the Assembly, which met in London in April and May, 1937. The latter body unanimously adopted the draft agreement and authorized its President to sign it on the Assembly's behalf.

The terms of the agreement fixed, in detail, the collaboration between the two institutions. The International Council was to act as an advisory organ to the I.C.O. in regard to all scientific questions. The latter, in its turn, was to be consulted by the Council on all international questions affecting the organization of science. The Paris Institute and the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat were to act as the secretariat of the Committee appointed by the International Council, whose President was entitled to attend meetings of the C.I.C.I. dealing with science while a delegate of the I.C.O. was to attend meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council. This agreement was finally consummated at Paris on July 9-10, 1937.

Meanwhile, in 1936, the League Assembly had voted the necessary credits for the constitution of a Permanent C.I.C.I. Advisory Committee on Scientific Questions, which was to become the permanent means of liaison between the I.C.O. and the International Council and all other scientific bodies.

The first joint meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions and of the Committee of Scientific Advisers of the I.C.O. was held on July 9-10, 1937, and this meeting saw the beginning of a growing number of enterprises undertaken in common by the I.C.O. and the International Council.

The meetings of the Committee of Directors of Higher Education had their origin in the recommendations of the Committee

89. See Appendix XVII, vol. , pp. of this study for the text of this agreement.
of Directors of the National University Information Offices, which had been convened irregularly by the C.I.C.I. both before and after 1930. The Directors of the National University Offices had found that they were obliged to approach questions which were outside their own competence and which really concerned the governmental heads directly responsible for university education. Furthermore, for the proper execution of some of the decisions taken at their meetings, the cooperation of Ministries of Education was required in the case of many countries. Accordingly, in virtue of a recommendation adopted at their meeting of 1929, the I.I.C.I., on February 29 and March 1, 1932, convened a meeting of Directors of Higher Education, many of whom were high officials in their respective Ministries of Education, or, in the case of countries possessing no such system, qualified representatives of university life.

The Committee of Directors of Higher Education was thenceforth convened annually and it soon laid down a set of guiding principles according to which it declared it would pursue its work. It decided to examine, for example, fundamental questions such as the relations between universities and governments and the adaptation of teaching and research in certain fields of science to the requirements of modern life. It accordingly included on its program questions concerning the international exchange of teachers and students.

90. Those present at this meeting were: R. Werner Richter (German), Dr. Horatio Krans (American), Jacques Cavilier (French), Sir Frank Heath (British), Ugo Frascherelli (Italian), and Dr. Zolten Magyary (Hungarian).
the equivalence of degrees, the overcrowding of universities and intellectual professions and the establishment of what one of the Directors termed a "policy of science." Thus, in effect, these meetings of the Directors of Higher Education assumed the functions of the former Sub-Committee on University Relations.

One of the recommendations of the Committee of Directors was that the I.C.O. should sponsor an International Conference on Higher Education. This plan was approved by the C.I.C.I. and the Conference was eventually convened in Paris in 1937. Perhaps the most important recommendation made by this Conference was that which advised the C.I.C.I. to officially constitute a Permanent Committee on Higher Education to take the place of the meetings of the Committee of Directors of Higher Education. It was the view of the International Conference that the Permanent Committee should consist of a small number of Directors and that its object should be to promote direct contacts between the Directors of Higher Education and the universities of all countries, regardless of the organizational pattern of their respective educational systems, and, in particular, to study problems of general interest arising from the organization of higher education.

Following the International Conference on Higher Education, the C.I.C.I. authorized the Paris Institute to set up a Permanent Committee on Higher Education, attached to the Institute, for the purpose of continuing and extending the

studies begun by the Conference in cooperation with the national organizations which were pursuing similar aims in their respective countries. The officials of the Institute then drew up a proposed list of members of the Permanent Committee. This list was approved by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. at its twenty-first session in December 1938, and the Permanent Committee first met in 1939.

In those countries which had no central educational system or no Director of Higher Education, small bodies of administrators and heads of universities met to choose their representatives on the Permanent Committee of Higher Education. In the United States, for instance, this group delegated G.F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, in Washington, and Dr. Stephen Duggan, the Director of the Institute of International Education in New York, to represent it on the Permanent Committee.

Since each of the remaining Permanent Committees not as yet discussed in detail in this chapter concerned itself with a rather specific aspect of the work of the I.I.C.I. at Paris they may best be dealt with in connection with the following chapters of this study which are devoted to the Institute in question.

CHAPTER VIII

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued) -
The Foundation of the International University Information Office and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

Since the I.C.O. endeavoured to deal with an enormous variety of cultural problems which were universal in their incidence, it was natural that all of its activities would not be centered at one spot, namely, the seat of the League, in Geneva. Such, indeed, was the case. For, with each major extension of its program one or more new subsidiary organs were created outside Geneva, thanks to the initiative and beneficence of several governments which were sufficiently desirous of developing international cultural cooperation to render the financial support necessary for the upkeep of such bodies. The most noteworthy of these organs were two Institutes - the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute - which were placed at the disposition of the League of Nations and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation by the governments of France and Italy respectively. These two special institutions, though in themselves nominally autonomous organizations with their own respective constitutions or statutes, functioned, nevertheless, under the auspices and as integral parts of the I.C.O. The first Institute to be set up under the aegis of the I.C.O. was the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (I.I.C.I.) at Paris and hence it is with the origins and foundation of this organism

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that we shall largely deal in this Chapter.

The I.I.C.I. came into being as a result of a number of circumstances, nearly all of which had fortuitous and detrimental aspects. The first and most important of these circumstances was the C.I.C.I.'s tremendous need for a permanent expert secretariat to expedite, regulate and administer its numerous undertakings, and to provide a central office for the coordination of its activities. Obviously the C.I.C.I.'s short annual or semi-annual sessions, even with the aid of its Sub-Committees and its "secretariat" (which at first consist of a single League official), were not sufficient to secure adequate contact between the world's intellectual circles. Nor could the signing and implementation of general agreements for the coordination of research and bibliographical work in the various fields of study, or the modification of nationalist tendencies in education, be effected without the help of an executive instrument, especially since the C.I.C.I.'s own function was of a peculiarly executive, albeit advisory, nature. Hence the C.I.C.I. was not long in becoming painfully conscious that it was neglecting urgent needs and failing to fulfill the hopes awakened by its inception. Its members soon agreed upon the urgent need for an adequately financed international centre which could become the international meeting-ground of groups and individuals coming together either for research purposes or for the discussion of common problems. The C.I.C.I. naturally felt that a cooperative international spirit could better be engendered by such practical measures than by the mere passing of resolutions.
That the Committee saw from the first the "handicap" with which it was faced is witnessed by the "Report" on its second session, submitted to the Council and the Assembly. In this report the Committee asserted that it had

... obtained a relatively considerable number of positive results in a comparatively short space of time. ... [The Committee's members] have worked to the limit of their capacity, sometimes to the detriment of their own individual research work. They have been sustained by the idea that their efforts will not have been made in vain, and that the League of Nations, which invited them to study certain great problems, will provide them, in cases in which solutions have been proposed, with the necessary means for putting these solutions into effect.

One "solution" to which the Committee attached great importance was the formation of an International University Information Office. The C.I.C.I. had considered the establishment of such an office at its first session. The scheme had been further developed in two related proposals made by Professors Bannerjea and Hale respectively at the initial sessions of the Sub-Committee on University Relations. At that time Professor Bannerjea had requested the foundation of an International University Information Bureau under the patronage of the League, while Professor Hale had proposed the publication by the Bureau of the names of all the courses about to be held by all the universities of the world. The Sub-Committee had then requested Professor Bannerjea to pre-

pare a plan which would embody the essential features of both proposals. Professor Bannerjea's amended scheme had then come before the Sub-Committee only to be rejected in favour of a counter-proposal put forward by Professor de Reynold with the assistance of E. de Waldkirch, Director of the Swiss University Office at Berne. The C.I.C.I., in 1923, adopted the program of organization and work contained in the latter scheme, reduced it to extremely modest dimensions and recommended its inception by the League in the following terms:

... This Office might be attached to the section of the Secretariat of the League which carries out the secretarial work of the C.I.C.I.

The object, programme, method of work and budget of the Office might be determined in the following manner:

A. - The object of the Office will be to collect all documents concerning university life in all countries, to classify and to study them and to draw any useful information from them.

It will mainly deal with international relations between the universities and will make every endeavour possible to facilitate such relations.

B. - The Office shall collect documents and distribute information in accordance with the programme framed below:

I. University Organisation.

1. Relations between the universities and the State;
2. International organisation (governing body, divisions, institutes, "seminars");
3. Relations between the various universities in the same country;
4. National university information offices or similar national institutions.

II. **Organisation of Studies.**

1. Systems and periods of study;
2. Division of studies;
3. Matriculation;
4. Examinations and degrees.

III. **Teaching Staff.**

1. Appointment, duration of appointment;
2. Salaries;
3. Unattached professors and lecturers;
4. Admission of foreigners to the teaching staff.

IV. **Students.**

1. Administrative relations between the universities and the students, legal status of students, discipline;
2. Organisations of students;
3. Conditions of life (housing, feeding, requisites for study, grants in aid, scholarships, etc.

V. **Social Importance of the Universities.**

1. Recruitment of teaching staff;
2. Social position of professors;
3. Social position of ex-students (doctors, lawyers, etc);
4. Relations with the public (academic associations, university extension courses, public lectures and courses);
5. Scientific associations.

VI. **International Relations.**

1. Equivalent studies and examinations (comparative value of courses and examinations);
2. International agreements;
3. Inter-university congresses;
4. Scientific congresses;
5. Students' congresses;
6. Interchange of professors;
7. Interchange of students;
8. Interchange of publications;
9. Exchanges between libraries;
10. Vacation courses.

C. - The office will keep constantly in touch with the national bureaux or other similar institutions.
In countries where there is no national inter-university bureau, the Office will endeavour to obtain the formation of one and meanwhile will appoint correspondents.

The Office will give information in the first place to the official administrative bodies of higher education in the various States, to the national bureau and finally to the universities themselves, whether State controlled or free.

It will also be authorised to enter into relations with private associations and with individual persons.

It will publish a bulletin.

D. - The Office will be directed by the Secretary of the C.I.C.I. He will be assisted by a temporary official for work of an administrative nature and by a shorthand typist.

On Sept. 17, 1923, the Fourth Assembly of the League, having considered the recommendations of the C.I.C.I. and its Chairman regarding the Committee's imperative needs, authorized it to convert its Secretariat into such an office. The Assembly further suggested a number of initial enterprises upon which the Office might embark.

Subsequently the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committee on University Relations met on December 3-4 and drew up a list of provisional regulations for the operation of the Office. These regulations were forwarded to the C.I.C.I. as draft resolutions and were adopted by the third session of the C.I.C.I. on December 8, 1923.


In accordance with these resolutions, a provisional Directing Board mapped a program for the Office for the ensuing year and immediately began the publication of a Quarterly Bulletin. By July 29, 1924 a more permanent program, as noted below, had been drawn up by the Directing Board and approved by both the Sub-Committee on University Relations and the C.I.C.I.:

I. The essential duty of the Office shall be to collect and, as far as lies in its power, to make use of information of all kinds concerning the international aspects of university life and, in a lesser degree, concerning the organisation and activities of higher education in the different countries.

The Office shall be the executive organ of the C.I.C.I. in all matters connected with university questions.

II. The Office shall work in conjunction with national university offices and shall entrust to the appropriate national office all questions of particular interest to individual nations.

In countries in which no national office exists, the International Office shall use as an intermediary the National Committees on intellectual co-operation or, in the absence of such Committees, any other suitable organisations, such as the correspondents appointed by the International Committee, or, failing such correspondents, any other properly qualified person.

6. This Bulletin, which was published during 1924 and 1925, contained most of the relevant information received from the various National University Information Bureaux concerning the extent to which courses of study, degrees and diplomas were being given international recognition, and also information relating to the curricula of the different universities, especially those holding international summer vacation courses or courses on international relations, modern languages, etc.
III. Until further notice, the Bulletin shall be prepared by the Director of the Office, and the Chairman of the Directing Board shall be finally responsible for the Bulletin and shall sign the press proofs.

IV. The Office shall, so far as its resources and its programme permit, take part in the general enquiry concerning intellectual life.

V. The Office shall be placed under the direction of the C.I.C.I., which shall approve the annual report, appoint the Directing Board, reserve the right to assign to the Office any task which it may think fit, and, in general, take all important decisions concerning the work of the Office.

VI. The Provisional Directing Board was appointed, and its powers and duties defined, by the Committee in its resolution of December 8th, 1923.

VII. The Provisional Directing Board is of opinion that during the present financial year its activities should consist mainly in assisting the Director of the Office in his work...

VIII. The Directing Board recommends that, with a view to promoting relations with national offices, and, in general, with a view to assisting the working of the Office, a travelling fund should be established, either from the credits at the disposal of the Office or from any resources which it may be able to obtain.

Meanwhile the International Office had begun to function at the end of January 1924, following the meeting, on January 28 of that year, of the Directing Board. The Office was a small organism, located at the Secretariat of the League, even though the Brussels University Foundation, apparently the successor to the International University, had informed the League that it would place premises for the Information

Office at the disposal of the League, rent-free. The Office was evidently meant to be extremely modest in its duties, since its budget was negligible, consisting of a maximum of thirty thousand seven hundred Swiss francs per annum, or about six thousand dollars. Of this sum, over thirteen thousand francs ($2,650.00) were required to pay the person in charge of the Office and seven thousand francs ($1,350.00) were necessary for the employment of a single typist. Thus only about ten thousand francs ($2,000.00) were available for travelling expenses and publications. Nevertheless, with the help of the International University Information Office, limited though its funds were, the C.I. C.I. was able to begin the collection and distribution of information concerning university life and to initiate more cooperative inter-university relations in all countries.

Although the International University Information Office was a useful and efficient appendage of the C.I.C.I., it constituted a modus vivendi for only one branch of the C.I.C.I.'s great network of international intercultural activities. In all other fields outside of University Relations the Committee still remained without any decisive means of action, without an adequate base of operations. The C.I.C.I. therefore continued to appeal for aid, both from the League itself and


9. According to the World Almanac, 1924, published by the New York World-Telegram, the Swiss franc was worth about two cents in American currency at that time.

from external sources. The League Assembly either did not comprehend, or misunderstood, the C.I.C.I.'s requirements in this regard and the appeals made by M. Bergson on behalf of his colleagues were largely ineffective. Consequently the expression of the feeling of futility gradually became audible at the C.I.C.I.'s meetings. These feelings, together with the fact that the C.I.C.I. had become known as the "Cinderella of the League," owing to its inability to secure sufficient funds, resulted both in Cinderella-like self-commiseration and in further appeals for assistance. By mid-summer of 1924, when these tactics had also apparently failed, the C.I.C.I. considered the possibility of terminating its labours.

Section B: the Foundation of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

At that moment, however, France had just elected a new government, enthusiastic for the League and truly French in its ardour for intellectual life. France was already spending large sums annually in order to spread her culture throughout the world, not only because she believed in France's intellectual mission, but because she was thereby extending French influence over an important opinion-forming class. Now, however, she expressed the desire to assist in international work of a similar nature - a rather significant departure from normal national conduct. In response to the appeal made to the public of the world by the C.I.C.I., the French Government began to study various means for facilitating the International Committee's work.

Thus, when the C.I.C.I. met on July 26, 1924, its Chairman, Professor Bergson, was able to lay before it a letter
from the French Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, M. Francois Albert. The letter stated that, just as the Italian Government had set up the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome in 1905, so the French Government was now desirous of setting up, at Paris, an International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. Through the intermediary of the League of Nations, it desired to offer the funds and the premises necessary for the foundation and the working of the Institute, thereby granting the C.I.C.I. the means of transforming its plans into definite action.

M. Albert concluded the letter by requesting M. Bergson, as the French member of the Committee, to prepare, in cooperation with the Committee, a scheme for the organization of the proposed Institute, which was to be the executive organ of the C.I.C.I. On the basis of this plan the French Government was prepared to draw up proposals which it would submit to the Council of the League, and which would require the assent of the French Parliament.

The Committee, while heartily and unanimously approving of the French Government's offer, recognized that it did not have the legal right to accept the French proposal, since that right belonged solely to the Council. After an exchange of views on the matter the Committee decided to send a telegram, drafted by Professors Bergson and Murray with the assis-

The telegram was worded as follows:

The C.I.C.I. welcomes with the deepest gratitude the proposal of the French Government, which, if it is accepted by the Council of the League of Nations, will allow the realisation of a methodical and practical plan of intellectual co-operation between all nations. It begs to congratulate and to thank the French Minister of Education. 12

The C.I.C.I. then delegated Mm. de Reynold, Millikan, Lorentz and Luchaire to draw up a draft report on the French offer. This report was unanimously adopted by the Committee and then forwarded to the Council. In effect, the report recommended that the Council should accept the French Government's offer but stipulated that the C.I.C.I., being an advisory committee of the League Council, should maintain its seat and its Secretariat at Geneva. The C.I.C.I. went on to indicate very briefly the lines along which the proposed Institute might carry on its duties and recommended that the Institute should continue the work already begun by the Committee. The C.I.C.I. also suggested that the Institute should be divided into administrative Sections, each dealing with one of the following suggested topics: Intellectual Statistics Information, University Relations, Scientific Relations, Legal and Economic, Literary and Artistic Relations, and a Press Service.

In conclusion, the C.I.C.I. recommended that the Institute should not "in any way supersede the existing international organizations." 13

Subsequently the French Government repeated its offer to the League Council which accepted the proposal in principle, on September 9, 1924, and asked the Assembly for its opinion regarding three specific points: the functions of the proposed Institute; the administrative and legal conditions governing the work of the Institute; and the relations between it and existing international institutions of an intellectual character, such as the Union of International Associations, the International Institute of Bibliography, the International Research Council and the International Academic Union, all of which were already established at Brussels and whose autonomy had to be maintained.

Since the seat of the new Institute was to be at Paris and not Geneva, a national motive was suspected on the part of France and there was a good deal of opposition to the proposal at the Fifth Assembly. In the lively debate on the question at the sessions of the Second Committee of the Fifth Assembly the disadvantages of Paris were emphasized and it was suggested by several members that the League itself could and should provide the necessary premises for the Institute, at Geneva. The opposition to the acceptance of the offer was led by Mr. Charlton of Australia. He contended that

The League of Nations was established for the purpose of dealing with international matters on an international basis. For that purpose, Switzerland was chosen as the home of the League. This being so, if it is desired to preserve this international aspect, it is necessary, in my view, to keep all the institutions which come under the League of Nations within the boundaries of the League, so that there may be no room for differences
of opinion in the future from the international point of view. 14

Mr. Charlton further believed that the acceptance of the offer would set a precedent which would later cause difficulties. Sir James Allen of New Zealand also opposed the acceptance. His chief object in so doing seemed solely to assist the delegate from Australia. He said, "I want to assist my colleague from Australia; and, if de does call for a vote, I shall vote with him."

However, no practical alternative to the French proposal was put forward. Consequently, when Professor Murray pointed out that since the C.I.C.I. had urgently requested help, and since only one government had responded, it would be not only difficult but quite illogical to reject its offer because of objections raised by any of the forty-odd governments who had thus far given no financial sign of any interest in the work. Put in that way the various delegates felt unable to vote against the measure and it was thus recommended for acceptance by the Assembly.

At the Plenary Session of the Assembly delegates from Jugoslavia, Poland, India and Belgium all spoke in favour of accepting the proposal, and finally, the Fifth Assembly, by a unanimous vote, adopted the recommendations of its Second Committee. At the same time the Assembly emphasized its desire that the Institute should possess a strictly internat-

ional character, both as regards the program of its work and the choice of its staff, in accordance with the intention of the French Government and the Council. The Assembly further recommended that:

A. The powers and duties of the new Institute shall be defined by the C.I.C.I., in accordance with the principles laid down by the Committee itself — after such consultations as may be necessary to avoid overlapping — and with the instructions of the Council and the Assembly. These powers and duties may subsequently be enlarged by the Committee with the consent of the Council and the Assembly.

B. The Council of the League of Nations is invited to conclude with the French Government all agreements necessary to ensure the establishment, continuity and proper working of the Institute.

In accordance with these agreements, the administration of the Institute shall be entrusted to the C.I.C.I., acting as a governing body. The latter shall, with the approval of the Council, appoint five persons of different nationalities, who shall form a Committee of Directors. The powers and duties of the Committee of Directors, which shall meet at least once every two months, the term of office of its members and the system of rotation by which its membership shall be renewed, shall be determined by the C.I.C.I.

The budget and accounts of the Foundation will be communicated to the Council and the Assembly. The accounts will be audited at least once a year by the Chief Auditor of the League, and his report will be annexed to the budget and the accounts.

C. The C.I.C.I. shall determine in each case, after consulting the parties concerned and in agreement with them, the relations with the International Institute of the Institutions mentioned in the resolution of the Council, or any other institutions of an intellectual character.
The C.I.C.I. will be ready to collaborate with these institutions with a view to solving particular problems without, however, interfering in any way with their autonomy. Thus the Assembly, while recommending the acceptance of the proposal, laid down certain principles regarding it.

When the vote on the French offer was actually being taken in the Assembly, Sir Littleton Grom, and not Mr. Charlton, was the voting delegate from Australia; and he cast his vote, and hence the vote of Australia, in favour of acceptance. The New Zealand delegate followed suit and voted favourably too. Mr. Charlton was persistent in his views, however, and requested that his viewpoint and his reasons be put into the Assembly "Record." And, in retrospect, it cannot but be admitted that Mr. Charlton expressed a significant point concerning international administration.

Following the vote of the Assembly and the endorsement of its recommendations by the League Council at its thirteenth session, held September 30, 1924, two officials of the French Ministry of Public Education, one of whom was M. Luchaire, the C.I.C.I.'s expert, began to prepare the necessary agreements and the draft terms to be submitted to the French Parliament. Their work was fairly complicated and took some time. Meanwhile, as early as November 1924 the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. considered that the Committee should be convoked to discuss


See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Fifth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 21, p. 16, and L. of N., M.S., vol. 4, no. 9, pp. 188-189 and 210-211, Sept. 1924.
these draft terms. When, however, he attempted to secure the convocation of a special session of the Committee, he was unable to make the necessary arrangements. He was informed that the credits at the C.I.C.I.'s disposal for 1924 had been exhausted and that a transfer in the budget of the League was impossible, even though the question of the Agreements between the French Government and the League were to come before the League Council in December of that year. The Chairman then asked the French Ministry of Public Education if it would not be possible, without going so far as to adjourn the conclusion of the Agreements, to ask the Council to limit itself for the time to a general approval of the Agreements, the definite text of certain parts of which would be fixed at a future date. The French Government, for unstated reasons, however, decided that this solution could not be adopted. The C.I.C.I., therefore, could not intervene — that is to say, it was not possible, before the conclusion of the Agreement between the French State and the League or before the drawing up of the Bill which was to be submitted to the French Parliament, for the Committee to elaborate its views thereon or even for it to meet.

On December 8, 1924 the French Government sent a draft letter to the Council containing a formal proposal for the formation of the Institute. The latter purported to embody both the principles laid down by the Fifth Assembly and the general recommendations laid down by the report of the C.I.C.I. C.I. Appended to the letter was a Draft Organic Statute for the proposed Institute. At its meeting of December 13, 1924,
following a report by M. Briand on the draft letter, the Council decided to regard the letter as constituting the Agreement provided for in the recommendations of the Assembly and instructed its President, as soon as he received it in its final form, to confirm to the French Government the Council's agreement to the terms of the undertaking.

In the draft letter the French Government made it clear that its undertaking in the matter would be given only on certain conditions, of which the principal ones were as follows:

1. The administration of the Institute was to be entrusted to the members of the C.I.C.I. and its general regulations were to be as laid down in the Organic Statute annexed to the draft letter, i.e., in conformity with the Assembly's recommendations of September 23, 1924.

2. The French Government was to cause the Institute to be recognized as an autonomous foundation possessing legal personality.

3. The French Government was to supply the necessary premises for the working of the Institute and bear all the costs of installation.

4. The French Parliament was to grant to the Institute an annual subsidy of two million French francs, which could be increased after a vote of the two Chambers of the French Parliament, if the development of the Institute made this desirable.

5. The French Government was to incur no responsibility resulting from the Institute's activity, while the League of Nations assumed no financial or other responsibility whatsoever.

6. Gifts, legacies and subsidies might be received by the Institute in addition to the subsidy granted by the French Government without taxation.
7. The funds necessary for the working of the Institute were to be paid by the French Government every six months in advance; the Governing Body of the Institute was to prepare the budget as within the limits of the subsidy, with the addition of any further funds received from other sources.

8. The conditions of the undertaking entered into by French Government might be modified in agreement with the League Council, if experience showed that this was desirable.

9. The undertaking was to be entered into for a period of seven years, renewable for further periods of seven years, unless it was denounced for two years before the end of any such period.

10. The undertaking given in the French Government's letter was to be subject to legislative approval; once that approval had been indicated to the Secretary-General, the agreement was to be considered binding.

Upon receipt of the League's agreement to the proposal, the French Government amended the original draft letter so as to expurgate the sections of the original which referred to it as being a "draft" and it was sent, in its final form, as a decree of the French Government, to the League Council on December 21, 1924.


See Appendices XVIII and XIX in vol. , pp. and of this study respectively for the text of the French proposal and the Statutes annexed thereto.
In the summer of 1925, however, certain difficulties arose in the French Senate concerning the adoption of the Agreement. The request for the creation of the Institute had come at an inopportune moment, when France was in a difficult financial position. At a time when economies were necessary and when it was found impossible to give to her own laboratories, libraries, professors and officials in general all that they needed, the creation of an establishment such as the International Institute appeared to be a luxury, more especially as anxiety was felt that the Institute would be led to demand larger and larger subsidies from the French State. Then too, there were implications made that an ambitious - an even too ambitious - beginning for the Institute was being contemplated. After a long debate and some recriminations, however, the Bill was finally passed and became law on August 16, 1925. And on September 5 of that year the Secretary-General of the League was able to acknowledge the receipt of the French Government's ratification of the Agreement, thus bringing it into effect. Hence when the C.I.C.I. met at its fifth and sixth sessions, held on May 11-14 and July 27-30 of 1925, it was able to "consider" the Agreement; to adopt the Statute; to draw up the Staff Regulations, the

17. See Appendix XX, vol. pp. of this study for the text of the Decree and the Final Act.

18. L. of N., "I.I.C.I. at Paris: Note by the Secretary-General: Letter Addressed to the Secretary-General by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs: Reply from the Secretary-General," Document A.35.1925.XII.

19. The C.I.C.I. sat as the Governing Body of the Institute at the latter session.
The Main Court of the Palais-Royal, the Conseil d'Etat, the Comédie Française, and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, 2, Rue de Mompensier, Paris. - L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section, The League of Nations: A Pictorial Survey, 1929, p. [29].

Financial Regulations and the Budget; and to appoint a directorate or Committee of Directors and the principal officials of the Institute.

On January 16, 1926 the I.I.C.I. opened its doors and began its labours, in the presence of the President of the French Republic, the members of the C.I.C.I. and numerous representatives of the diplomatic corps, French and foreign universities and scientific societies. On behalf of the French Government, the Minister of Education, M. Daladier, handed the Institute over to the League of Nations. Recalling the circumstances in which the French Government's offer to found the Institute had been accepted and previous efforts to develop intellectual intercourse, he said:

"These efforts have up to now been confined to certain groups or countries and to certain branches of learning. The International Institute, thanks to the League of Nations, is both permanent and universal in conception. Its very existence is a striking manifestation of those great laws of solidarity and interdependence which govern the spiritual as well as the material life of all countries. By the coordination and facilitation of scientific work, the International Institute will, in the words of Leon Bourgeois, be cooperating in the work of moral disarmament and promotion of understanding among nations."

M. Scialoja, Acting-President of the League Council, then thanked the French Government in the name of the League and also reviewed the work already accomplished by the C.I.C.I.

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22. Loc. cit.
The Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, in his address, pointed out that the creation of the Institute signified considerable progress in the development of international cooperation - the primary aim and object of the League. Addresses by Professor Lorentz, Chairman of the C.I.C.I., and Paul Painleve, Chairman of the Committee of Directors and Governing Body of the Institute, followed and finally M. Luchaire, the newly-appointed Director of the Institute, thanked the French Government in the name of the staff and added:

... The program laid down by the C.I.C.I. is both broad and well defined. We must examine all problems of organization bearing upon intellectual activity; familiarize ourselves with all details concerning international scientific, literary, artistic and pedagogic relations; put ourselves in touch with the chief intellectual institutions of the world; and help them, if they so desire, to know one another better, and to cooperate more systematically. ... Who can deny that the international organization of intellectual work still leaves much to be desired, that there are many omissions, much overlapping and delay? This is due to a great extent to the fact that the efforts of intellectual workers of different countries are not sufficiently coordinated; that they do not realize that, by dividing their work, they could make it easier. Our part is a modest, but, we believe, a necessary one; we are neither scholars nor artists; our duty is merely to clear the way for those who, entirely absorbed by their ideal, are sometimes unable to devote sufficient attention to the path their feet should tread.23

Thus, early in 1926, the Paris Institute became the administrative secretarial and executive organ of the C.I.C.I. and, as such acted as its Secretariat for most of its activities,

though a residuum of this work was left, as we shall see in a later Chapter, in the hands of the League Secretariat at Geneva.
CHAPTER IX
The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued)-
The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation:
1926-1930

Section A: the General Functions and Administrative
Organization of the I.I.C.I.

In accordance with its Organic Statutes, the principal objects of the Paris Institute were to prepare the work to be discussed by the C.I.C.I., to ensure the carrying out of the decisions and recommendations of that Committee in all countries, to promote, through international cooperation, the organization of intellectual work throughout the world, and generally, to develop international cooperation in literature, art and science. As outlined by M. Luchaire, the Director of the Institute, the specific functions of the I.I.C.I. included the following activities:

1. Protection of the right of property in scientific productions.
2. International organization of bibliography.
3. Exchange of information and publications regarding the intellectual cooperation movement.
4. Facilitation of the exchange and lending of books from libraries, etc.
5. Selection and editing of literature, especially scientific literature.
6. Exchange of professors and students.
7. Education in international interests.
8. Protection of archeological remains.
10. Agreements regarding museums and expositions.
11. Improvements of cinema productions.

1. Organic Statutes of the I.I.C.I., Article II.
2. Luchaire, Julien, Principe de la Co-opération Intellectuelle, Paris, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1929, p. 18. (The translation is that of the present writer.)
The Institute's working was fully under the control of the C.I.C.I. and was entirely independent of the country in which it was established. Furthermore, the Institute could correspond directly (which the C.I.C.I. had not previously been empowered to do) with all governmental and administrative authorities. Formally speaking, then, the I.I.C.I. was an independent corporate body, recognized under French law, with its own Governing Body or Administrative Council and its own quarters or seat in a wing of the Palais Royal in Paris. Theoretically, the only difference between it and the Technical sections of the League was that it was a more autonomous body, in the administrative sense, and was not placed under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the League. In fact, however, the staff of the Institute was subject to the same rules as those governing the staff of the League Secretariat and, as we have already noted, the Institute was entirely dependent on the C.I.C.I. (which was itself responsible to the League) in matters relating to the establishment of its program of work, the utilization of its resources and the recruiting of its staff. Indeed, its Governing Body originally consisted solely of the members of the C.I.C.I., the only difference between the two bodies being that, by agreement between the French Government and the League Council, the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.I.C.I. had to be of French nationality, the position thus devolving upon the member of French nationality on the C.I.C.I.

In addition to its Governing Body, the Paris Institute was administered by a Committee of Directors, a Director, and the Chiefs of Sections and Branches.
In accordance with the Internal Regulations of the Institute, which were drawn up by the C.I.C.I., it was the duty of the Governing Body, as the supreme authority of the I.I.C.I., to draft the annual budget and determine the Institute's program of work. The Governing Body also nominated the Committee of Directors and examined its report. Furthermore it was required to present an annual report to the League Council and the French Government. It also appointed the Institute's Director and the Chiefs of Sections and Branches and ratified all appointments made by the Committee of Directors.

Similar to the Governing Body, the Committee of Directors or the executive body of the Institute was also constituted under the Institute's Organic Statutes and Internal Regulations. Originally it was composed of five members, in addition to the Chairman of the Governing Body, who also acted as the Chairman of the Committee. The five members, each of a different nationality, were appointed by the Governing Body.

3. See Appendix XXI, vol., pp., of this study for the text of the Internal Organization or Regulations of the I.I.C.I.

4. The Governing Body and the Committee of Directors were both presided over by Paul Painlevé from 1926 to 1933 and by Edouard Herriot from 1934 to 1940.

5. Although it was provided that persons other than members of the C.I.C.I. could be elected to the Committee of Directors, the Governing Body considered that for the first year, which would be an initial period of experimentation and consequent difficulty, it would be wise to confine the choice solely to members of the C.I.C.I.

The members of the Institute's first Committee of Directors were appointed on July 27, 1925, with Henri Bergson as Chairman. He resigned on August 12, 1925 and was succeeded by Professor Lorentz who was replaced by M. Painlevé in 1926, as a result of the decision to have a Frenchman as the Chairman.
Besides these regular members, the Governing Body had the power to appoint additional associate members to the Committee of Directors. In addition, the Secretary-General of the League or his representative and the Director of the Institute were entitled to attend the meetings of the Committee of Directors, though only in an advisory capacity. The Secretary of the C.I.C.I., i.e., the individual appointed by the League Secretariat for that purpose, was also called upon to act as the Secretary of the Committee of Directors.

The members of the Committee of Directors were appointed for a period of five years. The initial appointments, however, were for one year only, at the end of which time, and during each of the following four years, one of the members was chosen by lot for re-election for another five years, thus initiating a system of rotation of membership. No member could be re-elected more than once. In the event of the resignation or death of a member, his seat remained vacant until the next meeting of the Governing Body. The Committee could function legally, however, in the interim, since its decisions were valid regardless of the number of members present. The Committee of Directors held five organizational sessions up to July 1925 but thereafter, until 1931, it was convened by its Chairman, at the Institute, every two months, except during August and September. It could always be convened for additional sessions, however, by the Governing Body, and, in case of emergency, at the behest of the Director of the Institute or on the request of two of its members.

Each year the Governing Body, after fixing the program
of activities, left its execution to the Committee of Directors, to which was delegated all the power necessary to fulfill this function. Thus the Committee of Directors proposed and carried out, within the limit of its powers, all that it considered essential for the activity of the Institute. The Committee of Directors had the further duty of appointing, with the concurrence of the Director of the Institute, all the members of the staff of the I.I.C.I. whose appointments were not made by the Governing Body or the Director.

The members of the Committee of Directors served without receiving any additional remuneration to that which they received as members of the Governing Body. Furthermore, they were not permitted, during the duration of their appointment as members of the Committee, to do any work for remuneration for the Institute, either as experts or as mere collaborators. They were, however, indemnified by the Institute for their living and travelling expenses, in accordance with the standard in effect for members of League Committees.

Members of the Committee of Directors who were unable to attend its meetings were permitted to select a substitute of their own choice, providing that the substitute was accepted by the Governing Body.

The Director of the Institute was appointed by the Governing Body for a period of seven years, after which he was re-eligible for one further term. And, in order to ensure the international status and functioning of the Institute, the

6. Organic Statutes of the I.I.C.I., Article II.
Internal Regulations stipulated that it was desirable that two successive Directors should not be of the same nationality.

The Director undertook "to devote his whole time to the Institute, to direct it with the utmost impartiality . . . and to ensure that it was strictly international in character." In addition, it was his duty to ensure the unity of the Institute's work by coordinating all its efforts. Hence his authority extended over all Sections and Services of the Institute and he divided his work among them in such a manner as "to avoid any loss of time or duplication of effort." Furthermore, the Director, alone, had the right, which, however, he could delegate to others, to sign the correspondence of the Institute.

In summary, then, the Director's duty was to "ensure the execution of the programme laid down by the Committee and the Governing Body." He had, in this capacity, the right to appoint or dismiss the clerical staff of the Institute and to determine their number in accordance with the needs of the time and the budgetary limitations. Furthermore, he decided upon the scale of their salary. And, in the event of his illness, or an emergency, he could, with the approval of the Committee of Directors, designate which of his Chiefs of Sections was to replace him. This right was revoked, however, in 1927, when the office of Deputy-Director was instituted.

Early in 1925 the League Council had announced that Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz, of the University of Freiburg, in

7. Internal Regulations of the I.I.C.I., Article XIV.
8. Ibid. Article XV.
Breisgau, had been chosen as the Director of the I.I.C.I.
The present writer, however, has been unable to discover who
made this selection. In any event, when the Governing Body
first met officially, on July 27, 1925, it appointed, as the
first Director of the Institute, M. Julien Luchaire, Inspector-General of Education in France, Honorary Professor at the
University of Grenoble, Professor at the Academy of International Law at the Hague and Expert to the C.I.C.I., from its
inception. The Board's explanation of its choice, stated in
its report to the League Council, was as follows:

"... M. Julien Luchaire was unanimously elected,
without discussion. Having taken part in the
Committee's work from the first day, and having
already done much for its advancement and for the
success of intellectual co-operation, he was
obviously the person best qualified to occupy so
difficult a post and to undertake such great res-
ponsibilities; all his previous experience quali-
fied him for the post."

M. Luchaire was given leave of absence from the French Ministry of Education and held the position of Director of the I.I.
C.I. for four years. In 1930, as a result of a number of
recriminations between himself and the members of the Committee of Enquiry, he "withdrew" and returned to the French Ministry of Education. Thereafter, from 1931 until the closing of the Institute at the Fall of France in May 1940, M. Henri Bonnet
held the position of Director. M. Bonnet escaped to America
following the defeat of France and later became first the
Minister of Propaganda for the Free French Committee and then

9 L. of N., "Work of the C.I.C.I. at Its Sixth Session:
Report Submitted to the Council and Assembly of the League,"
the French Ambassador to the United States. In November 1945, at the United Nations Conference on Education and Cultural Cooperation, held at London, M. Bonnet acted as one of the French delegates, along with M. Blum and M. Herriot.

Meanwhile, in July 1926, the Governing Body decided to create a position of Assistant or Deputy Director of the Institute and it appointed Professor Alfred Zimmern to act in that capacity.

Originally, and in accordance with the recommendations made by the C.I.C.I. in 1924, the Institute was divided into Sections and Services. The Sections corresponded with the principal fields of action of the C.I.C.I., while the Services represented the technical and auxiliary activities of the Institute. The Services were of use to all the Sections or were of a temporary nature. Thus in 1926, at the opening of the Institute, it was divided into the following Sections:

1. General Affairs.
2. University Relations.
3. Bibliography and Scientific Relations.
4. Artistic Relations.
5. Literary Relations.
6. Legal.
7. Information.

10. Since the re-opening of the Institute in May 1945 and up to the time of writing (January 1, 1946), M. Jean-Jacques Mayoux has acted as the Interim Director of the Institute.

11. In February 1946 Sir Alfred Zimmern was appointed Temporary Secretary-General of the United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization.

12. The scope and functions of each of these Sections were defined in Articles XX - XXV of the Internal Regulations of the I.I.C.I.
Each Section was required to conduct its work in liaison with the corresponding Sub-Committee of the C.I.C.I. and the Chiefs of Sections were permitted to attend the meetings of their respective Sub-Committees in an advisory capacity. And, though the expenditures for the holding of the sessions of the Sub-Committees remained, as in the past, chargeable to the C.I.C.I., those of the Chiefs of Sections, while attending meetings of the Sub-Committees, were chargeable to the Institute. The Sub-Committees could, however, designate, each year, one of their respective members to follow the work of their respective Sections with particular attention and the charges resulting therefrom were to be paid from the Institute's budget.

The following original Chiefs of Sections were appointed by the Governing Body in July 1925:

1. **Artistic Relations Section**: Richard Dupierreux (Belgian), Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp, and Publicist.

2. **University Relations Section**: Oscar de Malecki (Polish), Professor at Warsaw University and former Secretary of the C.I.C.I.

3. **Literary Relations Section**: Mlle. Gabriella Mistral (Chilean), Headmistress of Santiago Girls' Training College.

4. **Information Section**: G. Prezzolini (Italian), Journalist.

5. **Bibliography and Scientific Relations Section**: M. Schulze-Gaevernitz (German), Professor at Freiburg University.

6. **Legal Section**: M. de Vilallonga (Spanish), formerly Chief of the Legal Section of the I. L. O.
7. General Affairs Section: Alfred Zimmern (British), Fellow of New College, Oxford, and former Professor of International Politics in the University of Aberystwyth. In addition, M. Maurice Monier, formerly the Assistant Head Clerk at the French Ministry of Education, was appointed as Head of the Internal Service or Administration of the Institute.

According to Article XI of the Organic Statutes, it was the duty of the Governing Body, subject to the approval of the League Council, to decide which categories of the Institute's staff should enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, as provided for in Article VII of the League Covenant. The Governing Body decided, in this connection, that it would be desirable for the Director, the Chiefs of Sections, Chiefs of Services and their principal Assistants to enjoy these privileges. This decision was approved by the League Council on September 10, 1925.

The Institute, as its program and activities developed, gradually began to employ a larger and larger staff. Thus, by May 21, 1926, the actual work of the I.I.C.I. was being carried on by a full-time staff of some sixty persons; by the end of 1929 it numbered close to a hundred persons. And, as a result of the constant efforts on the part of the Direc-


tor and the Governing Body to maintain and increase the Institute's international character, its officials were citizens of some twenty different nations: the Director was French; the Deputy-Director, English; the Head of the Section for University Relations, German; that of the Scientific Relations Section, Dutch; that of the Legal Section, French; that of the Literary Relations Section, Swiss; that of the Artistic Relations Section, Belgian; and that of the Information Section, Italian.

In addition to its regular staff the Institute had another group of fonctionnaires attached to it. These were the Délégues d'Etat. The presence of this group of accredited State delegates at the Institute was due to the fact that the Greek Government, early in 1925, had approached the C.I.C.I. with a request that it be permitted to have a representative attached to the Institute. In July 1925, the Governing Body, feeling that contact between the I.I.C.I. and the different States would thus be greatly facilitated, complied with the Greek request by adding another Article to the Internal Regulations of the Institute, in accordance with which each Government was permitted to appoint an accredited representative to the I.I.C.I. These representatives were to be permitted to submit suggestions to the Committee of Directors and also to keep themselves informed of the work in progress. The Institute maintained constant contact with these accredited representatives.


national delegates. Occasionally both it and the C.I.C.I. had recourse to their good offices and endeavoured to keep them accurately informed of the Organization's work. To ensure the latter, copies of all the I.C.O's documentary material were placed at their disposal.

The number of Délegués d'Etat at the Institute rose to twenty-seven by the end of the Institute's first year of operations and continued to rise steadily thereafter. New Zealand and Australia, whose delegates had originally opposed the formation of the Institute, failed to appoint accredited delegates to the I.I.C.I. — despite the fact that the Assembly vote for the acceptance of the French offer to set up the Institute had been unanimous. Great Britain also remained aloof from the Institute, both from the standpoint of accrediting a delegate to it and according it financial support. The Institute was thus deprived of even the nominal support of one of the world's great powers.

18. Delegates were accredited to the Institute during the first year of its existence from the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Irish Free State, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela.

19. By 1934 the number of Délegués d'Etat at the Institute had risen to forty, despite the resignation of the German Délégué due to Germany's withdrawal from the League. — I.I.C.I., The League of Nations' International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1933, p. 10. By the end of 1936 another five nations had chosen Délégués to represent them at the Institute, bringing the total to forty-five. — Knudson, John I., A History of the League of Nations, Atlanta, Georgia, Turner E. Smith and Co., 1938, p. 274.
Unfortunately, the Délégués d'État were, in the main, professional diplomats and only rarely were they men who were professionally interested in the work of education and intellectual cooperation. Hence their role in the Organization was never very substantial or of great influence. Unfortunately, too, the fact that a State maintained a Délégué d'État at the Institute did not involve any obligation on the part of that State to contribute to the upkeep of the I.I.C.I.

Until 1930 meetings of the Délégués d'État were held regularly four times a year at the Institute, but no specific function or purpose was ever assigned to these gatherings and hence they, too, seemed to have been of little importance in the I.C.O.'s machinery.

After 1926 there was yet another liaison agent stationed at the Institute. This agent was a representative of the International Union of Academies, which decided to entrust to the Institute's Scientific Relations Section certain work which the Union had previously resolved should be undertaken.

The Institute, besides playing the role of host to the Délégués d'État, extended its hospitality in the Palais Royal to various important international associations and organizations working in the same or related fields of activity as itself. It also offered its reception-rooms and assistance to several large international congresses.


21. By 1929 the Institute had provided accommodation for the following bodies: the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the International Confederation of Intellectual
From its inception in 1926 to the end of 1928 the Institute attempted to publish a series of periodicals which corresponded to its various Sections. At the same time it endeavoured to continue, at least partially, the series of periodicals previously published by the C.I.C.I. at Geneva. In 1929, however, these separate periodicals were discontinued and in their stead the Institute began to issue a single periodical, *La Coopération Intellectuelle*, in which it published the records of the organization as a whole. The International Museums Office, an autonomous organism within the Institute, was permitted, however, to continue the publication of its regular series of monographs and its periodical *Museion*.

In order to achieve a maximum circulation for its periodicals the Institute obtained the help of a large number of librarians and publishers throughout the world.

On grounds of economy and as a result of experience, a number of provisional or permanent changes took place in the

Workers, the Federation of Intellectual Unions, the International Federation of National Associations of Secondary School Teachers, the International Federation of National Associations of Primary Teachers, the Liaison or Coordinating Committee of Major International Associations, the International Committee for Educational and Social Welfare Films, the Universal Theatre Society, the International Academy or Society of Comparative Law, the Congress of the International Union of Press Associations, the Congress of the International Association of Dramatic and Musical Critics, the International Congress of Geometricians, the Broadcasting Committee and the International Cinema Congress, the International Centre of Synthesis, and the International Meteorological Office.
In the Institute's sectional system during the early months of its functioning. Thus, by July 1926 the Governing Body had abolished the General Affairs Section and appointed its Head as Deputy-Director of the I.I.C.I.; it had combined the University Relations and Scientific Relations Sections, united the Artistic and Literary Relations Sections for purposes of administration, replaced the Legal Section by the post of Legal Adviser and converted the Information Section into a Section for Information and Documentation.

By the end of 1929, as a result of further experience, many additional changes had occurred in the Institute's structure, some of the involving reversions to the original scheme. Thus the I.I.C.I., at that time, was divided into specialized sections as follows:

**University Relations.** - This section organized annual meetings of the directors of national university information offices and of representatives of international student organizations. It acted as an international university information office and as a link between institutions of higher education in all parts of the world. It organized vacation courses and other facilities for foreign students; attempted to provide for the equivalence of degrees, exchanges of university professors, national institutes abroad and institutes of foreign studies, and international co-ordination of courses in political science and international affairs.

**Two Sections for Scientific Relations:** A. Science; B. Humanities. - These sections dealt with specific problems of international scientific organization, such as the co-ordination of libraries, scientific bibliographies, reference books of scientific personalities, etc. Steps were being taken to organize an inter-

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national special service for libraries attached to the Institute. It kept in touch with the important scientific institutions and learned bodies, and aided them in co-ordinating their efforts. It followed closely the activities of international scientific congresses, and published their resolutions and other relevant information about their meetings. [It also issued, until 1929, the Bulletin for Scientific Relations.]

Legal. - This service was chiefly engaged with problems concerning intellectual rights (copyright and scientific property) and, moreover, the legal status of international associations not formed for profit, and in liaison with the I.L.O., the economic position of intellectual workers was being examined.

Literary Relations. - This section was specially interested in the question of translation and of author's rights, and was actively engaged in preparations for establishing an international office of translation.

Artistic Relations. - This section studied the organization, from an international point of view, of the different aspects of artistic activity. It had established the International Museums' Office which organized the successive exhibitions of engravings from national chalcographies, which were held in different European capitals in 1927, and prepared the first International Congress of Popular Arts held in 1928 in Prague.

Information Section. - This section dealt with problems concerning the circulation of books, gave communications to the press and to the public, collected intellectual statistics, published an annual list of notable books (from 1924-1929) and, from 1929, a review (La) Co-operation Intellectuelle.23

And, in addition to having evolved this system of Sections, the I.I.C.I., within the same period of four years, had also built up a whole series of study, research and information centres and a number of autonomous or semi-autonomous offices, bureaux and institutions.

Section B: the Subsidiary and Autonomous Organs of the I.I.C.I.

Part (1): the Educational Centres

The first of these major innovations in structure occurred when the University Relations Section of the Institute took over the work of the former International University Information Office. This new aspect of the University Relations Section's activities, though it took up most of the Section's time, and though, in fact, it amounted to the setting up of a new international centre of university information, was never given a specific name. The work of the "centre" included the publication of the Bulletin for University Relations, which had previously been published by the International University Information Office under the name of Quarterly Bulletin of the International University Information Office. Bulletin for University Relations appeared in March 1926.

In the course of its work the "centre" gave special attention to all new developments which could possibly facilitate contacts between institutions of higher education and between professors and students. It also gave special attention to the systematic circulation of information regarding facilities for residence and study in foreign countries. In addition, it acted as the international secretariat for the various National University Information Bureaux, the Commit-
tee of International Students' Organizations and, indirectly and only for a few years, for special branches of higher education such as institutes of archaeology and the history of art, social science and international relations. Much of the work carried on by the "centre" in this connection was made possible by the valuable cooperation which it received from the National University Information Bureaux and their Directors.

Besides the educational centre set up for the purpose of exchanging information relating to student exchanges, courses of study and other means of facilitating the coordination of education at the university level, the Institute set up another educational centre, the purpose of which was to coordinate and extend educational and propaganda activities on behalf of the League and in the cause of peace. This Centre came into being in 1927, soon after the Eighth Assembly (of September 1927) had specifically expressed its approval of a recommendation made by both the Sub-Committee on the Instruction of Youth and the C.I.C.I., favouring the creation of a League Educational Information Centre. The recommendation was worded as follows:


   See also, L. of N., Document A.35.1927.XII., Annex 1, p. 4.
an official centre should be established where information covering the progress of the work covered by the Sub-Committee's recommendations would be available. This office might have two sections, one established at Geneva, at the Secretariat of the C.I.C.I., the other in Paris at the I.I.C.I.; the former would deal more especially with the action taken by Governments and official organisations, while the latter would keep in touch with the activities of private associations. In view of the existence of the University Relations Section, the Institute might be entrusted with the collecting of information on institutions and methods for conducting interchanges.

The Paris Institute and the League Secretariat accordingly set up the two branches of the Centre and both halves worked in close harmony for identical ends, though by different means.

Part (2): the International Library or Documentation Coordination Centre and the International Office of Scientific Museums and Collections

As in the case of the Institute's Section on University Relations, the Section on Scientific Relations also became the nuclei of new organisms or institutions. Perhaps the most important of these was the bibliographical or documentation centre, which came to be known as the International Library Coordination Centre. The formation of this Centre


was given great impetus when, in July 1926, the Paris Institute received four hundred fifty replies (many of them favourable) to its questionnaire regarding the possibility of the international coordination of libraries. The Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography decided that these replies should be coordinated and published in the form of a preliminary list. It further decided that its four experts should be requested to analyse the replies, and others which might be received, and submit a report on their findings at the next session of the Sub-Committee.

The report of the Committee of Experts on the Work of the Coordination Service of National Information Offices Attached to Libraries contained the following recommendations:

1. That there should be attached to the Scientific Relations Section of the I.I.C.I. a special library service, the essential aims of which should be:

   (a) To co-ordinate the national information services already existing.

   (b) To encourage in every country either the formation or the development of a central service to direct scholars and research workers in finding information on their special subject and, if possible, to inform them as to which libraries contain the books and documents needed for their work.

2. That, through the co-operation of each national service, this special service should be furnished with the requisite general information as to their resources. Such information should enable it, through the national services (or through the national or central libraries should such services not exist) to direct scholars and research workers as to which

national services might furnish them with the subject-matter or documents required, or as to the whereabouts of the principal specialized libraries.

3. That this service should, on the basis of the previous recommendations of the C.I.C.I., endeavour to work out a more flexible and more economical system of international loans of manuscripts and books.

Such a system would take into account the interests of scholars themselves and the necessity for protecting valuable documents, as well as any new methods of photographic reproduction or the like, which would, as far as possible, prevent damage to, and the removal of, such documents.

4. That this service should investigate all methods likely to increase the number of States adhering to the Conventions of 1886 and 1925 (International Exchange of Publications) and to improve exchange methods employed by the respective services in each country.

It would be desirable also to obtain closer cooperation in each country between libraries, universities and other institutions interested in such exchanges. These should jointly draw up lists of publications offered and publications desired. Finally, publications received might be advantageously distributed according to the special needs of the institutions concerned.28

The Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography approved these recommendations on the condition that the detailed plan for carrying out recommendations 1 and 2 be determined by a meeting of librarians, members of the Sub-Committee, and Directors of national or central libraries, in consultation with a representative of the C.I.C.I., a representative of the League Secretariat and a representative of the I.I.C.I. The

scheme, subject to the above conditions, was then approved, in turn, by the C.I.C.I. in July 1927 and by the League Council and Assembly.

The International Library Coordination Centre was not, however, the only international centre set up by the Scientific Relations Section of the Institute. In July 1928 the Sub-Committee on Sciences and Bibliography decided that scientific museums, regarded from the technical point of view, constituted a class distinct from museums of art, and it approved the proposal made by the Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences Section of the Institute for the coordination of the work of museums of pure and applied science, biology, medicine, public health, etc., together with zoological gardens, botanical gardens and national collections of microbiology. Though this scheme quickly received the endorsement of the C.I.C.I., it was not possible, due to the Institute's lack of funds, to set the International Office of Scientific Museums and Collections in operation until late in 1929.


Part (3): the Publications Committee of the Ibero-American Collection

Still another organism which began its operations at the Paris Institute during the period 1926 to 1930 was the Publications Committee of the Ibero-American Collection. It operated under the supervision of the I.L.C.I.'s Literary Relations Section. The initiative for the setting up of this Committee originally came from certain Latin-American intellectuals living in France. Meeting on January 28, 1927 at the Paris Institute, they drew the attention of the latter body to the desirability of publishing in French, and other well-known European languages, translations of the classic masterpieces of Ibero-American literature, of which, they felt, too little was known in Europe. The Institute was requested to consider the means of arranging for such publications and a meeting of the representatives of the Latin American States was called for March 15, 1927. The meeting, in its turn, appointed a Technical Publication Committee and the latter drew up a general program of publication, laid down the main lines for the organization of the collection, and, through one of its members, M. Enrique Diez-Canedo, drafted a report which was submitted to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee, the C.I.C.I., at its session of July 1928, passed a resolution approving the steps taken with a view to the publication of the Ibero-American series.

A number of books were published by the Institute in this series during 1929. It so happened, however, that certain of
the most important members of the Publication Committee left Europe in that year and the Committee accordingly ceased to hold regular meetings until 1931 when it was revived and reconstituted.

Part (4): the Joint Committee of Associations of Students of the History of Art

The Artistic Relations Section of the Institute was equally as successful as its brother Sections in becoming the centre of activity for a number of international organisms. Thus, the Joint Committee of Associations of Students of the History of Art, for example, was established by the Artistic Relations Section in 1926, with its headquarters at the Institute. It was this Section, too, that secured the establishment of the first autonomous body to be set up at the Institute, namely, the International Museums' Office.

Part (5): the International Museums' Office

M. Henri Focillon, a member of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, had proposed the formation of such an Office during the meetings of the Sub-Committee in October 1925 and January 1926. He had also proposed that the Paris Institute's Artistic Relations Section should compile a complete index of museums and their personnel, from which a list of correspondents could be drawn up. It was his belief that the Office should work through the medium of these correspondents.

As a result of this proposal, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters had requested the Institute's Artistic Relations


Section to examine the possibility of publishing an International Index of Museums. It had recommended, in addition, that:

In view of the fact that museums constitute an instrument of great educational value which can be used to bring the nations nearer to each other, the Sub-Committee considers it desirable that an International Museums' Office, organised on the lines laid down in M. Focillon's report, should be opened at the I.I.C.I.

It instructs the Artistic Relations Section of the Institute to prepare, for its next meeting, a draft questionnaire to be sent to the correspondents whose assistance the Section has secured for the preparation of the index of museums.

The end in view would be to arrange for museums to afford each other assistance for the purpose not merely of increasing their collection but of enriching their life.

In the meantime, the Artistic Relations Section might study the possibility of:

1. the conclusion of an agreement between various schools of engraving;
2. the arrangement of exchanges of casts, moulds and photographs;
3. the formation of a group of museums with a view to a concerted effort;
4. the formation of international women's organisations with a view to promoting the development and increasing the sphere of influence of museums.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations should be asked to cooperate in the furtherance of these four aims.

These recommendations were adopted, without amendment, by the C.I.C.I. on January 15, 1926.


The first enquiry conducted by the Artistic Relations Section among the curators of museums led to the registration, in one month, of more than three hundred adherents from different countries. It showed, at the same time, the infinite variety of methods by which an international office of this kind could do its work. It was suggested, for example, that the Office might serve as a liaison agent between two countries which desired to give exhibitions of their national art in one another's territory. Such exhibitions, it was assumed, would help to promote understanding between nations and bring the best elements in the different countries in touch with each other. It was also held that such exhibitions would in all probability become more frequent if those desirous of promoting them had some international organization at their disposal. The possibility was also suggested of instituting, between different national collections, permanent or temporary exchanges of original works. It was further suggested that the Office could play an important role in the publication of lists or year-books of museums, with a classification either on geographical lines or according to specialities.

The Committee on Arts and Letters, at its meeting of July 1926, took all of these various suggestions into consideration. After some discussion it summed up its conclusions in the following recommendations, which it submitted to the C.I.C.I.:
It believes that the time has come to decide upon the institution of this office and to indicate as follows the duties it might be instructed to perform:

(a) To encourage between the museums, either by districts or on a national or international basis, relations of mutual acquaintance and assistance, and for this purpose to establish gradually a concise catalogue of the museums of the world and to encourage the establishment of national lists and eventually of an international list.

(b) To encourage gifts and loans to museums from individuals.

(c) To make known the important resources of chalography, to encourage exchanges and to facilitate the sale of prints. To do likewise in respect of collections of medals and casting workshops.

(d) To develop a list of photographic collections, to encourage the photography of works of art not yet photographed and to facilitate their popularisation by the method of microphotography.

(e) To encourage the affiliation to each museum of associations friendly to the museum.

(f) To study the most appropriate methods of helping the museums to fulfill their educational function: lectures, excursions, temporary exhibitions.

The International Office of Museums may publish a bulletin.

The Office will be managed by a provisional committee of an international character, composed of fifteen members at most, dealing in particular with associations of friends of museums.

In order to relieve the Institute of anything which might involve a financial responsibility, an endeavour should be made to create an autonomous association which would assume responsibility for expenditure and receipts.37

The C.I.C.I. agreed to these recommendations on condition that:

The method which the Office will endeavour to apply to its work is an experimental method, documentation being subordinated to action and preference being given to practical results within a limited sphere of action rather than to general schemes which may be easy to draw up but difficult of realisation.

The establishment of the Office was approved by the League Council on September 3, 1926. The matter was also taken up by the Assembly in the latter part of September, 1926. In its report to the Assembly the Second Committee summed up the ultimate purpose of the proposed Office when it declared that it

'... would have the result of strengthening the bonds between the various museums throughout the world, of promoting exchanges and exhibitions or arousing interest in the institutions in question, of encouraging agreements between them - in short, of making museums known and appreciated and, through associations of museums lovers, of rendering visits to them more useful from the educational point of view.'

On the recommendation of its Second Committee the Assembly

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also expressed its full approval of the scheme.

A Committee of Museum Representatives then met at Geneva, on January 14-15, 1927, to draw up proposals for the organization of the new Office. Although the Statutes of the Office were not drawn up until 1930, the Office itself began to function, as an attachment to the Artistic Relations Section of the Institute, at the end of January 1927.

The executive body of the International Museums' Office was the Directing Committee. Its duties were:

1. To direct the work of the International Museums' Office.
2. To supervise the execution of the programme drawn up each year for the Museums' Office by the C.I.C.I.
3. To draw up a report at the end of each financial period and submit it to the C.I.C.I.

The Directing Committee consisted of at least six members, appointed by the C.I.C.I. One of the six was chosen from among the members of the C.I.C.I. and he acted as the Chairman of the Directing Committee. The Director of the Institute, the Chief of the Artistic Relations Section and the


43. Statutes of the International Museums' Office, Article IV.
Secretary of the C.I.C.I. were all permitted to attend the meetings of the Directing Committee, in an advisory capacity.

The Directing Committee met at least three times a year at dates and places fixed by its Chairman. Though its members were appointed for five years, their terms of office were renewable for an indefinite period. The decisions of the Directing Committee were valid irrespective of the number of members present, and decisions could be taken by means of correspondence by a majority vote if the Chairman considered this procedure necessary. The Directing Committee could also consult advisory committees of experts appointed by the C.I.C.I. Such advisory committees, however, could be convened only at the request of the Chairman of the Directing Committee.

Prior to the adoption of its Statutes the budget of the International Museums' Office was included as part of the ordinary expenditures of the I.I.C.I. Thereafter, however, it comprised a separate chapter of the Institute's budget. Thereafter, too, the Office's budget was drawn up by the Directing Committee. Like the budget of the Institute itself, the budget of the International Museums' Office could be increased by gifts and bequests from private persons and by subsidies from Governments and public authorities. The Institute was entitled to accept these on behalf of the Office.

The internal administration of the Museums' Office was placed in the hands of a Secretary-General. He was an official of the Paris Institute and held the rank of Financial Secretary. He was responsible to the Directing Committee and
was assisted by a staff appointed on the Directing Committee's advice, with the agreement of the Director of the Institute. Since the Museums' Office was especially concerned with museum and historical, archaeological, ethnographical, art and folk-art collections, it was at the disposal of the authorities, organizations and persons who, in different countries, were responsible for administering and adding to these collections. It worked in close contact with those persons and organizations in connection with all questions for which international cooperation was essential. These questions may be subsumed under the following headings:

1. International agreements.
2. Administrative enquiries and technical research.


45. Soon after the opening of the Museums' Office relations between the museums of the world became sufficiently complex and close to necessitate permanent agreements between them based on general principles accepted by all concerned and directed to the protection, conservation or wider dissemination of works of art. These agreements were of many types. Some took the form of Conventions between Governments concluded at diplomatic conferences. Others consisted of verbal or written understandings arrived at directly between two or more Governmental Administrations or Departments concerned with the same technical subject. Still others were recommendations to Governments and museums drafted by the C.I.C.I., on the initiative of the Museums' Office, approved on the C.I.C.I.'s advice by the Council and Assembly of the League, and adopted by the Governments and museums in question.

46. As a result of its investigations and liaison work the Museums' Office was continuously engaged in administrative and technical research. Thus it dealt with the different disciplines that came under the general name of museography, for example, the working of museographical institutes, the duties and training of their staffs, the organization and structure of the museum, its architectural design, its equipment, methods
3. Coordination work, documentation and publications.

The International Museums' Office thus formed an important international liaison centre which, despite the meagre resources at its disposal, was engaged in almost every conceivable activity appropriate to an organization of its kind. Experience enabled its methods to be established on a sound basis and, by acting as an international secretariat and documentation centre, it insured liaison between Government departments, which it kept informed of current developments in museums and institutions connected with the fine arts. In this way a broader view of the whole field of museography was gained by all concerned, and overlapping and waste of effort was very largely eliminated.

47. This heading furnishes an excellent example of how the world's intellectual equipment was improved by a division of labour and international cooperation, which placed new instruments of work in the hands of specialists, for example, the International Catalogue of Museums, Historical and Art Collections, arranged according to countries; and the international catalogues arranged according to subject matter. These coordination activities made it necessary for the Museums' Office to establish a centre for museographical documents and information. This centre was placed at the disposal of all research workers and was also utilized for the publications of the Office.
Part (6): the International Committee on Folk Arts

In addition to providing a site for the International Museums' Office, the Artistic Relations Section of the Institute was instrumental in securing the establishment of an International Committee on Popular or Folk Arts and in having the seat of that Committee placed at the I.I.C.I., with the Institute responsible for the technical and administrative secretarial work of the Committee. The Art Section had been prompted, in the setting-up of this Committee, by a widespread scientific interest in the study of folk art in all its forms and by the emergence of a social motive, namely, the aiding of popular education by giving each nation a better knowledge of both its own origins and characteristic features and of the traits that are common to all peoples.

The first step in the formation of the Committee of Folk Arts was the holding of an International Folk Arts Congress in Prague in 1928. This Congress was sponsored by the C.I.C.I. and organized by the Paris Institute, with the help of a subsidy from the Czechoslovak Government. The tremendous success of this undertaking led, in turn, to the holding of a number of international folk art exhibitions and finally to the foundation of the International Committee. The Committee was organized on a federal basis and comprised the various national societies for folk art under the direc-

tion of an International Bureau with its seat at the I.I.C.I. The National Committee members consisted of outstanding ethnologists and folklorists.

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The object of the national Folk Arts Committees and the International Committee was both scientific and social: to create, systematically, a science of folk arts which could serve to reveal the common property of folk arts still existing and to indicate the methods by which they could be made to live and bear fruit in the modern industrialized world. The program of the International Committee and its Bureau included a general study of the sources of information available in the different countries as well as special research work into various departments of folk art and folk lore. The International Committee also published documentary material on folk art, grouped according to countries and districts and also according to techniques and subjects.

The International Folk Arts Committee and its Bureau, though they conducted their activities from the Paris Institute, remained parts of an autonomous and virtually independent organism, having no official connection with the I.C.O. until 1937. The change in status which occurred at that time may best be described, however, later in this Chapter.

Part (7): the International Studies Conference

Still another type of autonomous institution which gradually evolved under the tutelage of the Paris Institute and which had its secretarial activities centered there was the

49. See Appendix XXIII, vol. , pp. of this study for the text of the Statutes of the International Committee on Folk Arts.
Permanent Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, or, as it was later designated, the International Studies Conference. This conference mechanism was constructed by the I.C.O. as a result of a need discerned by members of the C.I.C.I., as well as many others, for a type of intellectual cooperation not already being carried on between governments or existing international organizations.

Although a variety of types of international cooperation had existed among scientists in the exact sciences for centuries, international cooperation among the social scientists was still a comparatively new and unexplored field of international action even after the First World War. Hence the example furnished by instances of successful administrative coordination in other fields as a result of the I.C.O.'s activities had given rise to the idea of periodically bringing together a number of institutions devoted to one broad aspect of the social sciences - the study of current international affairs. For, though a number of national or local institutions for the study of international relations, economics, finance and foreign policy had come into being in countries after 1919, no forms of international cooperation had been evolved between these institutions when the C.I.C.I. first took up the question in the early Twenties.

This important development in cooperative international research in international relations had its beginnings in the

efforts of the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committee on University Relations, and it was not until after 1926 that the Paris Institute became actively engaged in this sphere of activity. Previously, indeed as early as December 1922, the Sub-Committee had considered a plan brought forward by its Chairman, M. Bergson, for the promotion of courses of objective instruction in current problems and in "the state of mind and the vital interests of foreign nations." Such instruction, he felt, given as objectively as possible, and by the best national or foreign specialists, would be of great value in every country. Such courses might, he thought, be more or less closely connected with the universities, according to the customs and traditions of the different nations.

The Sub-Committee on University Relations, at its meeting held at Brussels on April 29-May 3, 1923, resumed the investigation of this question and recommended to the C.I.C.I. that it should aid in the organization of national institutions for instruction on the great international problems of the day and on the economic, political and moral life of contemporary nations. The Sub-Committee also pointed out that courses of this nature were already being given, such as the international courses offered by the Universities of Geneva and Vienna and the International University of Brussels, the international law studies at The Hague, international courses at the University of Chicago and Williams College, and courses at London and Aberystwyth Universities.

This plan of fostering the foundation of individual and regional institutions devoted to the study of international affairs and foreign civilizations constituted the preliminary step which had to be taken before any scheme for the international cooperation of such institutions could be inaugurated. Indeed, decisive action had not been taken towards the achievement of the second step - international coordination - even in 1923 and 1924, when the Sub-Committee on University Relations and the C.I.C.I. both again affirmed the need for the formation and support of such institutions.

When, in 1926, a movement was at last set on foot for the international coordination of these institutions considerable impetus had been given to it by the fact that numerous plans had once more been brought forward for the establishment of an international university by or in connection with the League of Nations. Most of these schemes involved the opening of a school of advanced political studies for the training of statesmen, diplomats, professors of political science, journalists and international civil servants, at the seat of the League and possibly at other great seats of learning as well. In July 1926 the C.I.C.I. and its Sub-

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tries." Thus the scheme for the creation of an International University was converted, at the suggestion of the C.I.C.I., into a more modest scheme, namely, the federation of the institutions devoted to international affairs in the various countries.

The Paris Institute took up the project from that point and its General and University Relations Sections, in conjunction, immediately sounded out several important institutions in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland "with a view to forming a kind of consortium." These preliminary soundings seemed to indicate that it was necessary to induce the various institutions within each country to set up national coordinating bodies and the Institute, between July 1926 and July 1927, did everything within its power to secure the formation of such national coordinations. As a result, by the latter date, the Sub-Committee on University Relations and the C.I.C.I. were able to recommend to the Institute that if it felt that its work in this sphere of activity was sufficiently advanced, it could convene a meeting of the representatives of these national institutions.

Pursuant to the C.I.C.I.'s resolution of July 1927, the first international conference to discuss the coordination of

The underlining has been added by the present writer.


institutions engaged in higher international studies was convened by the Paris Institute in Berlin on March 22-24, 1928, at the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik.

The spontaneous recognition of a common purpose and a common interest in improving the conditions of their work led the Conference at once to consider practical means of cooperation.

The first point claiming attention was the scope and character of the institutions represented. As a result of a discussion it soon became evident that, unlike most other branches of study, political enquiries were being carried on in a great variety of institutions. Analysis revealed that they could be grouped into four divisions: centres of study and discussion; special and supplementary courses; teaching institutions outside the university proper; and university

57. Three countries - France, Germany and Italy - were each represented at Berlin by a national coordinating committee, which constituted a connecting link between all the institutions interested in political studies in those countries. In addition, individual institutions, such as the Consular Academy of Vienna - from Austria, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the London School of Economics - from Great Britain, the University Institute of Higher International Studies of Geneva - from Switzerland, and the Institute of Politics in Williamstown - from the United States, had also sent delegates. Representatives of three international organizations were likewise present: the Academy of International Law at The Hague, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Geneva School of International Studies. Invitations had also been extended to the School of Political Science, Krakow, and to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, both of which had nominated representatives. Their representatives, however, were unable to attend. - L. of N., Work of the Sub-Committee on University Relations: Report on Its Tenth Session, July 9-11, 1928," Document C.I.C.I./R.I./47, pp. 71-72 and Appendix, p. 76, and L. of N., "Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the C.I.C.I.," Document C.535.4.160.1928. XII., Annex 6: The Coordination of Higher International Studies, pp. 83-88.
faculties. Further analysis revealed considerable overlapping between the various types.

The meeting then proceeded to discuss subjects in which cooperation appeared desirable and possible. These were grouped under the following heads: programs of studies; conditions of admission of members or students; exchanges; cooperation in the supply of information; bibliography; publications; and research. Finally, a discussion took place on the question of the maintenance and development of the contacts established at this first Conference.

The striking success of this first meeting was demonstrated by the fact that it had decided to arrange future meetings of the same kind and an Organizing Committee of five had been appointed to collaborate with the C.I.C.I. for that purpose, and to decide what other organizations should be invited to attend. Furthermore, the Royal Institute of Interna-

58. The first type was exemplified by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which carried on no teaching work in the usual sense of the term. The second was represented by the Academy of International Law at The Hague, the Geneva School of International Studies, the Williamstown Institute of Politics, and the Royal Italian University for Foreigners at Perugia. The third type was represented by such institutions as the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik at Berlin, the Ecole libre des Sciences politiques at Paris, the University Institute for Higher International Studies at Geneva, and the Consular Academy at Vienna. The fourth type represented at the meeting included the London School of Economics and Political Science at the University of London, the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris, and the Faculties of Political Science at the Universities of Rome, Padua, Pavia and Perugia.
national Affairs in London had officially placed itself at the disposal of the other institutions and had suggested that they meet in London in 1929.

The Sub-Committee on University Relations, on receipt of the report of the meeting, decided to do its utmost to encourage this movement and requested the Paris Institute, in conjunction with the Organizing Committee, to arrange for the new meeting.

The desire had been expressed at the Berlin meeting that the I.I.C.I. should collect documentary information which would facilitate the future work of the institutions concerned. The Sub-Committee willingly authorized the Institute to undertake this work as well.

At the C.I.C.I.'s meeting of July 1928, M. Luchaire, in referring to the information given in the Sub-Committee's report regarding the proposed new meeting of these representatives, explained that the cooperation of the Institute was of great importance in this matter, since it was the Institute which was to meet the expenses of the proposed meeting. He also emphasized the novel character of the procedure to be followed. For, the Conference, though called together for its first meeting by the Paris Institute on the formal invitation of the C.I.C.I., was to meet subsequently on its own initiative. The secretarial arrangements, however, were to be made by the Institute. Following this explanation the C.I. C.I. gave its full approval of the new institution.

The Conference of Representative of Institutions for Higher International Studies, at its second session, held in London from March 11 to 14, 1929, adopted the title of the Permanent Conference for the Scientific Study of International Relations and set up a standing Executive Committee which, from its inception, nearly always held its sessions at the Paris Institute.

At the London meeting the Conference also adopted a constitution, in accordance with which the Conference was thenceforth to be composed of institutions which had as their purpose the scientific study of international affairs and which represented those sections of university faculties which included international relations in their program. The application of these categories did not prove easy and called for further coordinating committees in each of the larger countries, whose duty consisted of securing representation from competent organizations and of acting as centres of liaison for the Conference as a whole.

From 1928 until the outbreak of the Second World War, under the sponsorship of the I.C.O., representatives of these institutions in a number of European countries and North

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60. The British coordinating committee, for example, included representatives from the London School of Economics, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and from the Universities. The French committee represented nine different institutions or faculties; the German committee represented a dozen such bodies, and the Italian nine. In the United States, the Council on Foreign Relations acted as a national coordinating centre, cooperating in this regard with the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation.
America met at least once annually in conference to formulate programs with common aims in view. Their object was: to centralize the work of the principal national institutions engaged in the scientific study of international relations, to ensure regular cooperation, and to arrange for meetings of teachers and the exchange of bibliographies and documentation.

The foregoing treatment has indicated the major features of the machinery built up at the Paris Institute from October 1925, when the Governing Body accepted title to the premises, until July 1930, when the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry were amended and approved by the C.I.C.I. The discussion has indicated, in addition, a number of the Institute's mechanical features which, once installed, remained relatively unchanged in form until the outbreak of the Second World War. We must turn, now, in the following Chapter, to a discussion of the major changes which occurred in the Institute's mechanism as a result of the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry and the significant modifications which were made thereafter.
CHAPTER X

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued) -
The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: 1930-1940

Section A: the General Reorganization of the Institute Resulting from the Report of the Committee of Enquiry

We have already noted that the Committee of Enquiry had met at Paris from April 20-May 2, 1930. While there it interviewed the Director and all chief officials of the Institute, as well as some of its former high officials. As a result of its investigations, the Committee concluded that the future of intellectual cooperation (i.e., the I.C.O.) depended upon the reorganization of the Paris Institute. It decided, in this connection, that the international character of the Institute should be even more pronounced. It advocated, in addition, that the Institute, being merely the instrument of work of the C.I.C.I., should not engage in any independent activities and should have no power of initiative as regards questions of principle. It felt, on the other hand, that the Institute should be less cumbersome and bureaucratic and have a simple and more elastic organization.

Furthermore, the Committee of Enquiry considered that the term "Institute" was ill-chosen, since it did not properly connote the word carried on in Paris by the I.C.O. For the Paris Institute was in actuality an extended secretariat and not a body of scholars, writers or artists, or an establishment in which scientific research or special studies consti-

1. v. supra, p. 249.
tuted the main activities. The truth of this observation was acknowledged by the International Committee but it conceded that the name had become consecrated by usage and that it would therefore be unwise to change it.

The Committee of Enquiry also recommended that in the execution of the I.C.O.'s work, sums should be set aside in the budget of the Institute for grants to bodies not forming a part of the I.C.O. but having relations with it. Furthermore, as we have seen in the previous Chapter, it recommended that all problems should be referred to committees of experts who should meet at the Institute. For the execution, however, of certain types of work decided upon by the C.I.C.I., it was to be possible, in the case of a group of questions of a similar character, for the Institute to form permanent offices or bureaux for these questions, as had already been done with regard to museum problems. These offices or bureaux could possess a certain degree of technical and financial independence within the general framework of the I.C.O., but were to remain in close liaison with the Institute. Their foundation was always to be preceded by study and experiment on the part of the Institute and was to be the result of a definite decision on the part of the C.I.C.I. Such decisions were also to be endorsed by the League Council and Assembly, the only authorities able to give a final decision regarding both the establishment of such offices and the amount of autonomy which they should enjoy. The Committee of Enquiry, nevertheless, recommended that the
International Museums' Office should be endowed with an independent constitution.

As regards the relationship between the Institute and the C.I.C.I., the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry included a clause to the effect that, in order that unity of action be ensured throughout the I.C.O., the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. should also be the Chairman of the Governing Body. The C.I.C.I. did not, however, agree with this recommendation and hence it was not carried out. The C.I.C.I., however, did agree with the Committee of Enquiry that the quorum of the Committee of Directors should be four and that no substitution should be permitted.

The Committee of Enquiry furthermore proposed the abolition of the Délégués d'Etat, since it considered that relations between the C.I.C.I. and governments could legally be established only through Geneva and the National Committees. It nevertheless agreed that the various governments should retain the right, if they thought fit, to appoint qualified persons to keep in close touch with the Institute. The C.I.C.I., however, considered that it would be better to maintain the post of Délégués d'Etat but that the relations of such delegates should thenceforth be purely individual. Hence, after 1930 meetings of the Délégués d'Etat, as such, were no longer held.

In addition, the Committee of Enquiry agreed on the following principles as regards the reorganization of the Institute: a reduction of the central services; the abolition
of the Sections; a drastic diminution in the number of the staff combined with a considerable improvement in the technical staff (minute-writers, translators, shorthand-writers), not to speak of the experts working at or outside the Institute in temporary capacities; and the presence, together with the Director, at meetings of the Executive Committee or the C.I.C.I., of every official entrusted with the responsibility for carrying out some particular project, when that project was under discussion. It concluded, as regards the Institute's staff, that the staff was in a precarious position due to the fact that the members' salaries were inadequate and their status ill-defined. It therefore recommended that the staff should be incorporated or assimilated with that of the League Secretariat. It felt that this measure would greatly improve the status, rank and discipline of the Staff's members.

It was realized and agreed upon by the enquirers, too, that, as a result of the acceptance of their recommendations, the Internal Regulations, Staff Regulations, Financial Regulations and possibly the Organic Statutes of the Institute would require revision. In addition, they sought to codify the relations between the League Secretariat and the Institute. And finally, they suggested that a number of the Institute's publications should be discontinued, including the review (La) Coopération Intellectuelle and the Ibero-American Classics series.

The C.I.C.I. agreed to all the latter points relating to
the reorganization of the Institute, with the exception of the elimination of the Institute's system of Sections. The C.I.C.I. decided that all that was needed was an assurance that the allocation of work and distribution of staff would be adapted to the place of work and that there would be no rigidity in the Institute's internal organization. Both the League Council and the Assembly proved agreeable to the changes adopted by the C.I.C.I.

The C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the Institute accordingly revised the Internal Regulations of the Institute in 1931 and made numerous other changes in the I.I.C.I., all of which were approved by the Council and the Assembly.

Thus after 1930 the Paris Institute was no longer strictly divided into Sections but it continued, nevertheless, to

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See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Eleventh Session," O.J.S.S., no. 83, p. 21.


See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Twelfth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 92, p. 36.
form the secretariat of a large number of international centres, such as the International Museums' Office, the University Information Centre, the Educational Information and Documentation Centre, etc. In addition, the Institute's staff was reduced from nearly one hundred members to about sixty-five. The recommendation, though adopted by the C.I.C.I., the Council and the Assembly, regarding the discontinuance of (La) Co-opération Intellectuelle was evidently disregarded by the officials of the Institute, since the I.I.C.I. continued its publication under varying titles until 1940.

The duties of the Governing Body, as re-defined in the new Internal Regulations, were:

1. To draw up, with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, the financial regulations of the Institute.

2. To pass the budget and approve the accounts of the Institute.

3. To submit the annual report, which, under Article XIV of the Statutes had to be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations and to the French Government.

4. To determine, by a decision approved by the Council of the League of Nations, the classes of personnel of the Institute which enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. To frame the Rules of Procedure and the Staff Regulations of the Institute.

6. To appoint the Director and, after consulting him, the principal officials of the Institute, as well as the Financial Controller, subject always to provision of Article V of the Organic Statutes.

The Governing Body, after 1930, met once a year in Geneva and was convened at least forty-five days before the date fixed
for its meeting. It could discuss any question on its agenda, whatever the number of members present, and any question not on its agenda if there was a majority of the members present, so long as two-thirds of those present recognized the urgency of such questions. The Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the Institute could attend the meetings of the Governing Body in an advisory capacity.

Changes were also made in the Internal Regulations regarding the Committee of Directors, according to which the five members of the Committee were appointed for a period of two years and then became eligible for reappointment. The Chairman of the C.I.C.I., the three outside members of the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I., the Secretary-General of the League, the Director of the Institute, the Director of the I.L.O., and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture were all permitted to attend the meetings of the Committee of Directors in an advisory capacity. In practice, however, the Committee consisted of the same members as the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I.

According to its stipulated procedure the Committee of Directors met at least once in every four months, either in Paris or at Geneva and had to be convened at least twenty days before the dates fixed for its ordinary meetings, which it determined each year, in advance. One session was always held at Geneva immediately before the regular session of the Governing Body. The newly defined duties of the Committee

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of Directors were to carry out the work entrusted to it by the Governing Body and, more particularly, to:

1. Keep in touch with the work done by the Institute during the year.

2. Nominate those officials whose appointment under the Staff Regulations was not in the hands of either the Governing Body or of the Director of the Institute.

3. Study the draft budget prepared by the Budget Sub-Committee, and forward this budget in such form as it may approve to the Governing Body.


From this list it may be seen that after 1930 a Budget Sub-Committee operated under the aegis of the Committee of Directors. This Sub-Committee was composed of three members and met before the ordinary sessions of the Directors' Committee. Its duties were "to keep itself informed of the financial administration of the Institute, prepare the draft budget for the following year with the assistance of the Director of the Institute and submit it to the Directors' Committee at the session immediately before the July session of the Governing Body."

So much, then, for the changes that occurred in the Institute's structure as a result of the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry. We may now return to a discussion of the more normal development and modification of the Institute's machinery which took place during the years 1931-1940.
Section B: the Extension and Modification of the I.I.C.I.'s Subsidiary Organs after 1930

Part (1): the International Bureau of University Statistics, the National Educational Information Centres, and the National Youth Travel Centres

The Paris Institute, after 1930, continued to extend its machinery in the field of higher education. In 1935, for example, it set up the International Bureau of University Statistics. The chief task of this Bureau was to promote investigations to ascertain the needs of each country with regard to university-trained specialists and the number and types of such specialists available to meet these needs. The Bureau endeavoured to accomplish its tasks by disseminating a knowledge of the methods adapted to such investigations and by improving the working instruments available. The Bureau also made continued efforts to improve the methods used in connection with university statistics. Furthermore, it offered, to those concerned, through the communications which it published in the Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin, a current of documentation concerning the facts and measures dealing with the employment of university graduates in the various countries.

The officials of the Bureau, in order to facilitate their task, also recommended the creation in all countries of national university statistical bureaux.

As a result of the work done by the International Bureau, the C.I.C.I., at its session of July 1937, recognized the great value of the coordinating work which could be accomplished
under the auspices of the Paris Institute and the national and international organizations dealing with unemployment and vocational guidance among intellectuals and hence it authorized the eventual constitution, at the Institute, of an Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of the national bureaux and of the chief international organizations concerned.

Then, in November 1938, the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. set up a Committee of Experts on University Statistics, of which the I.L.O. formed a part. The purpose of this Committee was to study, with the aid of the Institute's Bureau of University Statistics, the statistics of students and holders of higher education diplomas and to throw light on the question of the employment market as regards posts reserved for holders of higher education diplomas. In this way it hoped to contribute to the diminution of unemployment among intellectuals.

This Committee of Experts eventually became known as the Advisory Committee of the International Bureau of University Statistics. It was intended that it would hold regular meetings after 1938 for the purpose of drawing up the program of the Bureau. This, however, was only possible until 1940 and the coming of the War.

Having initiated cooperative work in the field of higher education both before and after 1930, the Paris Institute, after 1930, proceeded to foster cooperative efforts in the

field of education in general and more especially, in the
field of secondary education. To deal with school problems,
particularly in secondary education, the I.C.O. fostered the
creation of national pedagogical information and reference
centres, for which it constituted the common secretariat.
These centres dealt with many questions of importance from
the point of view of cooperation, such as, for example, the
study of new pedagogical methods and the examination of the
latest developments in education, including the most recent
research on the relative abilities of the child and the adult.
They also afforded continuous help to the I.C.O. in the study
of the larger problems which have particularly concerned
educationalists in late years - the necessary evolution and
transformation of secondary education, the teaching of his­
tory and world citizenship and the use of modern means for
the diffusions of knowledge.

By the end of 1934 the steps taken by the Paris Institute
had led to the formation of thirty-five National Educational
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Information Centres and by 1937 there were forty such Cen-
tres in existence.

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Once these National Educational Information Centres were

7. These were situated in the following countrics:
Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada
(Education Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Chile, China,
Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Danzig, Estonia, Finland, France, Ger-
many, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State,
Iceland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New
Zealand, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Union of
South Africa, United States and Yugo-Slavia. - I.I.C.I.,

8. Robbins, J.E., "Collective Action," Interdependence,
set up, the Institute undertook to bring them into regular contact with each other and to keep them continuously supplied with international work. In addition, the I.C.O. felt that it was necessary to stimulate further cooperation between them by sponsoring a meeting of their representatives. The Fifteenth League Assembly in 1934, recognized that such a meeting would be of capital importance and in agreement with the Centres, the Institute examined the possibility of convening such a conference in the autumn of 1935. Meanwhile the agenda of the conference was drafted early in 1935, in accordance with which the conference was to be asked to draw up a working program for the Centres, the methods to be adopted for the exchange of information and the form their cooperation was to take.

In addition to fostering the creation of national centres of educational information, the I.C.O., and especially the Paris Institute, began, in 1933, to promote the creation of national centres for the coordination of the work of the numerous organizations dealing with the international journeys of young people. By 1934 the network of such National Centres had been established in the following countries: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and the United States. In addition, negotiations with Belgium and Poland were well advanced for similar Centres in those two countries. - I.I.C.I., International Intellectual Cooperation, 1934. 1935, p. 87.
Youth Travel Centres was sufficiently extended to allow the execution of a second step, namely, the organization of meetings of the representatives of these Centres and the exchange of all useful information concerning young people's journeys.

Part (2): the International Studies Conference

In the field of international relations and courses on higher international studies the Paris Institute also continued and expanded its pre-1930 activities. Like the other branches of the I.C.O., the Permanent Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Affairs underwent changes in its structure, functions and even in its name in the last decade of the Organization's existence. Previously the Conference had been purely administrative in character. At the meeting held at Copenhagen in 1931, however, the full possibilities of the conference mechanism were realized, and it was proposed and agreed that the annual meetings should be made more similar to those of the Institute of Pacific Relations by means of the introduction of actual study sessions and round table discussions. The results of this decision were realized at the fifth meeting of the Conference, held at Milan in May 1932, and at the sixth meeting, held in London in 1933. These two Conferences were devoted to the discussion of a special subject, for which preliminary studies had been prepared during the previous months, the secretarial work and the arrangements having been carried out by the Paris Institute.

The 1931 meeting at Copenhagen also decided to change
the name of the Institution to the Permanent International Studies Conference.

After 1931 the Rockerfeller Foundation made a generous grant for the expansion of the International Study Conference and, in addition, it donated large sums for the development of further national institutions specializing in the study of current issues. With the aid of these funds the number of original members of the Conference was augmented by the addition of numerous new national study centres. These new centres were usually modelled on the best equipped national institutions in existence, such as the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the American Foreign Policy Association. Eventually the British Dominions and most of the European countries possessed groups which participated in the Conference. In 1937 the Conference was attended for the first time by representatives of several South American States. Scholars from Japan also attended the 1937 Conference and representatives of Chinese institutions soon followed.

The International Studies Conferences studied questions relating to foreign policies and the mutual political and social relations of nations, including monetary, agricultural, international and economic matters. It also studied questions of unemployment, the philosophy of international relations, the most important problems of common concern connected with the functions of the state and, indeed, all problems affecting, directly or indirectly, international cooperation.

The system of research used by the Conference had been
developed within its members institutes and was dictated by the complexity of contemporary problems. The studies referred at one and the same time to subjects which formed parts of different disciplines, which, in the universities, were represented by a number of different departments. Thus the greatest possible impartiality of treatment was ensured by bringing together widely differing theories and convictions in many fields. Another aspect of this group method of study worthy of note was that it led, as does individual research, to the publication of copiously documented volumes. In addition, there was an increasing tendency on the part of the Conference and its constituent members to follow the practice of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Foreign Policy Association in New York of regularly publishing pamphlets in which information was presented as objectively as possible. These pamphlets provided readily accessible material based on serious investigations. Most of them attempted, moreover, to consider the future and dealt with the most urgent political problems. An increasing number of the member institutes issued periodical reviews as well.

These manifold activities necessitated a system of liaison and exchange between the institutes concerned. The I.I.C.I. maintained this system and endeavoured to develop it to perfection.

The international action of the Conference as a whole was manifested principally in its concerted work on one
particular subject of general interest, which it chose from
time to time. The first enquiry of this type extended over a
period of two years and during that time the methods of the
Conference took clear shape. Thenceforth the Conference
took two years to carry out each general enquiry. In the
interval it held a general meeting at which all constituent
groups were represented but where discussion was of a prepar-
atory character.

The Executive Committee of the Conference, composed of
representatives of some ten institutions, supervised the work
as a whole, while numerous advisory committees arranged for
the scientific coordination of the research work and assisted
a General Rapporteur who was responsible for bringing the
question before the plenary meeting. The various aspects of
the subject selected were assigned to the national groups and
centres best qualified to deal with them. The various points
of view of the different countries (although the Conference
insisted on strict scientific objectivity) could vary and all
were certain to be represented. If there was a danger of any
particular aspect of the problem not being brought out with
sufficient clarity, the I.I.C.I., after consulting the prepar-
atory committees of experts, entrusted the study of this aspect
to an expert acting in an international capacity. With a
period of two years allotted to the Conference, all those
taking part could send in their books or memoranda in time to
enable the General Rapporteur, with the help, if necessary, of
specialist assistant rapporteurs, to consider the whole of the
material, to collate it and submit a general survey to the general Conference.

The separately conducted studies were then completed by a final discussion, in which each institute was represented by several delegates. This process of international comparison constituted the concluding stage of the study.

As in the case of the proceedings of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the press was excluded from the sessions of the International Studies Conference and only agreed upon reports were made public, thus safeguarding the full freedom of discussion for all members.

It should be noted that the methods employed by the Conference had little in common with the research that experts belonging to a national administration might carry out on Government instructions as a preliminary to the holding of partial or general conferences or the drawing up of agreements or treaties. For the International Studies Conference took no vote and adopted no recommendations or resolutions. Its conclusions had to have the same objective character as the material which was submitted for use in arriving at the conclusions — that is to say, the conclusions had to be the outcome of the pursuit and study of the facts of the case by "men of good will."

A due consideration of the above relevant facts about the International Studies Conference would seem to indicate that here was a genuinely international institution which combined in a common enterprise a number of national centres of
research, all of which retained their full freedom of action, while the institution as a whole had complete autonomy within the I.C.O. The creation and development of this Permanent Conference may therefore be cited as an example of the I.C.O.'s attempts both to adapt itself to the exigencies of modern life and to help create the "international mind."

Part (3): the Sociological Studies Centre

The successful autonomous operation of the International Studies Conference in the field of international relations spurred the I.C.O. and its Paris Institute on to create other mechanisms in closely allied fields. Thus in 1934, on the suggestion of Professor Shotwell, the I.C.O. began to contemplate the possibility of additional work in the sphere of the social and political sciences, and more especially in sociology.

This idea, which the Institute brought to the knowledge of the various countries by means of preliminary consultations with experts and correspondence with the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, received unanimous support. After considering the various suggestions which it had received, the Institute drew up certain proposals for the establishment of principles and methods of work. It would, of course, have been possible, in the beginning, for the I.I.C.I. to have simply arranged for a purely administrative liaison between the institutions and persons concerned, similar in structure to that adopted in the setting up of the Educational Information Centres. The I.C.O., however, had an
alternative possibility, namely, the immediate sponsoring of a study of a definite problem of interest to all countries. The example of the International Studies Conference, which by 1934 was devoting practically all of its attention to research of the latter type, seemed to indicate that the second method was more suitable in that it had the advantage of speed and avoided the material difficulties involved in setting up a new body.

In accordance with the latter method the I.C.O. confined its work in this new sphere to the study of certain specific problems by means of written consultations with experts and, when the occasion arose, by a comparison of their opinions, followed by the necessary meetings. It was hoped that this would create the habit of cooperation and a system of exchange on the subject of the science of man, without it being necessary first of all to lay down any hard and fast scheme of organization. At the same time the attention of the competent bodies was drawn to the advantage of an international application of the scientific methods that had hitherto been employed in this science almost exclusively on national lines.

In this way the I.C.O. indicated its desire to create a network of relations between itself and the most highly qualified representatives of the science of Sociology and to establish systematic technical coordination between the various national institutions.
Part (4): the Department of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology

It was not, however, merely in the fields of education, international affairs, and sociology that the Institute's machinery was enlarged after 1930. New mechanisms were also set in operation in the scientific, literary and artistic departments of the Institute. Indeed, in the field of art and the history of art very important new arrangements were made and new organisms installed. For example, as early as 1931, the Committee of Representatives of International Students' Organizations had proposed that the Institute should establish a centre for liaison and exchanges between university and other institutes devoted to the study of art and archaeology. As a result, a full scale plan for the creation of such a coordination centre was prepared by Professor Fasciilom and approved, in principle, by the C.I.C.I. in that same year.

A Committee of Experts that met at the Paris Institute in January 1932 unanimously recognized the utility of establishing such international relations and such a coordination of work between educational institutions and similar establishments occupied with the history of art and archaeology which had, for their function, not the preserving of artistic treasures, as did galleries and museums, but, rather, the carrying out of research work in the associated sciences and the assurance of their progress and development. The discussions of the Committee of Experts made it clear that there was no need to create a super-institute, but merely to organ-
ize a close cooperation between the important institutes already in existence, in collaboration, if possible, with the International Academic Union and the Permanent Committee of International Congresses on the History of Art and other similar organizations.

The main features of the recommendations adopted by the experts who thus determined the activities of the Centre were as follows:

1. Material for study. - Diffusion of information and utilization of collections of drawings and photographs already existing; juridical conditions as to the use of photographs; photographic technique applied to works of art to be studied; conciliation between the right to priority of the scientist who has made an archaeological discovery in the matter of publishing and the right of the public and of other scientists to information regarding it.

2. Scientific training. - The collection and diffusion for the benefit of professors and students of information concerning courses of instruction, journeys undertaken in order to study abroad, bursaries for study, exchanges of professors and students, questions regarding equivalence of university degrees.

3. Research work in situ. - Suggestions on technical methods of excavation, studies on legislation affecting this matter with a view to facilitating research work; coordination of the international means in the matter of finance and personnel when it is a question of carrying out excavations of exceptional importance beyond the means of a single nation.

4. Publications. - Co-ordination of the scientific means necessary for undertaking certain publications or Corpora having particular importance for science and demanding heavy expense beyond national possibilities.
5. Propaganda. - The publication of a periodical bulletin through the agency of the Centre would be useful both as a means of maintaining a regular liaison with the institutes of the history or art and archaeology, and for making the desiderata of the diverse institutes known; it would provide the organizations as well as the research workers with an efficacious instrument of information, of documentation and of action.

The Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I., when it met in March 1932, expressed itself in favour of this program and the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, at its second session of May 11-12, 1932, also approved of the setting-up of the proposed Centre.

Thus on December 1-2, 1933, on the invitation of the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, the Committee of Directors for the new International Centre of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art met at Rome and drew up its immediate program. This new link, also entitled the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art, was formally established at the Paris Institute in 1934.

The activities of the International Centre or Office extended to art as a whole in the wide sense of the word, regarded from the museums' point of view, from ancient times down to the work of living artists. Eventually its program included the following subjects:

Study material - such as the establishment of a list of mutilated works of art and their reconstitution by photography or by casts; lists of collections according to their subjects and of collections of photographic reproductions or of casts or prints of works of art; the making of a technical dictionary of art and archaeological terms in several languages.

The technique of gathering and distributing information - including field work; principles for reproducing works of art; methods of identification; making sales catalogues and museum and exhibition catalogues; problems of terminology and classification; iconographical and museographical problems peculiar to archaeological collections and collections of sculpture, from the point of view of scientific research; co-operation in establishing national and international bibliographies.

Coordination of research work - including methods used for different disciplines in the programmes of archaeological institutes and of those concerned with the history of art; joint study of certain subjects of general interest.

In summary, then, the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art coordinated the research work of university institutes in the field of art, promoted co-operation between them and sought to improve their equipment.

The publications of the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art consisted of a periodical bulletin, monographs and bibliographical bulletins.

The work of this new Office proceeded so successfully that by 1936 the C.I.C.I. was prepared to take the step of declaring that the Committee of Directors of the Institutes of Archaeology (later known as the Directors' Committee) was to be considered as a Permanent Expert Committee of the

Meanwhile, the International Museums' Office had had a new advisory body attached to it, namely, the Advisory Committee of Experts of the International Museums' Office. The duties of this Advisory Committee were to superintend, and advise the C.I.C.I. on, the administration and program of the International Office, the actual internal administration and functioning of which remained in the hands of the Directors' Committee. By 1936 the Advisory Committee was granted similar recognition to that given, in the same year, to the Committee of Directors of the International Centre for the Institutes of Art and Archaeology and it, too, was raised to the status of a Permanent Expert Committee of the C.I.C.I.

Soon afterwards, in 1937, both the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and the History of Art and the International Museums' Office were placed under the nominal supervision of a newly constituted division of the Paris Institute, the Department of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology.

In addition to the above bodies, the Department of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology encompassed the activities of several other organisms. Among the latter was the International Commission on Historical Monuments which had come into being as a result of the efforts of the International Museums' Office to secure the safeguarding of and a proper respect for national and international historical monuments.

and artistic objects. The question of such safeguards and respect had come up for discussion at the Thirteenth League Assembly in 1932 and the idea had received enthusiastic support from all quarters, in addition to an official nod of approval from the Assembly itself. The readiness with which the various States had signified their approval for this matter led the I.C.O.'s officials to the belief that the setting up of an international body for the joint study of such problems would meet with an equally favourable reception. The appropriate enquiries were therefore immediately made by the I.I.C.I. and the appointment of the International Commission was approved by both the League Council and the Assembly in September and October, 1933, both in principle and in respect to the functions of the proposed new body.

The International Commission on Historic Monuments consisted of official delegates from both Members and non-Members of the League, the delegates representing their respective government departments. The scope of the Commission's work may be subsumed under the following heads:

1. Moral and educational action.
2. Legislative and administrative action.
3. Technical action.
4. International documentation.

Thus the Commission coordinated action through governments for the protection and conservation of the heritage of civilization in art and culture. In addition, it framed possible legislative and administrative principles which States could apply in organizing their services or in preparing or amending laws for the protection of their artistic
monuments. It also studied the technical methods used in
different countries for preserving and restoring ancient
monuments and hoped in this way to arrive at a body of gen­
eral principles dealing with the proper treatment of monu­
ments and their place in modern life. Furthermore, it
carried out educational work by making recommendations to
governments on the means of inculcating a respect for the
historic monuments of every period and every civilization.
And finally, it organized conferences from time to time in
which the appropriate governmental departments of most coun­
tries were represented.

So important did the various Governments consider the
International Commission on Historical Monuments that by the
end of 1934 twenty-five states had already appointed their
respective delegates to sit on the Commission and by the
end of 1938 the number had risen to thirty-one.

Another organism whose operations came within the sphere
of activities embraced by the Institute's Department of Art,
Archaeology and Ethnology was the International Committee on
Folk Arts which, by 1936, already had more than thirty Nation­
al Folk Arts Committees as its sponsors. During the period

14. L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section, Inte­
lectual Co-operation, 1937, p. 400.

15. I.I.C.I., International Intellectual Co-operation,
1934, 1935, p. 120.

16. I.I.C.I., International Intellectual Co-operation,
1938, 1939, pp. 174-175.

17. I.I.C.I., International Intellectual Co-operation,
1934, 1935, p. 130.
1928-1936 the International Committee on Folk Arts had, as a result of the growing support which it received from these National Committees, become increasingly independent of the I.C.O., though its Bureau had continued to have its activities centered at the Paris Institute. A change in the International Committee's policy occurred in 1936, however, when its Bureau decided to request that the whole of the work connected with the Committee should be entrusted to the I.I.C.I.'s Department of Art and Archaeology. This decision was later endorsed by the C.I.C.I. in the following terms:

The Committee decides, on the proposal of its Executive Committee, to incorporate the International Committee on Popular Arts and Traditions in the Organization and attach it to the Department of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology of the I.I.C.I., which will act as its Secretariat-General. The Committee hopes to receive an annual report on the work of the International Committee on Popular Arts and Traditions.18

Still another appendage to the Paris Institute's Department of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology was the International Study Centre for the Study of Architectural and Urban or Town Planning Questions. This body was the youngest of the organizations which helped compose the Department. Created by the C.I.C.I. in 1937, the International Centre did not have its program properly defined until 1938, when it was decided that this new organism would have as its allotted field of action the determination of the best means calculated to

coordinate and reconcile the interests militating in favour of the conservation of ancient monuments, the requirements to be met in the planning of modern cities and the vital needs of contemporary architecture. The Centre's activities came under supervision of the Committee of Architectural Experts whose inception and program has already been noted in Chapter VII.

From 1938 to 1940 the Centre studied the legislative and administrative measures of the different countries as regards architecture and gathered information on the relevant problems of urban and moral architecture. It also aided in the drafting of international regulations for architectural competitions.

Part (5): the Publication Committees

In the field of Letters the Paris Institute, after 1930, revived part of its former machinery which had fallen into disuse for a year and, in addition, constructed a new mechanism to act as a parallel feature to that which had been revived. Thus the I.I.C.I. during 1931 reconstituted the Publications Committee of the Ibero-American Collection and four years later appointed a Publication Committee consisting of a number of noted Orientals to supervise a series of publications on Japanese culture. Both of these Committees, by 1939, had come to be recognized, though unofficially, as Permanent Expert Committees of the C.I.C.I.

The foregoing material has outlined, with two exceptions, the principal features of the Paris Institute and its subsidiary organs as they were developed up to the closing of the Institute in May 1940. The two exceptions relate to innovations in the Institute's structure which may be best discussed in the following Chapters of this study, since the first of these two structural changes came about as a result of the closing of the Rome Institute of Educational Cinematography, which will be dealt with in Chapter IX, and the second change was brought into effect as a result of an "International Act" which affected the I.C.O. as a whole and hence will be dealt with, as a whole, in Chapter XIV of this study.
CHAPTER XI

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued) - The International Educational Cinematographic Institute

The second autonomous Institute which operated under the auspices of the I.C.O., was the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. Although not established until 1928, the genesis of the idea for the creation of such an institution occurred as early as October 1922, when the Swiss Students' Federation discussed the possibility of setting up an "International Committee on Cinematographic Teaching in Universities." By 1923 such an international committee had been formed as a result of their initiative and it constituted the first international effort made in the sphere of educational films.

The question of educational films was first brought before the C.I.C.I. at its second session, held in July 1923. At that time M. Luchaire drew the attention of the C.I.C.I., with some hesitation on account of the vastness of the subject, to the growing importance of certain new arts, such as the cinema. He wished to know whether the C.I.C.I. desired to consider the extent of the influence of the cinema upon the formation of the intellect and requested an authorization to conduct further enquiries, which he had already begun on his own initiative, in this field. Such enquiries seemed to him to be desired by certain motion picture producers.

M. Lorentz, a C.I.C.I. member, believed that the consideration of this question should be restricted to the international influence of such films as involved a certain degree of cooperation between various countries. M. Destree, on the other hand, thought that a study of this problem would be important, less, perhaps, from the point of view of the improvement of the moral level of the cinema than with the object of preventing, by means of international understanding, the employment of the cinema as a means of nationalist propaganda.

As a result of this discussion the C.I.C.I. invited M. Luchoaire to continue his investigations and to draw up a definite report if necessary. Accordingly, a year later, on July 28, 1924, M. Luchoaire submitted a report to the C.I.C.I. on the "Relations of the Cinematograph to Intellectual Life." The report consisted of three parts, namely, the development of motion pictures; their use in education; and plans for the international organization of the study, production, and distribution of educational, scientific and cultural films. The report ended with the following three resolutions, which had already been adopted by the Sub-Committee on University Relations on July 22, 1924:

1. The Committee is of opinion that the publication of an international catalogue of scientific films would serve a useful purpose. It


instructs the International University Office to come to an understanding with the Swiss Federation of Students regarding the drawing up of this catalogue.

2. The Committee would welcome with pleasure the meeting of an international congress of cinematography in the programme of which the scientific, artistic and educational interests affected by the development of cinematography would be the first questions to be examined. A member of the Directing Board of the International [University Information] Office might attend such a congress.

3. The Committee recommends the organisation of an international exhibition of scientific pictures and pictures for other educational purposes, both fixed and moving.4

The C.I.C.I. congratulated M. Luchaire on taking the initiative in drawing up so interesting a report and adopted all three resolutions. It must be noted, however, that the C.I.C.I. did not see fit, at this time, to take any action itself in this connection. Meanwhile, a movement was put on foot in Switzerland to have an International Congress on Educational Films meet at Basle in September 1926. Subsequently, in 1925, the French National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decided to take the initiative in and to bear the cost of organizing an International Cinematographic Congress, dealing with films in general. As an act of courtesy to the French National Committee, the Basle International Congress was adjourned until 1927 and the International Cinematographic Congress was held at Paris, at the I.I.C.I., from September 27 to October 3, 1926. A total of four hundred thirty-five

delegates from thirty-one countries attended this Congress. Although neither the C.I.C.I. nor the League were directly concerned in its proceedings, other than to provide the necessary accommodation, the Congress did, through the extensive resolutions which it passed, prove most valuable in drawing attention to the social and educational possibilities opened up by the advent of motion pictures.

Following the Congress the Director of the Paris Institute prepared a special report for the C.I.C.I. on the work of the Institute's Cinematographic Service and on the important resolutions adopted at the Cinematographic Congress. The C.I.C.I. also received, as a result of the Congress, a letter from Dr. Rene Sand, Chairman of the International Committee for Educational and Social Welfare Films, requesting the C.I.C.I. to authorize the establishment of an international office for educational and social welfare films. The C.I.C.I. took sympathetic note of the letter and the resolutions of the Cinematographic Congress and recognized the widespread interest in the future establishment of an international centre to serve as a connecting link between the various international centres to serve as a connecting link between the various international and national organizations which would be concerned with educational and social welfare films. At the same time the C.I.C.I. expressed the opinion that, since the matter was so important, it was one upon which it was not prepared, at the moment, to make a decision. Nevertheless, it instructed the Paris Institute to continue the study, collection and documentation of the pertinent facts as to the educational,
scientific and cultural features of film production and distribution and, through its Cinematographic Service, to support the work of the International Committee for Educational and Social Welfare Films, to keep in touch with the League's Child Welfare Committee and other interested sections of the League, and with such regional and national centres as were also concerned. It furthermore requested the Paris Institute's Committee of Directors to follow the question of an international centre closely until the next session of the C.I.C.I.

By January 12, 1927, in addition to carrying out the instructions of the C.I.C.I. as regards educational films, the Paris Institute had also created an International Committee on Educational Films, with its centre of operations at the Institute's Cinematographic Service. And, soon afterwards, at the International Congress on Educational Films held at Basle on April 7-12, 1927, an International Chamber of Educational Films was founded with its seat at Basle. Thus by 1927 there were two international educational film organisms with much the same program. The Basle Chamber, however, was somewhat more international in its membership than its competitor and nearly twenty States were represented in it. Furthermore, it was the more qualified body from the technical point of view as it had thirteen specialist Commissions working under it.


The interest aroused by the International Cinematographic Congress, the activities of the Basle Chamber on Educational Films and the studies conducted by the Paris Institute led the Italian Government which was at that time in the midst of a national visual education campaign, at the Eighth Assembly, to submit a proposal for the creation at Rome of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute, for which it offered to provide the initial funds and an annual subsidy.

The Assembly, while fully approving this offer in principle, left to the Council all decisions as to the steps to be taken to reach a final agreement. The Assembly did, however, recommend that the competent organizations, in particular the C.I.C.I. and the League's Child Welfare Committee, should be consulted before any such steps were decided upon. On September 28, 1927, the League Council also accepted the Italian offer in principle and requested the Italian representative to communicate, in due course, any definite proposal that the Italian Government might think fit to make. It was pointed out, however, that the proposed Institute's Statutes should be framed in cooperation with the Secretary-General of the League, who might seek the opinion of the Director of the Paris Institute and the League's Child Welfare Committee.

7. Hereafter abbreviated as the I.E.C.I.


Consequently on January 7, 1928 Count Dino Grandi, the Italian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Premier Mussolini sent the Council a letter officially offering, on behalf of the Italian Government, to set up an Institute in accordance with the suggestions already made by itself, the League Assembly and the Council.

A meeting was then held at Rome, in February 1928, to draw up Draft Statutes for the I.E.C.I. The Secretary-General of the League was represented at the meeting by M. Dufour-Feronce and M. Oprescu (both of whom were members of the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat), the Paris Institute by its Director, M. Luchaire, and the Italian Government by M. Rocco, who was also a member of the C.I.C.I. During the time that the Draft Statutes were being drawn up, a letter was received by the meeting from the Secretary-General of the Basle Chamber, M. Imhoff, stating that the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I. would without doubt be the best qualified body to allocate the work among the three Institutes at Rome, Paris and Basle. In order to take the efforts of the Basle Chamber into account, Article X of the I.E.C.I.'s Draft Statutes, which dealt with the drawing up of the I.E.C.I.'s program, was worded as follows:

It [the Governing Body] shall have entire control over the work of the Institute, the programme of which it shall draw up from time to time and with due regard to the powers of the international

institutions (in particular the I.I.C.I. and the I.L.O.) and the work of any other competent international body.11

On completion, these Draft Statutes were forwarded to the League Council for its approval and signature, together with a letter of explanation from the Italian Government. The League Council discussed the matter on March 7, 1928. Dr. von Schubert, who was then replacing Dr. Stresemann, expressed his pleasure at the fact that Article X of the Draft "provided for co-operation between the Institute and similar organizations already in existence, such as the Central Organization for Educational Films at Basle" and M. Scialoja, the Italian representative, also associated himself with these sentiments. Before taking a definite decision on this matter, however, the Council decided to transmit the Draft Statutes to the C.I.C.I., the Child Welfare Committee and the I.L.O. The C.I.C.I. examined the document at its tenth session, held in July 1928, and, following some discussion, it approved the Draft Statutes, with a few very minor amendments on July 30, 1928. The C.I.C.I., at the same time, also formally recognized the importance of the work being accomplished by the International Chamber of Educational Films.

The Organic Statutes of the I.E.C.I. were subsequently formally approved by the League Council on August 30, 1928, and by the Ninth Assembly during the next month.

Then, in order to incorporate the last minute suggestions received from the other bodies which had been consulted by the League Council and Assembly, the Organic Statutes were slightly revised and the Governing Body of the new Institute was appointed by the Council on September 26, 1928.

According to the Organic Statutes of the I.E.C.I., as adopted on September 1928, the work of the Institute was to consist mainly in the construction of an international collection of educational films and cinematographic materials and of a general catalogue of instructional films. Its Internal, Financial, and Administrative Regulations were to be drawn up by the Governing Body and submitted to the League Council for approval. Further, the Governing Body of the new Institute was to be composed of an Italian Chairman and fourteen other members, as far as possible of different nationalities, appointed by the League Council for a period of five years.


See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 8, no. 9, pp. 266-267, Sept. 1928.


See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 8, no. 9, pp. 266-267, Sept. 1928.
subject to one further re-appointment. The Secretary-General of the League, the Director of the Paris Institute, the Director of the I.L.O. and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture were also to be permitted to be represented at the meetings of the Governing Body in an advisory capacity. The President or Chairman of the Governing Body was always to be, ex officio, the Italian member of the C.I.C.I.

The I.E.C.I.'s Statutes further provided that the Governing Body would include the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. and one-third of its members (i.e., five), together with one member of each of the C.I.C.I.'s Permanent Sub-Committees. The Governing Body was also to contain two representatives of the League's Child Welfare Committee. In effect, then, out of a total membership, including advisory members, of fifteen, there were to be a minimum of nine persons who were members of both the C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I.

A Standing Committee composed of the Chairman of the Governing Body and five other members of different nationalities was to supervise the work of the Institute and the Director of the I.E.C.I. was to be appointed by and responsible to the Governing Body.

The seat of the Institute and its administrative headquarters, a gift of the Italian Government, were to be placed at Villa Torlonia Via Lazzaro, Spallanzani I, Rome. The

18. The Institute was also given additional quarters at the Villa Falconieri, at Frascati.
The International Educational Cinematographic Institute, Via Lazzaro, Spallanzani I, Rome.
I.E.C.I. was also to receive a guaranteed minimum subsidy from the Italian Government of 600,000 lire and was to be permitted to receive, in addition, supplementary funds from the Italian and other Governments as well as from private individuals and institutions.

The formal opening of the I.E.C.I. took place on November 5, 1928, in the presence of the King of Italy, Premier Mussolini, the Diplomatic Corps and the members of the Governing Body of the Institute. By December 13, 1929 a list of General and Administrative Regulations for the internal operation of the I.E.C.I. had been drawn up by its Governing Body and had received the approval of the League Council.

As a result of experience and the report of the Committee of Enquiry, the I.E.C.I., like the I.I.C.I., had not been long in operation before it became necessary to change its constitution. In fact, changes were found to be necessary, and were instituted, either in the I.E.C.I.'s Organic Statutes or in its General and Administrative Regulations on September 19, 1929; December 17, 1929; January 1, 1930; January 19,

19. By 1930 the Institute's Budget amounted to 1,131,000 lire, of which 890,000 lire was supplied by the Italian Government.


Throughout this period of revision, however, and until the closing of the Institute in 1937, there was one aspect of its constitution that did not undergo any changes: its work was always carried on "under the direction of the Council of the League of Nations" which was "advised in this respect by the C.I.C.I." The C.I.C.I., moreover, was influential in the shaping of the program and policies of the I.E.C.I., due to the fact that it had so large a representation on the Governing Body of the Institute.

The object of the Institute, as stated in its revised Organic Statutes of January 1931, was to:

21. For example, as a result of the changes made in September and December 1929, the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I. comprised a President and fourteen members of different nationalities, including three members of the C.I.C.I., one member of each of four of the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committees and one member of the League's Child Welfare Committee. The other members continued to be chosen with special reference to their experience in the matters coming before the Institute.

See Appendix XXIV, vol., pp. of this study for the text of the Organic Statutes of the I.E.C.I., as adopted on December 17, 1929.

The late Professor Alfredo Rocco, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (1928-1935), and Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. - L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section, *The League of Nations: A Pictorial Survey*, 1929, p. [20].
encourage the production, distribution, and exchange between the various countries of educational films concerning instruction, art, industry, agriculture, commerce, health, social education and etc. by any means which the Governing Body may consider necessary.\textsuperscript{22}

After 1931, too, the Institute was administered by a Governing Body, a Permanent Executive Committee, an Advisory and Technical Committee, a Budget Commission and a Director.

The Governing Body consisted of a Chairman and eleven other members, as far as possible of different nationalities. It also included the Italian and at least two other members of the C.I.C.I., who sat in a personal, rather than a representative, capacity, and two members of the Child Welfare Committee. The Italian member of the C.I.C.I. remained the Chairman \textit{ex officio} of the Governing Body.\textsuperscript{23} A member of the Advisory and Technical Committee, appointed by his colleagues, also sat in a personal capacity. The Governing Body further included, during his lifetime, M. Louis Lumiere, who was an honorary member.\textsuperscript{24} Members of the Governing Body did not receive any remuneration but were entitled to travelling and subsistence allowances, these expenses being paid out of the

\textsuperscript{22} Organic Statutes of the I.E.C.I., Article II.
\textsuperscript{23} The Chairman of the Governing Body from 1928 to 1935 was M. Alfredo Rocco, Italian Minister of Justice, Rector of the University of Rome and Italian member of the C.I.C.I.
\textsuperscript{24} The Secretary-General of the League, the Director of the I.L.O., the Director of the I.I.C.I. and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture were also still permitted to attend meetings of the Governing Body in an advisory capacity.
funds of the Institute. The duties of the Governing Body were to:

1. Fix the programme, adopt the budget, and approve the accounts of the Institute.
2. Approve or amend the programme of work drawn up by the Permanent Executive Committee.
3. Submit the Annual Report, which under Article XVIII of the Statutes must be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations and to the Italian Government.
4. Decide the questions in respect of which committees of experts should be set up.
5. Indicate the questions in respect of which international agreements might be concluded and submit them to the Council of the League of Nations.
6. Appoint the Director of the Institute and, after consultation with him, the heads of service.

In addition, the Governing Body appointed and received the reports of Committees of Experts appointed to examine and study special questions. Thus it may be seen that complete control of the Institute was vested in the Governing Body, even though the Budget of the Institute was largely provided by the Italian Government.

The Governing Body met at least once yearly at the seat of the Institute or any other town selected by its Chairman. Extraordinary sessions could be convened by the Chairman or at the request of the Permanent Executive Committee. The Governing Body had to be convened at least forty-five days in advance of the date fixed for its meeting. Questions could be placed on the agenda at the request of any member.

25. Organic Statutes of the I.E.C.I., Article V.
See also, L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section, Essential Facts About the League of Nations, 1935 ed., p. 213.
of the Body on notification of the Chairman at least two
months in advance of the meeting. The Governing Body could
discuss any items on its agenda, whatever the number of mem-
ers present, and it could discuss questions not on its agenda
if the majority of its members were present and if all those
present recognized the urgency of those questions.

The Permanent Executive Committee, which was appointed
by the Governing Body, consisted of the Chairman of the Govern-
ing Body and five of its members of different nationalities,
with the Director of the Paris Institute being permitted to
be present in an advisory capacity. The Secretary-General of
the League, the Director of the I.L.O. and the President of
the International Institute of Agriculture were each permitted
to send a representative in a similar capacity. Appointments
to membership on the Permanent Executive Committee were made
for only two years but the members were eligible for re-
appointment.

The Permanent Executive Committee met every four months
and had to be convened at least twenty days before the date
fixed for its ordinary meetings, which it determined in advance
each year. Extraordinary sessions could be convened by the
Governing Body or, in urgent cases, by the Chairman of the
Permanent Executive Committee at the suggestion of the I.E.
C.I.'s Director or on the request of two of its members.

26. This number was reduced to four by a resolution of
the Seventy-Third Session of the League Council on May 24,
1933.
The duties of the Permanent Executive Committee were to:

1. Submit to the Governing Body a detailed report on the work done.
2. Submit to the Governing Body Proposals regarding future work.
4. Appoint the officials not appointed by the Governing Body.

The Secretaries of the Governing Body and the Permanent Executive Committee were appointed by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, after consultation with the Chairman of the Governing Body.

The Budget Commission of the I.C.I. was set up under the authority of Article IV of the General and Administrative Regulations. Its duties were to "study the Draft Budget drawn up by the Director and submit it, together with a report, to the Permanent Executive Committee." The membership of the Budget Commission consisted of the Chairman and two members of the Permanent Executive Committee, appointed by that Committee.

The Advisory and Technical Committee consisted of six members appointed by the Governing Body for their technical qualifications or their standing in film producing organizations. This Committee's task was to maintain contact with groups in the film industry as well as technical circles. The Advisory Committee thus gave technical opinions on all questions submitted to it by the Governing Body.

27. General and Administrative Regulations of the I.C.I., Articles XVIII, XIX.
The Director of the Institute, who also acted under the authority of Article IV of the Statutes, was appointed for a term of seven years by the Governing Body and could be reappointed for one further term. He undertook to:

devote this whole time to the Institute, to direct it with the utmost impartiality, and to ensure that it should be strictly international in character. . . . He shall see that the Institute's work is guided by uniform principles, and shall co-ordinate its activities. His authority shall extend to all sections and services.28

The Director of the Institute during its short-lived history was Dr. Luciano de Feo who had previously been the Director of the Italian Unione Cinematografica Educativa.

The I.E.C.I. provided the secretariat for a number of special committees appointed to help in the Institute's studies and investigations, accounts of which were given in the Institute's monthly bulletin of information which was entitled the International Review of Cinematography, the French edition of which was entitled Intercine.29

Soon after its inception the I.E.C.I. began a campaign for the creation, in each country, of a number of educational and cinematographic national centres, more or less along the lines of the British Film Institute. This campaign quickly proved most successful in nearly every European state and in several American and Asiatic countries as well.

28. General and Administrative Regulations of the I.E.C.I., Articles XXIII, XXVII.

29. See the Bibliography in vol. of this study for a list of the publications of the I.E.C.I.
On March 26, 1930, in the presence of the King of Italy, following speeches made by M. Rocco, Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I., and M. Dufour-Peronce, Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, an Educational Motion Picture Hall and an Educational Film Library of the I.E.C.I. were officially opened to the public. Then, in May 1935, the Institute further extended its activities by setting up an Advisory Committee and a Centre for questions relating to television. This Centre functioned as the executive organ of the Advisory Committee and it contained an experimental television transmission station. Like the I.E.C.I.'s budget, the Television Centre's annual budget was guaranteed by the Italian Government. The work of the Institute also included theoretical enquiries into the value of motion pictures, their influence and use as a teaching medium, and their social and educational aspects. In addition, the Institute prepared a collection of laws and decisions on cinematographic questions. It also drafted and helped secure the adoption of the International Convention for Facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character. Thus, through the I.E.C.I., the I.C.C. attempted to direct the development of the motion picture medium along a path designed to make it a better means of education and a higher form of art.

These constructive developments at Rome in the field of educational films came to an abrupt end, however, in 1937. For, on December 18 of that year the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I. informed the Chairman of the C.I.C.I.
Professor Murray, that, as a result of Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, all the Italian staff of the I.E.C.I., down to the doorman, had resigned and consequently the Institute found itself unable to continue its activities. Then, on December 26 the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Secretary-General that, on account of Italy's withdrawal from the League, the undertaking entered into in 1928 by the Italian Government for the maintenance of the I.E.C.I., was abrogated. Finally, on December 31, 1937, the I.E.C.I. closed its doors to the public. When the premises were reopened early in 1938, they had become an Italian Educational Cinematographic Institute.

Since Italy had agreed, when she set up the I.E.C.I., to give at least two years notice to the League in the event that she no longer desired to maintain the Rome Institute, her precipitate action in closing the I.E.C.I., virtually without notice, was an example of the fascist and nazi method of a unilateral denunciation of a formal agreement, constituting a flagrant violation of international law.

Subsequently, on May 13, 1938, the League Council, at the request of the Government of the United Kingdom, examined the consequences of the closing of the Rome Institute on the Convention for the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character, which had been drawn up during a Conference held at Geneva, in 1933, and had come into force

on January 15, 1934. The Convention had been ratified or acceded to by twenty-six States and had been signed by six others. Under this Convention the Rome Institute had played an essential and executive part. For, in accordance with Article IV of the Convention, the I.E.C.I. had been the authority which certified that films were of an educational character and hence entitled to the customs exemptions provided for in the Convention. When the Institute ceased functioning this Convention was consequently suspended.

As the question was of interest to all the signatory parties, the Council decided to propose to those States which had signed or acceded to the Convention that they should meet in conference at Geneva immediately preceding the nineteenth session of the League Council. The Council requested the Secretary-General to convey this proposal to all the Governments concerned, asking them to reply before July 31, 1938.

The United Kingdom, in notifying the League of its acceptance of the invitation to attend the Conference, also forwarded a Draft Protocol which it considered might form a basis for the discussions of the Conference. It proposed that the C.I.C.I. should be substituted for the I.E.C.I. for the fulfillment of the tasks with which the Rome Institute had been entrusted under the terms of the Convention. On the basis of this and other replies, the Secretary-General, in agreement with the President of the League Council and


the representatives of the United Kingdom, fixed the date of the Conference at September 10-12, 1938.

The Conference, at which twenty-three States were represented, elected M. M. Bourquin (Belgian) as its Chairman. After a statement by the Chairman on the object of the Conference, the representative of the United Kingdom commented on the Draft Protocol previously submitted by his Government.

Great Britain considered that the duties of the I.E.C.I. should be transferred to the C.I.C.I. because the latter body fulfilled all the necessary conditions for the performance of those duties. Furthermore, the C.I.C.I.'s authority was internationally recognized and it already enjoyed the collaboration of nationals of States not members of the League who were Parties to the 1933 Convention.

The Swiss delegate then suggested that, in view of the restricted aims of the Draft Protocol, the Conference might draw up a provisional diplomatic instrument, not subject to ratification by Governments, which would meet the desired ends. The Conference finally adopted a "Proces-Verbal" embodying in a new and simplified form the proposals of the United Kingdom Government, and providing for a procedure which

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33. The States represented were: Union of South Africa, United States of America, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, India, Iran, Latvia, Monaco, the Netherlands (in an advisory capacity only), Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, and Switzerland. - L. of N., M.S. vol. 18, no. 9, p. 249, Sept. 1938.
would avoid the necessity for ratification by Governments.

In addition, the Conference also adopted a Final Act, which gave an account of the circumstances leading up to the Conference and expressed the hope that:

the League Assembly would, as soon as possible, consider the possibility of authorizing the C.I.C.I. to accept the duties which the Conference proposed to transfer to it, and would consider the measures necessary to enable the C.I.C.I. to undertake these duties; the C.I.C.I. would be guided as far as possible by the Draft Rules relating to the 1933 Convention which had previously been drawn up by the Governing Body of the I.E.C.I. 35

Then, on September 20, 1936, the newly formed Seventh Committee (which dealt with Social and Intellectual Cooperation Questions) of the Nineteenth Assembly set up a Subcommittee consisting of the representatives of Argentina, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Egypt, France, Monaco, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Poland to deal especially with Intellectual Cooperation Questions, including the request made by the Diplomatic Conference of September 1938. After an

34. In adopting this procedure the Conference acted in conformity with a precedent that had been established on the occasion of the modification of Article V of the Convention on the Limitation of the Manufacture of Drugs. That precedent had made it possible for States to bind themselves by signature only. Nevertheless, the signatory States were at liberty to proceed to ratification if such a step was in conformity with their internal constitution and was judged advisable.


exchange of views, the Sub-Committee unanimously recommended that the Seventh Committee of the Assembly propose to the Assembly that it grant the authorization asked for and thus enable the C.I.C.I. to give the assistance provided for in the Proces-Verbal. The Seventh Committee agreed to this proposal and consequently submitted the following draft resolution for the approval of the Assembly:

The Assembly . . . acceding to the request of the Diplomatic Conference held at Geneva from September 10-12, 1938, concerning the application of the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character:

Authorizes the C.I.C.I. to perform the duties devolving upon it under the terms of the Proces-Verbal adopted by the said Conference concerning the application of Articles IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII and XIII of the Convention of October 11th, 1933 . . . .

Subsequently, on September 26, 1938, the League Assembly authorized the C.I.C.I. and its executive body, the Paris Institute, to carry out these duties. The Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. thereupon appointed a Committee of Experts, attached to the Paris Institute, to draft executory regulations for the application of the Convention. (In conformity with Article XIII of the Convention these draft regulations were subject to the approval of the League Council.) These regulations provided for the appointment by the C.I.C.I. of a


38. L. of II., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Nineteenth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 182, p. 20.
Special Committee of five members of outstanding experience in the field of educational films. It was the duty of this Committee, on behalf of the C.I.C.I., to examine each application for a certificate under the Convention. In the event of it coming to a favourable decision, it issued a certificate attesting that the film in question was of an educational character and therefore entitled to the exemption provided for in the Convention. Provision was also made, with the approval of the League Assembly and in accordance with Article VII of the Convention for the publication of a catalogue of educational films, scientific films and film archives and for the establishment by the Paris Institute of a system of liaison with film institutions.

Hence, after September 1938, the C.I.C.I. and the Paris Institute assumed the major functions of the defunct I.E.C.I. and consequently the Paris Institute dealt thereafter with the establishment of an international catalogue of educational films in collaboration with the various national educational documentation centres, the use of motion pictures in the cause of peace and the education of public taste in films.

CHAPTER XII

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued) -
The International Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the International Institute of Bibliography

Section A: The International Institute for the Unification of Private Law

A few months after the French Government had made its offer to establish the I.I.C.I. at Paris, the Italian Government, following the French Government's initiative, and perhaps not desiring to be outdone by France in matters intellectual, decided to make a parallel offer to the League, embodying the setting up of an International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.

The first step in this direction was taken on September 26, 1924, when the Italian delegation made the following declaration to the Fifth Assembly:

The Italian Government has decided to found an Institute for the Unification of Private Law, with its seat at Rome, which will have rights and duties analogous to those of the new I.I.C.I., which is to be established at Paris under the control of the League of Nations. For this purpose, the Italian Government will grant a yearly sum of 1,000,000 lire.1

Subsequently, on September 30, the Assembly adopted the following resolution in connection with the Italian Government's offer:

   See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 4, no. 9, p. 189, Sept. 1924.
The Assembly of the League of Nations expresses its deepest gratitude to the Italian Government for its generous offer to found an International Institute for the Unification of the Assimilation and Coordination of Private Law, under the direction of the League of Nations.

The Assembly, recalling the terms of its resolution dated September 23rd, 1924 with regard to the I.I.C.I., invites the Council to accept this offer, in the name of the League of Nations, and, being desirous of emphasizing the international character which this Institute should possess, both as regards the programme of its work and the choice of its staff, in accordance with the intention of the Italian Government:

(a) Resolves that the powers and duties of the Institute and the constitution of its Governing Body and Committee of Directors shall be defined by the Council of the League of Nations in agreement with the Italian Government;

(b) Invites the Council of the League of Nations after consultation with the competent organs (including the Committee of Experts contemplated in the resolution of the Fifth Assembly dated September 19th, 1924, the C.I.C.I., and the Technical Organizations of the League of Nations), to conclude with the Italian Government all agreements necessary to ensure the establishment, continuity and proper working of the Institute. In accordance with the desire of the Italian Government the general principles to be embodied in such agreements shall be analogous to those laid down in connection with the I.I.C.I., which is to be established in Paris.

Care shall be taken, by means of consultations, to avoid overlapping.2

The offer was discussed and accepted in principle by the Council on October 3. Italy was then requested to submit, in due course, any suggestions that she might desire to put

2. L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Fifth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 21, p. 16. See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 4, no. 9, p. 211, Sept. 1924.
forward as a basis for further deliberations.

Draft Statutes for the new Institute were prepared by the Italian Government within two months and were then communicated to the League Council. In the meantime, however, the Netherlands Government had drawn the attention of the Council to the work of the conferences on international private law which it had previously convened on several occasions at The Hague. The Council, in communicating the Draft Statutes drawn up by the Italian Government to the C.I.C.I., to the various Technical Organizations of the League and to the Sub-Committee of five members set up by the League Committee of Experts for the Codification of International Law, accordingly authorized them to avail themselves of the special experience of the Netherlands Government and to proceed to the necessary consultations without prejudice to any subsequent consultations that the Council might see fit to initiate.

The replies of these bodies, together with a letter from the Director of the International Labour Office regarding the relations to be established between the new Institute and the Labour Organization, and a letter from the Netherlands Government, were all considered in drawing up the final draft of the Statutes of the International Institute for the Unification


   See also, M.S., vol. 4, no. 12, p. 278, Dec. 1924.

The Statutes of the Institute were finally adopted by the League Council in March 1926, at which time arrangements for the conclusion of a definite agreement between the League and the Italian Government and for the working of the Institute were also discussed. It was decided that there should be an exchange of correspondence between the Italian Government and the acting President of the Council with regard to these arrangements and an Italian letter of March 31, 1926 embodied all the necessary details. The last prerequisite to be obtained before the Institute could be put into operation was Italian legislative approval, which was given on September 3, 1926, when the engagements entered into by the Italian Government toward the Council of the League were ratified by Royal Decree and were communicated to Geneva by an Italian letter of January 20, 1927. On March 12, 1927, the League Council nominated the members of the Governing Body of the I.I.U.P.L. and appointed M. Vittorio Scialoja as Chairman of that Body. The Statutes of the Institute were also slightly

6. Henceforth abbreviated as I.I.U.P.L.


The International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, Villa Aldobrandini, Rome.
revised by the League Council at that time.  

The I.I.U.P.L. was finally opened on May 30, 1928. The new Institute was situated in the same city as the I.E.C.I., at Rome, the Italian Government having provided the necessary accommodation by placing the Villa Aldobrandini at the League's disposal.

The opening ceremony took place in the presence of the King of Italy, the Italian Prime Minister, the Diplomatic Corps, the representative of the President of the League Council, members of the Law faculties of numerous universities, members of various learned societies and all the members of the Governing Body of the new Institute. In addition the League Secretariat was represented by M. Dufour-Feronce, Under-Secretary-General and Director of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the Secretariat, by Marquis P. di Caboli Barone, Under-Secretary-General in charge of the Internal Administration, and by M. Buero, Legal Adviser to the Secretariat.

A dedicatory address was made by Prime Minister Mussolini on behalf of the Italian Government. Signor Mussolini, who not many years afterwards became one of the world's foremost transgressors of international law and who was already a flagrant violator of individual rights, spoke as an exponent of the idea of international cooperation. In recalling the motives which had actuated the Italian Government in making

this effective contribution to the League's work, he said, in part:

In the vast domain of intellectual co-operation, it appeared to us that one of the most strongly felt needs of scientists and businessmen was the organization of a centre for the study and co-ordination of private laws. As a matter of fact, the individual interests of the citizens of all States are becoming more and more interwoven, while private law, with its far-reaching ramifications differs considerably in the various legislative systems. 11

Other addresses were also made by the representatives of the League and by M. Scialoja.

Since its legal status was similar to that of the Paris Institute and the I.E.C.L., the I.I.U.P.L. was an autonomous foundation, with its own legal personality. The Italian Government, besides providing the necessary accommodation, also covered the working expenses of the Institute by means of the annual subsidy of a million lire. The Institute was also permitted to accept gifts, legacies and grants from other Governments, institutions and private persons, subject to the approval of the Governing Body.

The League of Nations assumed no civil or financial responsibility towards the new Institute and the engagement entered into by the Italian Government was for a period of seven years. The agreement was to remain in force for a further period of seven years unless either the Council or the Italian Government denounced it two years before the termination of either period.

   See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 8, no. 11, p. 369, Nov. 1928.
12. This sum was equivalent to 52,631 American dollars in 1929.
The duties of the I.L.U.P.L. as defined by its revised Statutes were:

To study methods for the assimilation and co-ordination of private law as between States or groups of States, and to prepare for the gradual adoption by the various States of uniform private law legislation.\(^{13}\)

This work was to be done under the direction of the League of Nations, in connection with, and with due regard for, the work of the C.I.C.I., the I.L.O. and the Technical Organizations of the League of Nations in all questions falling within the sphere of competence of those bodies. Under Article VII of its Organic Statutes the Institute was also to be permitted to organize lectures, issue statements concerning its work and publish studies which were meant to have a wide circulation. A report on the work of the Institute was also to be forwarded each year to the Council of the League, to the Italian Government and to all members of the League.

The languages officially acceptable at the Institute's proceedings were Italian, French, English, Spanish and German.

The I.L.U.P.L. was administered by the following bodies: the Governing Body, the Standing Committee and the Secretariat.

The Governing Body consisted of a President and fourteen other members, as far as possible of different nationalities, appointed by the Council of the League. The Italian member was ipso facto President. Actually the Governing Body was so

\(^{13}\) Organic Statutes of the I.L.U.P.L., Article II.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., Article XIII.
constituted as to include representatives of the various great national legal systems and eventually consisted only of the President and ten other members. The members were elected for a term of five years and they were re-eligible once. The Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the I.L.O. were permitted to attend the meetings of the Governing Body in an advisory capacity.

The duties of the Governing Body were:

1. To chose the subjects to be dealt with by the Institute.
2. To decide what action ... [was] to be taken upon proposals submitted to it by any state or organization of the League or international legal association.
3. To transmit proposals and drafts approved by it to the Council, and to suggest to the Council the holding of conferences.
4. To make rules for the administration of the Institute. 15

In proceeding with its assigned tasks, the Governing Body was permitted to refer particular questions to commission of jurists for expert examination.

A Standing Committee whose duty was to act as the executive of the Governing Body was also authorized by Article III of the Institute's Organic Statutes. Its membership comprised the President of the Governing Body and five other members of different nationalities, appointed by the Governing Body and chosen from among its own membership. Article III of the Organic Statutes further provided for a Secretariat for the Institute, consisting of a Secretary-General and two deputies, all three of whom were to be of different nationalities and

15. Organic Statutes of the I.I.U.P.L., Articles IV - X and XIV.
appointed by the Governing Body. The Secretary-General was appointed for seven years and was re-eligible once. Pietro de Francesci, Professor of the History of Roman Law at the University of Rome, was appointed Secretary-General of the Institute at the first meeting of the Governing Body.

The staff of the Institute enjoyed diplomatic privileges similar to those accorded to the staff of the League and its other Institutes.

The work of the Institute lay in an extremely technical field, and its functions up to 1930 were of a purely advisory character. Thereafter, however, those activities became more executive in character. The efforts of the Institute, both before and after 1930, especially in the field of intellectual rights, were usually made in consultation with the I.C.O., although there was no legal tie between the two organisms. Thus, though the I.I.U.P.L. did not actually form a part of the I.C.O., the latter body was instrumental in the setting-up of the former and the relationship between the two bodies continued to be very close throughout the short existence of both.

On December 27, 1937 the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Secretary-General that, owing to the withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations, his Government had decided to denounce, with effect from April 20, 1940, its undertaking of March 31, 1926 concerning the establishment and upkeep of the I.I.U.P.L. In this instance Italy did not

violate an international compact as she had done in the case of the closing of the I.E.C.I., since she gave more than two years notice of her denunciation of the agreement. Perhaps this adherence to legal niceties was due to the fact that the I.I.U.P.L. was a legal institution. In any event, the I.I.U.P.L. was allowed to continue in operation until December 1939.

Section B: The International Institute of Bibliography

In order to conclude the discussion on the various Institutes which formed a part of or operated in close cooperation with the I.C.O. it is necessary, because of its importance, to give at least an abbreviated treatment to the relationship that existed between the I.C.O., the International Institute of Bibliography at Brussels and its parent organization, the Union of International Associations.

Since the Union of International Associations was both one of the forerunners of the I.C.O. and one of its contemporaries, and since the field of action of both organizations had so many points of contact, if not of identity, it would not be unnatural for the reader to assume that these bodies would either arrive at some sort of cooperative arrangement with each other or that they would be continuously clashing. In actual practice there was good deal of both.

As early as July 1922, before the first session of the C.I.C.I., the Union, in a letter forwarded to the members of the International Committee, had set forth proposals for the organization of intellectual work, together with a draft international convention for putting these proposals into
effect. The first meeting of the first session of the C.I.C.I. had further been informed by the League Secretariat that previous to the appointment of the C.I.C.I., the League Council had confined its activities in the field of intellectual cooperation to giving official support to the Union of International Associations. These actions would seemingly indicate the probability of a close association between the two bodies. But, as we have already seen, neither M. Otlet nor Senator Lafontaine, the guiding spirits of the Union, had been appointed to membership on the C.I.C.I. Another Belgian, M. Destree, had, however, been appointed in their stead. This omission thus gave an unfavourable turn, from the outset, to the possibility of close relationship between the Union and the I.C.O.

It should be said in favour of M. Destree, however, that throughout his term of membership on the C.I.C.I. he did his utmost to heal this breach. At the first session of the C.I.C.I., for example, when the discussion turned to the subject of bibliography, he pointed out that the work of compiling a universal bibliography had been undertaken before the War by the International Institute of Bibliography and that that Institute had reached the end of its resources. He therefore suggested that instead of creating a new body, it would be advisable for the C.I.C.I. to make use of the existing organ-

17. See Union of International Associations, Pamphlet no. 97.

ization, i.e., to allow the Brussels Institute to pursue its activities. He also pointed out that it would be desirable for the C.I.C.I. to encourage the exchange of books and periodicals and that the Organisation des Echanges internationaux, located at the International Institute of Bibliography, had already begun this activity as well. Further, he suggested that special bibliographical questions which were not considered to be within the competence of the C.I.C.I. could be referred for examination to the periodical International Bibliographical Conferences sponsored by the International Institute of Bibliography.

The C.I.C.I., while not disagreeing with M. Destree, postponed taking decision on any of these questions until it received a report from its newly appointed Sub-Committee on Bibliography, on which there was no representative from the Union or its Bibliographical Institute.

M. Destree had also expressed the desire to see realized, in the future, the creation of an adequate International University. And, while he made it clear that he neither intended to develop this idea fully at the time nor to defend the International University at Brussels, the somewhat grandiose plans for which he considered had been only partly carried out, he emphasized that he wanted it recorded that the C.I.C.I. had been informed of the idea of an International University and that it had received the idea favourably. The C.I.C.I., however, would not even agree to an expression of sympathy for

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the idea. Hence, in its first report to the League Council
the C.I.C.I. did not mention either the Union of International
Association, the International Institute of Bibliography or
the International University.

At the C.I.C.I.'s second session M. Destree went even
further in his attempt to secure a cooperative relationship
between the C.I.C.I. and the Union. He absented himself from
the proceedings in order to permit Senator Lafontaine to attend
as his substitute, both at the meetings of the Sub-Committee
on Bibliography and at the C.I.C.I.'s plenary sessions. As a
result, the Sub-Committee on Bibliography agreed to the follow­
ing resolutions:

1. That the Brussels International Bibliographical
Institute should be chosen as the sole inter­
national repository for the alphabetical
"Bibliography Titles" arranged according to
the names of authors.

2. That the C.I.C.I. should decide to investigate
the manner in which the organisation of this
work may be completed under the auspices of
the League of Nations in conjunction with the
appropriate national and international assoc­
iations and institutions.

The Sub-Committee further recommended that all national librar­
ies should in the future send at least two copies of their
printed catalogues to the Brussels Institute.


21. L. of N., "Work of the C.I.C.I. at Its First Session:
Report Submitted to the Council and Assembly of the League,
Document A.61.1922.XII. or C.559.1922.XII.

22. L. of N., "Minutes of the Second Session of the C.I.
"Work of the C.I.C.I. at Its Second Session: Report Submitted
1923.XII., pp. 5-6, 13, 14.
The C.I.C.I., with Senator Lafontaine in attendance at its meetings, adopted these resolutions and the League Assembly, when the matter came before it, recommended that an agreement should be signed between the League and the International Institute of Bibliography for the achievement of these goals.

Then, once again, at the third session of the C.I.C.I., held in 1924, M. Destree invited Senator Lafontaine to act as his substitute. At one meeting during this session both M. Destree and Senator Lafontaine were in attendance, Senator Lafontaine being present in the capacity of a person who had acted as a substitute member and Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Bibliography. At that meeting the C.I.C.I. unanimously adopted further proposals made by its Sub-Committee on Bibliography regarding the Brussels Institute of Bibliography.

The C.I.C.I. resolution in this connection was couched in the following terms:

With a view to carrying out the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations of September 27th, 1923, regarding the use to be made of the International Institute of Bibliography at Brussels, the Sub-Committee on Bibliography, considering the necessity of creating

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See also, L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly at Its Fourth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 11, p. 29.

for bibliography a permanent organ of liaison and information, and believing that it is preferable to use an existing institution rather than to create a new one at great cost, proposes to confide this work to the International Institute at Brussels, giving it the means for developing its bibliography catalogues and its collections of bibliographical works, and to use its bulletin as an organ of the C.I.C.I. for bibliographical questions.

With regard to the alphabetical list mentioned in the resolution of the Committee [C.I.C.I.] of July 1923, the Sub-Committee thinks for the moment it would be best to recommend the competent institutions to consent to the gratuitous despatch to the Institute of catalogues and bibliographies published under their auspices (five copies if possible).

The Sub-Committee proposes that the Committee appoint three persons to draw up a draft agreement with the International Institute to be submitted to the Sub-Committee at its next session.

The draft shall comprise a programme of work, the subsidy to be granted, and proposals concerning the organisation of control.

Among the names of the three persons chosen to serve on the drafting committee was that of M. Destree.

It had also been suggested at the third session of the C.I.C.I. that it would be advisable to create national bibliographical information offices, with one central office to combine their efforts. The Austrian National Committee had subsequently suggested that the task of acting as intermediary between the national offices should be carried out by the Brussels Institute. The Austrian National Committee had

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further recommended that this point be included in the draft agreement to be concluded with the Institute. This proposal was also agreed to by the C.I.C.I.

The Secretariat of the League thereupon also made certain other favourable proposals regarding the Brussels Institute during 1924. Thus it suggested, for example, that funds should be placed at the disposal of the various National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation and that these funds should be utilized to organize intellectual exchanges between countries and to subsidize persons needing assistance who desired to participate in international life by such means as aiding in the work of the Brussels Institute.

The Union of International Associations quickly reciprocated by asking the C.I.C.I. to send a representative to the Congress of the Union, to be held at Geneva in September 1924. The C.I.C.I., at its fourth session, in July 1924, accepted this invitation and appointed Dr. Nitobe, its Secretary and Under-Secretary of the League, to represent it at the Congress and to submit a report on its work to the C.I.C.I.

Meanwhile, the fourth session of the C.I.C.I. was called upon by its Sub-Committee on Bibliography to express its


approval of the text of the Draft Convention drawn up between the League of Nations and the International Institute of Bibliography. The Draft text read as follows:

Article 1. - The League of Nations grants its patronage to the work carried on by the International Institute and referred to in Article 2 below, and will grant its assistance as far as possible with a view to facilitating the work of the Institute within these limits.

Article 2. - The International Institute undertakes to confine its efforts and its resources in the first instance, to the following work:

(1) The development of an alphabetical catalogue by authors' names, on the lines of a collective catalogue of the great libraries of the world, indicating where a copy of any particular work can be found.

(2) The development of the following sections of the systematic catalogue:
   (a) Bibliography and sections connected with bibliography (history and technique of books, the book trade, periodicals, libraries and archives);
   (b) Organization of scientific work and intellectual co-operation.

(3) Development of the collection of bibliographical works and library catalogues.

(4) Centralisation of other documents and information concerning institutions and bibliographical societies, libraries and other organs of scientific, literary and artistic information.

(5) Publication of subsequent editions of the Index Bibliographicus, the first edition of which is at the moment in course of preparation.

(6) Publication of a periodical bulletin which would serve as the organ of the C.I.C.I. of the League of Nations for questions of bibliography.
(7) An office where verbal information or information by correspondence would be given; this office to maintain relations with the national offices or special offices of scientific information.

Article 3. - The order in which the work mentioned in Article 2 shall be undertaken shall be fixed by agreement between the International Institute and the representatives of the C.I.C.I. appointed for this purpose.

Article 4. - The International Institute will submit annually to the League of Nations a report on its work. The representatives of the C.I. C.I. shall be at liberty, if necessary, to investigate by a personal visit the state of the work.

Article 5. - The Governing Body of the Institute shall include a member appointed by the C.I.C.I.

Article 6. - An annual subsidy, of which the amount shall be fixed each year by the League of Nations on the report of the C.I.C.I., shall be allotted to the Institute, without prejudice to any allocation which may be paid or left to the League of Nations for the development of the Institute.

The Sub-Committee, in a separate letter explaining the Convention, pointed out that it would consider the Convention valid only so long as the Brussels Institute continued to receive annual subsidies equal in amount to those which it had at its disposal at the time of the agreement.

After some discussion on the limited nature of the Agreement, the C.I.C.I. decided:

1. To accept, as far as it was concerned, the text of the Convention.
2. To submit it to the Legal Section of the Secretariat for examination.

3. To adopt the recommendation expressed by M. Casares on the subject of the establishment of an international system of methodical (i.e., subject) classification.

4. To draw the attention of the League of Nations to the summary of the financial requirements of the International Institute of Bibliography forwarded by M. Lafontaine, and to express a recommendation in favour of granting an annual subsidy.

The C.I.C.I. also agreed to the Sub-Committee's stipulation with regard to the restriction on the duration of the Convention's validity based on the Institute's retention of its grants.

In its report to the Council and the Assembly the C.I. C.I. made it clear that it was not asking the League to grant its unqualified patronage to the Brussels Institute as a whole, but merely to a clearly defined activity of that Institute in one branch of bibliography. The C.I.C.I. further noted that with regard to Article 6 of the Convention, it was to be assumed that the grant would be a very small one, its main value being moral rather than material. Nevertheless, it would be tangible evidence of the patronage bestowed by the League on the Brussels Institute. At the same time the subsidy would entitle the League to representation on the Governing Body of the Institute. Furthermore, the rejection of this Article would in no way entail the rejection of the Convention as a whole and, on the other hand, if the League decided to make a grant to the Institute, it would be free to

allocate it definitely to any one of the tasks undertaken by the Brussels Institute.

The League Council approved the Convention in principle and forwarded it to the Fifth Assembly which, on September 23, 1924, also expressed its approval of the Agreement and voted a token subsidy of one thousand Swiss francs to the Brussels Institute.

The adoption of this Convention by the League marked the high-water mark of cooperative effort between the League and the Union of International Associations.

From the above account it would appear that during the period 1922 to the fall of 1924 there was an ever-widening degree of amicable relations between the League of Nations, as represented by the C.I.C.I., and between the Union of International Associations, as represented by its joint General-Secretaries, M. Otlet and Senator Lafontaine and by its Brussels Institute. By September 1924, however, as we have seen, the French Government had offered the C.I.C.I. a subsidized


Institute in Paris. During the days and years that followed the interests of the League were increasingly centered on that Institute - at the expense of the Union of International Associations, its Brussels Institute and its founders.

In May 1925, at the fifth session of the C.I.C.I., the Secretary of the International Committee reminded the Committee that it was called upon, in accordance with the agreement reached between it and the Brussels Institute, to appoint one of its members to sit on the Governing Body of the Brussels Institute. It was also under obligation to appoint representatives to draw up, in concert with the Brussels Institute, the order in which the various duties mentioned in Article 2 of the Agreement were to be undertaken. The C.I.C.I. had the additional task of determining the extent to which the periodical bulletin provided for in Article 2 as the official organ of the C.I.C.I. in connection with bibliographical questions, would be an official publication of the C.I.C.I. The Secretary was quick to point out that he could not assume the responsibility of editing this bulletin, and that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to consider all the articles appearing in it as official and involving the responsibility of the C.I.C.I.

After an exchange of views the C.I.C.I. decided to appoint M. Destree to represent it on the Governing Body of the Brussels Institute. It also appointed two other librarians, one of whom was Mr. E.C. Richardson of the American Library Association, to assist M. Destree in the capacity of experts, as regards the execution of Article 3 of the Agreement. In
addition, the C.I.C.I. instructed its representatives to specify that the C.I.C.I. would be responsible only for the communications published in its name by the Secretariat in the bulletin of the Brussels Institute.

Then, as early as July 1925, the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography and subsequently the C.I.C.I. itself, while approving of the decisions taken at Brussels concerning the carrying out of the Agreement between the League and the Brussels Institute, expressed their dissatisfaction with the efficacy of the Brussels Institute by pointing out that "the Institute of Brussels should be expanded in order to enable it to give more complete information as to the locality in which books sought for could be found" - this recommendation being unaccompanied by any suggestion for an increase in the Brussels Institute's subsidy.

During 1926 the relations between the C.I.C.I. and the Union deteriorated still further. At the C.I.C.I.'s eighth session, its Secretary read a letter dated June 14, 1926, in which Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet protested against a scheme put forward by the Paris Institute to establish in Paris, under the name "Gallery of Nations," an idea which the Union of International Associations was itself applying in the Mundaneum at Brussels. Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet based their protest on the fact that their idea had been


published in 1921 and on the fact that the Council and Assembly resolution of 1924 had laid down that the C.I.C.I. should cooperate with various institutions, among others, the Union of International Associations, in order to settle special questions without, however, in any way interfering with the autonomy of these institutions.

The Chairman of the C.I.C.I. then requested M. Luchaire, the Director of the Paris Institute, to give explanations regarding the scheme proposed by the I.I.C.I. M. Luchaire explained that the plan of the Paris Institute merely envisaged placing a certain number of showcases in the Institute at the disposal of the various States, in which the States could place on exhibition specimens of their intellectual productions. He felt that this plan was a very modest one as compared with the grandiose schemes of Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine for a museum of the history of the world. M. Luchaire thus neither denied or affirmed the fact that the Paris Institute was in any way duplicating the efforts of the Union.

M. Destree, when asked to give his opinion on the matter, said that the plans of the Paris Institute were sufficiently different from those of the Union to ensure that there would be no duplication or competition between the two schemes. He further suggested that such an explanation, if given to Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine, would probably remove all misunderstanding. He furthermore urged all his colleagues to visit the Mundaneum, to see for themselves the Union's activities and to pay tribute to the work of its founders, who, though their susceptibility to criticism was often
excessive, were worthy of the utmost admiration and respect. M. Destree finally suggested that Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet be invited to visit the Paris Institute in order that they might see for themselves that there was no duplication of work between the two organizations.

M. Destree's suggestions, together with the recommendation of the Chairman to the effect that a reply stating that the scheme of the Paris Institute did not encroach on the field of the Brussels Union be sent to the Union's Secretaries, were then adopted by the C.I.C.I. But nowhere has the present writer been able to find any record of either M. Otlet or Senator Lafontaine having paid a visit to the Paris Institute or of any of the members of the C.I.C.I., outside of M. Destree, visiting the seat of the Union.

Then, when the C.I.C.I. turned to a discussion of the report of its Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography dealing with the relations between the C.I.C.I. and the Brussels Institute, still further disquieting symptoms of a growing apathy, if not hostility, in the relations between the two organizations, were apparent. The subject had involved prolonged discussion at the sessions of the Sub-Committee which had finally come to the following conclusions:

With regard to the great difficulties against which the [Brussels] Institute had been contending for many years, it was generally acknowledged that it had not fulfilled its part

of the agreement with the League of Nations. Learning, however, through a letter from M. Lafontaine, dated July 14th, 1926, that the situation was now improving, the Sub-Committee decided to postpone its final proposal to a later stage, when account could be taken also of the progress of the work performed by the Institute during this interval.

M. Destree, who was the representative of the C.I.C.I. on the Council of the Institute, expressed his wish to resign from this position, and it was not considered necessary to replace him in the present circumstances. It was resolved that these decision should be communicated to the Institute.

These observations and recommendations were adopted by the C.I.C.I. without comment.

Further evidence that the relations between the Union and the C.I.C.I. had reached a very low ebb may be seen in the fact that, when, on July 27, 1928, the C.I.C.I.'s Secretary read a letter from the Brussels Institute inviting the C.I.C.I. to send a representative to the Conference of the Institute to be held at Cologne in September of that year, none of the C.I.C.I.'s members would agree to accept the invitation. The Secretary also found that it would be impossible for any of the members of the League Secretariat to attend the Conference.

A formal discussion took place at the C.I.C.'s July 30, 1928 meeting concerning the relations of the Brussels Insti-

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tute and the League. The Secretary recalled that these rela-
tions left much to be desired. He further indicated that the
Supplement to the Index Bibliographicus, which the Brussels
Institute had published in accordance with the Agreement con-
cluded in 1924, was far from perfect and that consequently the
League's Secretary-General had left it to the C.I.C.I. to
decide whether or not it should be distributed to the Govern-
ment Members of the League. He also added that the annual sub-
sidy of one thousand Swiss francs previously granted to the
Brussels Institute, had been refused in 1927 by the League's
Supervisory (i.e., Budgetary) Commission. It seemed to him,
therefore, that these were more than sufficient grounds for
breaking off the Agreement between the two bodies.

Professor Murray, the Chairman, in deference to the
efforts of the Brussels Institute's founders, thought that
relations should not be discontinued unless such action was
inevitable. Furthermore, since the Belgian member to the C.I.
C.I. was absent, Professor Murray suggested that the matter
be adjourned until the next session.

Dr. Kruss, a German librarian and substitute for Professor
Einstein, thought that the reasons which had led to the 1924
Agreement "had partly disappeared since the Institute had been
created at Paris" for "certain activities, among them bibli-
ography, which originally belonged to the Brussels Institute,
were now within the province of the I.I.C.I." [Sic!] Other
C.I.C.I. members also considered it advisable to tear up the
"scrap of paper." Dr. Kruss and M. Casares agreed, however,
that the Brussels Institute was doing good work in a sphere not connected with the Agreement, namely, the Decimal Classification of Knowledge. As for the Agreement itself, M. Casares declared that it had always seemed a fiction to him. For, he said, "if the League took great interest in the work undertaken by this Institute, it would be impossible for it to grant only an annual subsidy of one thousand francs; if, on the other hand, it thought the work accomplished worthless, the Agreement should merely be broken off."

M. Dufour-Feronee then informed the meeting that three months previously he had had an interview with Senator Lafontaine. In this interview the Senator had stated that the Institute might possibly be transferred to a site near Geneva, and had expressed the hope that it would then be possible for it to cooperate more closely with the Secretariat of the League. M. Dufour-Feronee reported that he had thought it incumbent upon himself to state, at that time, that he did not think that there was any possibility of a closer relationship being established between the Brussels Institute and the Secretariat.

Dr. Kruss then suggested that the Paris Institute request its Committee of Library Experts (the very Committee which was endeavouring to have the Paris Institute engage in activities duplicating those of the Brussels Institute) to submit a report on the question and that the C.I.C.I. should meanwhile adjourn its decision on the matter. M. Luchaire, the Director of the Paris Institute, agreed to accept this solution on con-
dition that it was clearly understood that the report of the Committee of Library Experts would be confidential. The C.I.C.I. also agreed to this "solution" and decided to adjourn its decision until its next session.

In addition, the C.I.C.I. decided not to distribute the Supplement to the Index Bibliographicus published by the Brussels Institute. This decision, regardless of the merits of the Secretariat's criticism of the work, naturally came as a severe blow to the financial resources of the Brussels Institute which had gone to a very considerable expense in preparing and publishing the Supplement.

The following year, in 1929, the Committee of Library Experts of the Paris Institute recommended, indirectly, that the C.I.C.I. should ignore its previous Agreement with the Brussels Institute. While the confidential report of the Committee of Library Experts, insofar as the present writer has been able to ascertain, was never published, the official report merely pointed out that cooperation between the C.I.C.I. and the Brussels Institute could best be carried on in the field of decimal classification, and requested the C.I.C.I. to open negotiations with the Brussels Institute to ascertain whether that form of cooperation would be acceptable to it. It then proceeded to recommend that the Paris Institute undertake a number of the activities which the Brussels Institute


had formerly endeavoured to accomplish, such as the compilation of bibliographies and the publication of the Supplements to the Index Bibliographicus.

Meanwhile the Union of International Associations continued to request the C.I.C.I., and especially its Chairman, to attend the meetings of the Union's Council in connection with the Mundaneum and the Cité Mondiale. These invitations, however, were invariably refused.

Such, then, were the relations which the C.I.C.I. and the Union of International Associations had maintained during the years 1922 to 1930. By the latter date the almost studied errors of omission and commission, on the part of both the organs but mainly, in view of the present writer, on the part of the C.I.C.I. and the League, had resulted in the virtual disintegration of the Union. The Brussels Institute, though it continued to operate until the late Thirties, never prospered and whatever the relations that pertained between it and the I.C.O., they were never again close or formal.


42. Mr. L.C. Richardson, the C.I.C.I.'s own expert representative and liaison officer to the Brussels Institute, has written somewhat bitterly of the apparently despicable role played by the League and the C.I.C.I. in this relationship. His work Some Aspects of International Library Co-operation presents the case against the League and the C.I.C.I. in this connection very fully and indicates the attitude of the American library and bibliographical profession to the whole question very clearly. Dorothy W. Curtiss, in Chapter IV, pp. 124-142, of her study A History of the International Institute of Bibliography (M.S. thesis, typewritten, Columbia School of Library Service, 1932) has given a very similar account.
CHAPTER XIII

The League's Machinery for Cultural Cooperation (Continued) -

The National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation and

the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation

Section of the League Secretariat

Section A: the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation

The I.C.O.'s great network of National Committees on

Intellectual Cooperation came into being, in the first in-

stance, as a result of the C.I.C.I.'s endeavours to secure

aid and provide relief for intellectuals in the war-devastated

areas of Central and Eastern Europe. This first rudimentary

effort to organize aid and relief for intellectuals on an

international scale constituted the first practical task

undertaken by the C.I.C.I. after its inception in 1922 and

led immediately to the realization that the handling of such

a vast problem would necessitate the establishment of close

contacts between the C.I.C.I. and the national centres of

intellectual activity in the various countries. It stands

to the credit of the C.I.C.I. that it at once adopted sound

principles for the decentralization of its work by stimulat-
ing, in as many countries as possible, whether they were

League Members or not, the creation of National Committees

on Intellectual Cooperation. These Committees, on which

learned societies, federations of intellectual workers and

other bodies were represented, acted as the official collabor-

ators of the League in matters within their own province.

1. L. of N., "Minutes of the Third Session of the C.I.

The functions and duties of the National Committees, as defined by the C.I.C.I. on December 5, 1923, were:

(a) To serve as intermediaries between the organizations of intellectual life in their respective countries and the International Committee appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

(b) To collaborate in the enquiries set on foot by this Committee into the conditions of intellectual life.

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

(d) To satisfy so 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 other National Committees.

There were considerable differences in composition between the various National Committees due to the fact that they were permitted to evolve their own relationships with their respective governments. Thus, while some National Committees were official agencies of their respective governments, others, indeed the majority, had an independent status. Furthermore, while the National Committees were permitted to arrange their own composition "in whatever manner they desired in accordance with local conditions and possibilities" the International Committee, at its third session in December 1923, nevertheless pointed out that each National Committee should preferably include representatives of:

(a) Institutions or organizations already in existence and having as their object the encouragement of intellectual co-operation in the national domain or in foreign countries.

(b) Organizations having as their object all the diverse types of learning - academies, societies, literary circles, artistic circles, etc.

(c) The university world, whether particular universities or national inter-university organizations.

(d) National libraries, bibliographical societies and institutions for the exchange of publications.

(e) Groups of professions or national federations of intellectual workers.

The first National Committee to be established was that of Estonia, created by the University of Taitu on December 12, 1922; next came the Hungarian Committee, set up only six days later under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Science. There followed, in January 1923, the working Polish Committee - in accordance with a suggestion of Mme. Curie - under the direction of the Mianowski Foundation for the Promotion of Scientific Research; in March of the same year, the Bulgarian Committee with its headquarters at the University of Sofia, and the Yugoslav Committee; in April, the Austrian Committee, formed by Professor Dopsch, a corresponding member of the C.I.C.I., and the Committees of Finland and Greece; in May, the Lithuanian Committee, organized by the University of Kaunas (Kovno). The Latvian, Roumanian and Czechoslovak Committees were created soon after, thus completing the for-
mation of the first twelve National Committees on Intellec-

tual Cooperation by mid-1923.

The International Committee stressed the significance of this virtually spontaneous movement in its second report to the Council and the Assembly, dated August 15, 1923. At the same time, the Committee drew attention both to the need and to the practicability of gradually expanding this system. The C.I.C.I. claimed that "mutual assistance and exchanges will become much easier when Committees of this kind exist, not only in countries with depreciated exchanges, but also in more favoured countries." The C.I.C.I. added that it believed the National Committees capable of providing "a means, not only of interesting ever-widening intellectual circles in the League of Nations, but also, and in particular, of carrying out effective work with a view to promoting a better under-

standing between peoples.

The League Council fully approved of the extension of the C.I.C.I.'s network of National Committees. The League Assembly, too, considered it of great importance that the C.I.C.I.'s work of intellectual assistance should be facilitated by the extension of its system of National Committees to all countries and requested the Council to ask the Govern-

ments of States Members of the League to lend their moral and


See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 3, no. 8, p. 175, Aug, 1923.
financial support to their respective National Committees - if they had not already done so - and to authorize the C.I.C.I. to receive from any institution or private person interested in the work, funds destined for this purpose. Thereafter, the Assembly or the Council, or both, passed resolutions of a similar nature almost every year.

Meanwhile, during the winter of 1923-1924, new National Committees had come to life in what were then called the "more favoured" nations: Belgium, Brazil, France and Switzerland. Members of the C.I.C.I. themselves, in response to a resolution adopted by that body, had taken the initiative in the matter: M. Destree in Belgium; M. H. A. de Castro in Brazil; Professor Bergson, with the help of M. H. de Jouvenel, in France; and M. G. de Reynold in Switzerland. Thus by mid-1924 the number of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation had risen to sixteen.


In the years that followed National Committees continued to be founded as a result of the initiative of universities, Ministries of Education, foundations, or individuals, in conjunction with the C.I.C.I. Thus, for example, prior to the formal establishment of the American National Committee in 1925, the Institute of International Education at New York and the American University Union had unofficially undertaken many of the duties later assumed by that Committee and both institutions were instrumental in the formation of the latter body. Similarly, pending the establishment of a British National Committee in 1928, the C.I.C.I. was in close touch with the Universities Bureau of the British Empire and the Universities Library for Central Europe. Likewise, before the setting up of the Spanish National Committee in 1928, the C.I.C.I. maintained close relations with the Junta para Ampliacion de Estudios of Madrid. The Chinese National Committee was set up in the spring of 1933 on the initiative of Mr. Wu Shi-Fee, Mr. Tasi Yuan-Pai and Mr. Li Yu Ying, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. It was not until 1934, after formal representations urging the appointment of a National Committee had been made to the Commonwealth Government by the Australian League of Nations Union, that an Australian National Committee was formed. The South African Committee was also organized in 1934, under the auspices of the Union's Department of Education. Pending the formation of this Committee, the Department of Education had acted as an intermediary between the universities of South Africa and
the C.I.C.I. In Canada, which has no national educational system, it was the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics that undertook the task of cooperating with the I.C.O. prior to the founding of the Canadian Committee in 1939. The establishment of this Committee was brought about, as we shall see, largely through the efforts of Dr. John E. Robbins, Head of the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau, who afterwards became the Secretary of the Committee.

In general, then, it may be said that the number and importance of the National Committee increased steadily in the succeeding years, as did their contacts with the C.I.C.I., the Paris Institute and with each other. The latter circumstance was in part due to the fact that many of the leaders of the National Committees were either members of former members of the C.I.C.I. itself and hence a close liaison between the bodies was usually assured. At the beginning of 1928 the number of National Committees stood at thirty-three. Two years later it had risen to thirty-five. At the beginning of 1931 it had again increased to thirty-seven. Within a year it had risen once more to make a total of thirty-nine. The number rose slowly thereafter but it was over

8. See Appendix XXVI, vol. , pp. , of this study for a list of I.C.O. projects in which the Dominion Bureau of Statistics cooperated.


12. **Ibid.**, p. 11.
forty by the time of the Munich Agreement in 1938. The num-
ber fluctuated, both upwards and downwards between Munich and
the Fall of France but never fell below forty and one new
National Committee, that of Venezuela, was actually formed in
the early months of 1940.

Like Venezuela, Canada was one of the last nations to
create a National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. In-
deed, as we have noted above, it was not until 1939 that such
a Committee came into being. Previously, however, several
organizations, some of them national in scope, had favourably
discussed proposals for the setting up of such a Committee.
In fact, the Secretary of the C.I.C.I. in 1929 had prematurely
reported to the latter body that a "new National Committee had
been created during the year - the Canadian Committee." The
present writer, despite several enquiries, has, up to the time
of writing, been unable to discover, with any degree of cer-
tainty, which individuals or groups were to have formed the
basis of this Committee but there is a possibility that the
nucleus was to have been the Royal Society of Canada. In any

13. See Appendix XXVII, vol. , pp. of this
study for a table showing the number of National Committees
on Intellectual Cooperation in existence during each year of
the period 1922-1939.

It should be noted that a National Committee was estab-
lished in the United States, even though that country was never
a League Member; and that the Japanese and Brazilian National
Committees continued to function after their respective Govern-
ments had ceased to be League Members.

See Appendix XXVIII, vol. , pp. of this study
for a table showing the date of foundation of the various
National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

14. L. of N., "Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the
event, the first attempt ended in failure and no further serious efforts were made towards establishing a Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation until 1937.

At the annual National Conference of the League of Nations Society in Canada held in 1937 Dr. J. E. Robbins, in a paper read to that gathering, pointedly expressed the need for the foundation of a Canadian National Committee. He said, in part:

I have seen papers . . . on the English, Scottish and American influence in Canadian higher education, and I know that the influence of France has been strong in the French-language universities of Quebec, but I have never heard it claimed that the weight of any other country's experience was very considerable in determining the direction our university education has taken. It is just possible that some of them would have something of value to contribute, were we to rub elbows with them under the auspices of the League. . . . There must be few Canadian intellectuals entirely satisfied with the provision made in their country for research in any field of knowledge, and there is likelihood of their finding inspiration and support in the study of what other countries are doing.

Continuing his paper, Dr. Robbins went on to explain Canada's great need for improved methods in the teaching of international understanding. In summing up his remarks on this point he made it clear that:

Here, then, is another opportunity where a group of Canadians interested in consulting the experience of other countries with the same problem might perform a valuable service.

Dr. Robbins then went on to stress the need for the revision of Canadian and American history text-books by means of a mutual exchange and revision of such texts by educationalists
in both countries. In stating this need he pointed out that:

... that outstanding historian and son of Canada who is Chairman of the United States National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, James T. Shotwell, would look kindly on a proposal of this kind if there were a Canadian Committee with which he could carry it through.

Dr. Robbins, in conclusion, suggested that:

A special committee might be named, perhaps a sub-committee of the Executive Council of the League of Nations Society in Canada to explore the possibilities of Canadians participating more actively in this branch of the League's activities ... 15

As a result of Dr. Robbins' paper and the discussion which arose out of it, Professor F. H. Soward of the University of British Columbia was successful in introducing and securing the passage of a resolution recommending that:

The National Executive name a committee for the purpose of examining during the next year, with the co-operation of interested branches, the possibility of increased participation in the I.C.O. ... 16

Some months later, in 1938, the Greater Vancouver and New Westminster Youth Council submitted a brief to the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations which included, on the suggestion of the present writer, the following paragraphs:

In the field of international education, we have one suggestion to make. There was established by the League of Nations, the I.I.C.I., whose only official channel of communication with Canada is through the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The Universities of Canada have shown reluctance to take


the initiative in setting up a national committee to ensure a close and continuous collaboration with the Institute; and there is no other national agency that has so far succeeded in concluding a more satisfactory arrangement.

We contend that so long as this situation prevails the opportunities for the educational organizations of Canada to contribute to a community of intellectual understanding (than which few factors are of greater importance in the building of peace) are being curtailed. Therefore we suggest that the interests of the Dominion of Canada as well as the building of a greater understanding upon an international scale would be advanced by the creation of a national committee on intellectual co-operation, and that it would be proper for the Government of Canada to undertake the initiative in this direction.

Meanwhile, the League of Nations Society, under the promptings of Dr. Robbins, had begun to take positive steps towards the setting up of a National Committee which culminated in the actual formation of the Committee early in 1939.

By 1927 the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation were sufficiently numerous for the C.I.C.I. to feel justified in laying down certain rules for their future operations. Thus the C.I.C.I. pointed out that while it was always ready to take into consideration serious proposals from any private organization whatsoever, it could recognize, as

17. Greater Vancouver and New Westminster Youth Council, Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, Vancouver, B.C., mimeographed, n.d. [1938], p. 4.

18. Since the preliminary negotiations and meetings which were held during 1938 and 1939 for the formation of the Canadian Committee are fully described in Appendices XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII, vol. of this study, their details have been omitted at this point.
a National Committee, only one body in each country. Accordingly, in those countries in which there were several organizations working in the field of intellectual cooperation, they were requested by the C.I.C.I. to federate themselves, if possible, into a single National Committee. Further, though each National Committee was still free to organize itself as it thought fit, the C.I.C.I. nonetheless felt it necessary to point out once again that it was desirable that the composition of the National Committees should be "such as to represent all the important intellectual activities of the countries concerned." Finally, the C.I.C.I. considered it desirable that each National Committee should at intervals send a delegate or delegates to general or regional meetings which would examine the work in progress of the whole Organization and of each National Committee.

In 1930 the C.I.C.I. made a further recommendation regarding the organization of the various National Committees. It informed them that it considered it "essential that the meetings of . . . National Committees should be held regularly at longer or shorter intervals" and that each should "have a permanent secretariat" with which the International Committee and the I.I.C.I. could correspond regularly. And, in order to make certain that it was fulfilling its obligations towards the National Committees, the C.I.C.I., in 1931, began sending them copies of all the Paris Institute's publications and

monthly lists of relevant League documents. Furthermore, in order to keep the Committees fully informed, the Paris Institute, beginning in 1934, sent them a number of copies, corresponding to the number of their members, of detailed reports on the programs of the I.C.O.'s work for the forthcoming year. In addition, from 1932 onward the Paris Institute devoted a section in its English periodical Intellectual Co-operation to the activities of the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

At the end of 1934 the French, Roumanian, Chinese and Netherlands National Committees drew up annual reports and sent them to the C.I.C.I. for its information. This procedure of submitting annual reports to the C.I.C.I. gradually became a regular practice among most National Committees and constituted a means whereby the International Committee was informed of the activities of all the National Committees on the occasion of its annual plenary sessions in July. 21

Since the National Committees continued to be variously composed, they were not always fully equipped to carry on their duties. Nevertheless, in nearly all the larger and in some of the smaller countries they followed the pattern set by the United States National Committee which, from 1926 until the Second World War, maintained regular offices with full-time Secretaries. Hence a brief examination of the structure and working of the American Committee will be introduced at this point.

The American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was originally formed in 1925. According to its constitution, its Chairman was the American member of the C.I.C.I. and was thus always appointed by the League Council, rather than by the American Committee itself. Both the structure and personnel of the American Committee were largely reorganized in October 1932 in order to make it representative, not only of the disciplines covered by its program, but also, to some extent, of existing national organizations. The new plans of the Committee provided for an enlarged program in the social sciences, following the general lines of the International Committee and covering activities in literature, art and the exact sciences, as well as administrative problems.

22. The original members of the American Committee were as follows: Elihu Root, former Senator and Secretary of State, Past President of the American Bar Association and of the American Society of International Law; George Ellery Hale, Honorary Chairman, National Research Council, Director of the Mt. Wilson Observatory; Charles Homer Haskins, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University, former Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Chairman of the Council of Learned Societies; Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress and Past President of the American Library Association; Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, New York; Lorado Taft, sculptor, member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters; James Henry Breasted, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, representing the American philological organizations; Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University; Vernon R. Kellogg, Permanent Secretary of the National Research Council; Augustus Trowbridge, Professor of Physics, Princeton University, representing the International Education Board; Charles R. Mann, Director of the American Council on Education; Robert A. Millikan, member of the C.I.C.I. - World Peace Foundation, "Yearbook of the League of Nations: 1925," World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, vol. 8, no3. 8-9, pp. 538-9, 1925.

in the field of international intercourse.

To deal with these matters, technical committees were set up to advise the National Committee. In order to make them generally representative in a national sense, representatives of existing organizations were drafted, thus avoiding the setting up of sub-committees which would, in some instances, have covered subjects already adequately provided for. Consequently, the technical organizations consisted, for the most part, of the Committees of other national organizations, used in an advisory capacity.

24. For example, questions in the field of formal education were referred for technical advice to the Committee on Problems and Plans of the American Council on Education. This was the central Committee of one of the most important bodies of education in the United States. It had representation from the universities and colleges, the great foundations and the public school system and was closely articulated with the work of other bodies. There was, however, no existing committee or organization in the United States in the field of adult education so constituted as to be able to fill the needs of the American National Committee. Hence a special standing committee was appointed, selected from various representative organizations working in that field. The members of that technical committee served in a purely personal capacity. All questions pertaining to international scholastic exchanges and affiliated problems were referred to the Institute of International Education.

Questions arising in the field of literature were referred for advice to the International Relations Committee of the P.E.N. (Publishers, Editors and Novelists) Club. That committee served as a means of liaison with P.E.N. clubs in other countries and, representing an organized group of publishers, furnished a competent body to further intellectual cooperation in the field of literature.

The Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council covered the entire field of documentation and comprised representatives of those bodies which had a continuing interest in archival problems. As the most competent body, therefore, it was asked to act as the advisory committee for the American National Committee. Library economy and museums were both adequately represented on the Joint Committee.
While the American National Committee did not itself undertake the carrying out or the planning of actual research, it did investigate and suggest methods, through its technical advisory structure, whereby international intellectual problems could be studied in the United States, and it acted as a general clearing-house for the exchange, between the United States and the League Organization, of information bearing on problems of international relations. The extent of the American Committee's activities in the latter regard is evidenced by the fact that during the short period from August 1, 1928 to June 5, 1929, it exchange three hundred one letters with the Paris Institute.

By 1938 the American National Committee was composed of eight eminent scholars under the Chairmanship of Professor Shotwell. With the coming of the Second World War Professor Shotwell found it necessary to relinquish this position and he was replaced by Dr. Waldo Leland, the Executive Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies. Dr. Leland had also frequently acted as substitute for Professor Shotwell at meetings of the C.I.C.I.

In the field of the social sciences, the American National Committee cooperated with the American Co-ordinating Centre of the International Studies Conference.

In the field of broadcasting, the American National Committee used as its advisory body the Committee on International Relations of the National Advisory Council on Radio Education. All questions pertaining to the pure and applied sciences were referred by the American National Committee for advice to the National Research Council.

Concurrent with the growth of National Committees, the idea of creating special committees on intellectual cooperation had spread to other than purely national circles. Thus an International Catholic Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, with M. Georges de Montenach as its founder and first Chairman, had been initiated in October 1923 under the auspices of the Fourth General Assembly of the Catholic Union of International Studies. The first session of the Committee was held on June 10-11, 1924. Its seat was later permanently established at Paris at the Secretariat of the French group of the Union, with a view to facilitating liaison with the I.I.C.I. The Bureau or Executive of the Catholic Union elected the first members of the Catholic Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in an individual capacity, but it endeavoured, at the same time, to take into account the special competence and the interests or desires of the national groups. The Committee later co-opted its own members, their choice being ratified by the Bureau of the Union. The Committee met regularly every two years on the occasion of the Assembly of the Catholic Union and, in addition, once or twice a year at irregular intervals. It had no budget of its own, its expenses being met by the Union. It also had no formal constitution and since its members were scattered, the Bureau of the Union consulted the Committee’s members largely through correspondence.

In 1923, too, the C.I.C.I. decided to request the Central Organization of the Russian Academic Union, whose seat
was at Prague, to appoint or constitute itself a Committee on Intellectual Cooperation for Russian emigrés, who would thus obtain the benefit of international cooperation. As a result of this request not one but two Committees came into existence - the Ukranian Academic Committee and the Russian Emigrants' Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Both these Committees were still in existence in 1929 but they were apparently dissolved soon afterwards. The present writer had been unable to find further mention of them in the documents that were available to him.

By 1938 the C.I.C.I. was in touch with two other groups which had been formed for the purpose of promoting work of an intellectual nature. The first of these was the Evangelical Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. It was formed in 1937 and its creation was later confirmed by most of the great protestant ecclesiastical organizations. The second group, the Permanent Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations, with its secretariat at the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau in Geneva, was set up in accordance with a decision of the Inter-Parliamentary Council on April 14, 1936, as the seventh Permanent Committee of the Union. This Committee was composed of one delegate from each Inter-Parliamentary group affiliated with the Union and it met once or twice a year.

Section B: the Conferences of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation

Through its network of National and related Committees the C.I.C.I. attempted to make the I.C.O. resemble more closely the League's other Technical Organizations. One important characteristic of the other Technical Organizations which the I.C.O. lacked was that each had, as its supreme authority, a general Assembly, composed of official delegations representing governments and meeting periodically. The C.I.C.I. strove to fill this great gap in the I.C.O.'s structure by establishing, first of all, systematic and sustained cooperation between itself and the various National Committees and secondly, by convening General Conferences of representatives of National Committees. By the use the latter device, the C.I.C.I. also endeavoured to have the National Committees examine the results achieved by the Organization as a whole and to bring in new ideas or proposals for strengthening its structure and improving its status in international life. Conferences of National Committees, the C.I.C.I. felt, were one of the simplest means whereby the National Committees could establish close relations with one another, exchange information as to their organization and methods of work, make known their views on the work of the International Committee, and suggest questions which the latter might usefully study.

In accordance with this policy and as an experiment, representatives of the National Committees were invited to attend the December 1923 session of the C.I.C.I. in an advisory
capacity. In addition, from 1925 onward attempts were made to establish liaison between two or more National Committees. Contacts and meetings were established, for example, between the Polish and German Committees, and a meeting was convened in 1926 at Warsaw of delegates of the Polish, Greek, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Yugoslav, Austrian, Hungarian, Czecho-
slovak, Danish and Swiss National Committees.

The possibility of arranging for meetings of the representa-
tives of the National Committees was discussed at the July 1926 session of the C.I.C.I. and in 1928, at the tenth session of the International Committee, it was decided to summon a meeting of those delegates during the coming year. Thus the first General Conference of National Committees was held at Geneva from July 18 to July 20, 1929, under the chairmanship of Professor Murray, the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. Twenty-five National Committees in addition to the Catholic Committee on Intellectual Cooperation sent representatives to the Conference.

The resolutions and recommendations approved by the Con-
ference were directed towards the establishment of more effective "liaison between the different international and national factors in intellectual cooperation," improved coordination of national effort, closer contact between the National Committees, the C.I.C.I. and the Paris Institute, and finally, closer contact and exchanges between the National Committees themselves. The National Committees also clearly

indicated that they were no longer prepared to act merely as links between national and international life. They now desired to become something more. They demanded to be more closely and continuously associated with the work of the I.C.O., to become one of its essential organs, and, consequently, to enjoy the right to examine its work and the right of consultation. Thus it may be said that the governing motif of the Conference was one of a general revision. Indeed, the credit for the setting up of the Committee of Enquiry and the revision of the Organization which took place in 1930 must, in a great measure, be attributed to this 1929 Conference. The reforms resulting from the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry, followed by the decision whereby the Council and the Assembly officially created the I.C.O. in 1931 confirmed that right.

It had been the intention of the C.I.C.I. to convene a second Conference of the Representatives of National Committees in 1934 and resolutions were passed that effect each year from 1929 to 1933. Despite the C.I.C.I.'s numerous reiterations of its desires in this connection, however, a second Conference was not held until 1937, due to obstacles of a financial and political nature.

28. v. supra, p. 213.

The Committee of Enquiry stated that the National Committees constituted "a necessary adjunct to intellectual cooperation" and the C.I.C.I., in 1931, proclaimed that it desired that the National Committees "should gradually be made to form the basis of the Organization, the stability of which and the results achieved, as experience has shown, depend on their effective cooperation."
Pending the moment when circumstances would make a second Conference possible, the International Committee decided that the Presidents and Secretaries of certain National Committees should, in accordance with a system to be established, be permitted to take part in its meetings. This provisional system proved so effective that it became a well-established tradition which remained in force until the outbreak of the Second World War. Furthermore, in 1934 the C.I.C.I.'s Executive Committee, with the approval of the C.I. C.I., re-instituted the appointment, on a temporary basis, of "Correspondents" in a number of countries in which circumstances did not permit of the formation of a National Committee.

These "provisional solutions", however, proved insufficient to serve all the needs of the I.C.O. and in 1934 the C.I.C.I. decided to take definite steps for the convening of a second General Conference of National Committees. One important reason for the summoning of such a gathering was the fact that the National Committees had not had an opportunity of surveying, in conference, the results of the great changes that had taken place in the Organization as a result of the

29. In 1933 the Danish, Greek, Hungarian, Polish and Yugoslav Committees; in 1934, the Brazilian, Bulgarian, French, Lithuanian, Norwegian and Mexican Committees; in 1935, the Icelandic, Latvian, Luxemburg and South African Committees; and in 1936, the Belgian and Estonian Committees all sent delegates known as stagiarie to the meetings of the C.I.C.I. Thus in the space of four years, seventeen National Committees had an opportunity of taking part directly in the work of the C.I.C.I.
report of the Committee of Enquiry. Furthermore, the system in effect between 1933 and 1939, whereby National Committees were invited, in rotation, to send representatives to the July session of the C.I.C.I., permitted only a limited number of National Committees to be represented at a time — average of five. Thus about eight years had to elapse before a given National Committee could be re-invited.

It was decided, in 1934, therefore, to place the question of a further general meeting of National Committees on the 1935 agenda of the C.I.C.I. and it was even intimated that there was a possibility of the General Conference being held in 1937 in Paris, on the occasion of the International Exhibition. The Paris Institute was furthermore requested to open negotiations with the French Government regarding both the principle of the proposal and the material means for bringing it into operation. The C.I.C.I., at the same time, requested the League Secretariat and the National Committees themselves to study the possibility of convening a General Conference in 1937.

The C.I.C.I., at its session in 1935, once again considered the possibility of convening the Conference in 1937. It noted that favourable replies had been received to the

30. In suggesting the year 1937 the C.I.C.I.'s intention was first, to enable the National Committees to avail themselves of travel and residence facilities which would probably be granted in connection with the International Exhibition and secondly, to allow them the necessary time to examine the proposal in all its aspects.
circular sent out by the Paris Institute from about thirty National Committees and that M. E. Herriot, in the name of the French Government, had invited the I.C.O. to hold the Conference in Paris in 1937 in connection with the Paris Exhibition. The French Government had further offered to underwrite most of the expenditures involved in the holding of the Conference. The C.I.C.I. therefore instructed its Executive Committee to prepare a draft agenda for the Conference in time for it to be communicated to the National Committees at least one year in advance of the Conference itself. In addition, the Paris Institute was instructed to enter into communication with the French National Committee, the General Commissioner of the Exhibition and all competent authorities, with a view to making all the necessary arrangements for the holding of the Conference in close connection with the Exhibition of Technical Arts in Modern Life. Subsequently, at its 1936 session, the C.I.C.I. was able to approve the agenda of the Second General Conference of National Committees and the Conference itself finally met, at Paris, in July 1937.

Representatives of thirty-nine (out of a total of forty-five) National Committees were present at the Conference, in addition to delegates from the International Catholic Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and the Permanent Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations. The Hebrew

University of Jerusalem also sent an observer.

The Conference dealt with the following four general questions:

2. The Organization and Activities of the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.
3. The Structure of the I.C.O.
4. The Function of the I.C.O. in the Contemporary World.

As the second group of questions was of especial interest to the National Committees, a number of special reports were devoted to this topic. They dealt with: regional intellectual cooperation - inter-American, inter-Baltic and inter-Balkan; intellectual cooperation between America and Europe; the part played by National Committees in making known in their own countries the activities of the I.C.O.; the functions of the National Committees as a factor in national intellectual cooperation and mutual knowledge of national cultures.

As a result of its deliberations the General Conference concluded that the constitution and functions of the National Committees should not be governed by any rigid rules. It con-
sidered it desirable, nonetheless, that the National Committees should, without becoming uniform in character, attempt to adopt certain common standards with regard to their work in international and national spheres. And, while leaving to the National Committees themselves the task of defining the character of their relations with their respective governments, the Conference was of the opinion that close collaboration was desirable between the Committees and public authorities and that it was essential for the Committees, whether they were of an official or unofficial character, to enjoy the moral and material support of their respective governments.

The Conference further expressed the opinion that, if the Committees were to perform their allotted duties fully, their membership should be as representative as possible of the intellectual life of their respective countries and should include qualified representatives of the principal national intellectual organizations. The Conference drew special attention, in this connection, to the importance of securing the collaboration of bodies which represented the younger generation of intellectuals and of representatives of forces which exercised a direct influence on national public opinion, namely, the press, the motion picture and the radio. It was also of the opinion that the National Committees should consider the possibility of establishing means of collaboration with competent syndical or trade union organizations, regardless of their political views; similarly, it
felt that they should remain in constant touch with the national branches of the major international associations represented on the Liaison (or Joint) Committee of Major International Associations (Comité d'Entente). The Conference, in addition, considered that one of the first duties of the National Committees was to make known in their respective countries the publications issued by the I.C.O. and to bring them to the notice, not only of specialists, but of the appropriate reviews as well. The Conference also expressed the desire that the National Committees be invited to collaborate in the preparation of official bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements for intellectual cooperation and that the Committees be associated with the execution of these agreements.

With regard to the functioning of the National Committees, the Conference noted that, without prejudice to any arrangements regarding their internal organization which the National Committees might think fit to render their work effective, it was desirable that the National Committees consider the possibility of establishing a permanent Secretariat for the purpose of coordinating their national and international activities. It felt, in this connection, that good-will on the part of individuals would not suffice to ensure the working of such a Secretariat and that, therefore, a certain minimum of material facilities were indispensable.

As regards the structure of the I.C.O. as a whole, one of the most important suggestions broached at the Conference

was that which related to the signing of an international agreement to broaden the foundation of the I.C.O. and establish the work of the Paris Institute on a wider and sounder footing. And, with regard to regional intellectual cooperation, the Conference considered it desirable that the C.I. C.I. should carefully follow and be kept informed of the work of the National Committees within each regional group in order that the results of their efforts might serve the cause of intellectual cooperation as a whole.

The C.I.C.I., as a result of the Second Conference of National Committees decided that such Conferences, as a general rule, should be convened every three years. At the same time it reserved the right to convene them more frequently if special circumstances made such action desirable. The C.I. C.I. further accepted, in principle, full responsibility for preparing for and summoning the General Conferences and for fixing the date and place of their meetings.

In accordance with these decisions, the date of the third General Conference was tentatively set for the summer of 1940. This Conference, however, was never convened, due to the outbreak of the War.

Though the I.C.O. found it impossible to hold any General Conferences of National Committees after 1937, regional conferences on intellectual cooperation were nevertheless convened during the period 1938-1939. Thus, for example, the C.I.C.I.,

at its 1938 session, was informed of the results of the
Fourth Inter-Baltic and Scandinavian Conference on Intellec-
tual Cooperation. The C.I.C.I. at that time was also in-
formed that preparations were being made to hold an Inter-
American Conference on Intellectual Cooperation at Santiago,
Chile. This Conference, which had originally been scheduled
for July 1938, was postponed to January 1939 because the
Chilean Organizing Committee had decided to widen the scope
of the Conference and to request the administrative and finan-
cial assistance of the League. Both the League Secretariat
and the Paris Institute promised their help to the Organizing
Committee and the Assembly was requested to make a grant in
aid of the Conference. Subsequently, in a rare spirit of
financial generosity, the Assembly agreed to grant the sum
of 10,000 Swiss francs for the holding of the Conference.
Thus, when the Conference was convened in January 1939, on
the eve of the War, it was able to help fulfill the aims of
the resolutions favouring regional intellectual cooperation
which the Second General Conference had drawn up in 1937.
And before adjourning, the American colleagues provided for
a renewal of their work. The second Inter-American Confer-
ence met at Havana, Cuba, in November 1941, the date having
been advanced at the suggestion of the Cuban Government. The
leading resolutions voted made proposals both to safeguard

38. L. of N., "Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted
by the Assembly at Its Nineteenth Session," O.J.S.S., no. 182,
p. 82.
See also, L. of N., M.S., vol. 18, no. 9, p. 266, Sept.
1938.
the interests of the Paris Institute - either by transferring it to an American country or by establishing a centre in an American country to serve temporarily under the chairmanship of Dr. Miguel Osorio de Almeida of Brazil, charged to perfect plans according to these principles.

Within a month, events in the Pacific and declarations across the Atlantic spread the war to the Americas. The Inter-American Committee could not come together until October 1943, when it held sessions at Washington in the buildings of the Pan-American Union and of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Its recommendations then embodied a group judgment of the most pressing problems lying ahead. The Inter-American Committee accordingly outlined the following projects:

1. An inquiry into the present state of intellectual cooperation and the means for it.
2. A study of the duties and rights of the intellectual in the political and social struggles of the world.
3. Special studies on freedom of expression.
4. A survey of conditions created in education and enlightenment by the foreign occupation of populated regions.
5. Development of education to the end of insuring peace.
6. Investigation of economic circumstances affecting intellectual work and laws governing intellectual property.
7. Assistance to intellectual workers from invaded countries in continuing their pursuits.
8. Suggestion of means for improving communications.
9. Measures for protecting and restoring works of art and monuments in occupied countries.
10. Plans for assuring to cultural and intellectual interchange its merited place in the post-war world and for encouraging exchanges of scholars and students and universities.
The Inter-American Committee further decided to create a centre at Havana, for which the Cuban Government offered quarters, and to appoint an executive committee in charge of its administration. Other than American countries interested in preserving the principles of intellectual freedom and cooperation were invited also to adhere to the centre. This action of the Inter-American Committee was confirmed by the Cuban Government through an official provision of quarters for the secretarial staff. So a way was opened for common action until the future of the institutions that were joined with the League could be determined. Thus it was the various National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in the Americas which were best able to continue in operation after the outbreak of the Second World War and to help in the planning for a post-war international cultural organization.

Section C: the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat

The one other major feature of the I.G.O.'s framework still to be discussed in this treatment of the various parts of the I.C.O.'s machinery is the Section of the League Secretariat for International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation, situated at the Palace of the League in Geneva. The purpose of this Section as a whole was to keep in touch with such international bureaux as came under the auspices of the League in pursuance of Article XXIV of the Covenant. The Section's staff gave the widest possible interpretation to the term


40. v. supra, p. 138 for the text of Article XXIV of the League Covenant.
international bureaux by including within the scope of its work not only bureaux strictly so called, but also international associations, commissions, congresses, unions, etc., which possessed a permanent organization or at least held periodical meetings. The League of Nations could, of course, deal only with institutions which had no private ends to serve and had no commercial object in view.

The personnel of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the Secretariat was usually very small - often one person, never more than ten. The first Director of the Section, and its only member at the time, was a Japanese Under-Secretary-General of the League. Later, in the "Golden Era" of the League, a German was the Director of the Section, his personal assistant was also German and the two other members were Finnish and Romanian respectively. In 1937 the personnel of the Section included four members, one Secretary, two members of intermediate status, one Secretary-42Stenographer and one First Class Assistant.

Following the prescriptions of Article VII, Section 4 of the League Covenant, these "fonctionnaires" were international civil servants, subject only to the authority of the League Secretariat, and were not permitted to demand or receive

41. In 1924, at the request of the League Council, the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat began to compile a registry entitled the Handbook of International Associations of a social, scientific, artistic or literary nature. - L. or R., M.S., vol. 4, no. 9, p. 188, Sept. 1924. See p. of the Bibliography of this study for further details regarding this Handbook.

instructions from any government or other authority. As international civil servants, however, they enjoyed the diplomatic privileges and immunities attached to their function.

Both in practice and constitutionally the I.C.O. had no authority over the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section's operations, which came solely under the jurisdiction of the League Assembly and Council. Thus in fact and in theory the Section on International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation was more a part of the League's Secretariat than an integral part of the I.C.O. Hence it was only as a secondary duty that this Section functioned as the Secretariat of the C.I.C.I., by preparing the annual reports of the International Committee to the Council and the Assembly and by ensuring that the decisions of those organs in regard to intellectual cooperation were carried out. For the short period from 1923 to 1925 the Section also organized the meetings of the C.I.C.I. and maintained contact with the different governments and branches of the League as regards intellectual cooperation.

Much of the work performed by the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section was taken over by the I.I.C.I. when it was set up in 1926. It was not until after the opening of the Paris Institute, however, that the func-

43. These privileges included inviolability, fiscal immunity and jurisdictional immunity, with only one restriction which, according to the "Modus Vivendi" of September 20, 1926, refused jurisdictional immunities to League civil servants who were of Swiss nationality while they were in Switzerland.
tions of the League Secretariat in the matter of intellectual cooperation were definitely set down on paper. On July 27, 1926 the C.I.C.I. decided that the question of framing a list of draft regulations concerning the powers of its Secretariat, especially as regards its relationship to the Paris Institute, should be examined by the Governing Body of the I.I.C.I. Two days later, on July 29, the Governing Body drew up a list of "Regulations Defining the Duties of the Secretariat of the C.I.C.I." The list included, among others, the following regulations:

1. Its [the C.I.C.I.'s] secretariat and the secretariat of its Sub-Committees are provided by the Secretary-General of the League and form part of the services placed under the supervision of the Director of the Section of International Bureaux and Intellectual Co-operation. The Secretary of the C.I.C.I. is therefore directly under the orders of the above-mentioned official.

2. The agenda of each session [of the C.I.C.I.] is prepared by the secretariat and fixed by the Chairman of the Committee, who considers any suggestions by the Director of the Institute. It is then communicated by the Secretariat to the members of the Committee as soon as possible.

3. The Secretary of the C.I.C.I. is also Secretary of any committees of experts set up as a result of a proposal by the Committee approved by the Council and Assembly, or decided upon by the Council and Assembly and referred for execution to the C.I.C.I. In this capacity

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45. After 1931 the International Bureaux and Intellectual Section of the Secretariat assisted only in the drawing up of the final draft of the agenda. — V. supra, p. 255.
he will make arrangements for these meetings and prepare the agenda, subject to the approval either of the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. or the whole Committee, as the latter may decide.

4. The Secretary of the Committee arranges the meetings of the Committee and its Sub-Committees. In order to ensure that documents shall be distributed in good time to the members of the Committee and Sub-Committees, the Institute should send to the secretariat of the Committee, five weeks before the date of the meeting, roneographed copies of all the reports they may have been instructed to draw up and which are to be submitted to the Committee and Sub-Committees.

5. The secretariat conducts correspondence and maintains relations with Governments (Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Permanent Delegations accredited to the League of Nations) and prepares correspondence for signature by the Chairman of the Committee or despatch in his name.

6. The secretariat of the International Conferences consisting of Government delegates will be provided by the Secretary-General, who will obtain the assistance of the Director of the Institute or an official designated by him.

7. In order to ensure closer co-operation between the Institute in Paris and the Secretariat in Geneva, it would be desirable for a monthly or bi-monthly summary of the work in hand to be sent regularly to Geneva for communication to the Chairman of the Committee and the members of the Committee and Sub-Committees.

8. The Information Section of the League will continue to ensure publicity for the meetings of the C.I.C.I. and its Sub-Committees and for the meetings of experts referred to in Article 3.

9. The Secretary of the Committee, in virtue of Article 7 of the Regulations of the Institute, is also the Secretary of the Committee of Directors of the Institute. In conformity with the instructions issued by the C.I.C.I., he is also Secretary of the Governing Body of the Institute, which is but part of the C.I.C.I. itself.45

The International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section, in addition, carried on the work of the Geneva Branch of the League's Educational Information Centre. It also continued, even after 1926, to publish all the I.C.O.'s publications, including the Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organizations, the Handbook of International Organizations and the Educational Survey, the title of which was changed in 1934 to the Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching. The Section did not, however, publish the publications of the Paris and Rome Institutes.

47. v. supra, pp. 333-334.

48. This Bulletin gave a summary of the discussions which took place at the meetings of international organizations established either under general conventions concluded between governments or by private initiative. It also contained reports of all international congresses and conferences, together with the text of the most important resolutions adopted by them. See p. of the Bibliography of this study for further details regarding this publication.

49. The last edition (1937) of this work contained information concerning the organization and activities of about six hundred fifty international organizations, associations, bureaux, and committees, most of which were of a private character. Though not complete as far as the enumeration of the then existing international organizations, it covered, with its sixteen different groups (e.g., Politics and International Relations; Work for Peace; Religion and Morals; Humanitarian Activities; Education; Feminism; Economics and Finance; etc.) almost every field of human activity. See p. of the Bibliography of this study for further details regarding this publication.

50. See p. of the Bibliography of this study for further details regarding this publication.
Officially, therefore, the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the Secretariat continued, throughout the lifetime of the I.C.O., to act as the Secretariat of the C.I.C.I. and its subsidiary Committees. And, being permanently situated at Geneva, the Section was able, without difficulty, to act as the means of liaison between the League Council or the Assembly and the C.I.C.I., to communicate the I.C.O.'s projects and proposed conventions to the governments of the world and to receive the adhesion of governments to such conventions. It was through this Section of the League Secretariat, too, that the C.I.C.I. communicated with the various National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation. Thus the Section performed not only the immediate functions of directly securing the collaboration of governments, individual specialists, professors, students and nations but also acted as an intermediary between the various parts of the I.C.O. and between the I.C.O. and League itself. In a few instances the Secretary-General of the League, himself, acted as an intermediary between the League Council and the C.I.C.I., as, for example, when the Council sought the advice of the Chairman of the latter body regarding the re-appointment of certain C.I.C.I. members.

The treatment of the functions of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat may perhaps best be concluded by citing one important example of the effectiveness of its work. An excellent illustration may be found in the League Secretariat's enquiries and
report to the Assembly on the subject of the extent to which the children and youth of the various nations were being made aware of the existence and aims of the League. The reports which were prepared on this subject by the Information Section and the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the Secretariat marked the establishment of the first contact between the League and official and non-official educational bodies in the Member States. Not only did these Sections bring together a mass of objective information, but they also explored new territory and drew the attention of the League for the first time to the activities of the more important international associations working for peace through education. One of the more permanent results of this exploration was the bringing together of these organizations into a permanent mutual association in the Liaison (or Joint) Committee of Major International Associations.

The above outline of the functions and membership of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat completes the discussion of the various parts of the I.C.C.'s framework as constituted up to January 1940. As we shall see in the Chapter which follows, a number of new features, affecting the whole Organization, were put into operation early in 1940 but the Fall of France and the dissolution of the Organization prevented their being put into effect.
The final effort made on the part of the League and the I.C.O. to "rationalize" their cultural cooperation machinery was begun as early as 1934. The revisions contemplated in this last attempt at reform were not fully implemented, however, until January 1940. Hence the I.C.O.'s culminating structural re formations had barely been set in operation when the whole Organization ceased to function, due to the cataclysmic developments of the Second World War in May 1940.

Since some of the scheduled changes had been put into effect before 1940, however, and since an attempt will be made, in the concluding Chapter of this study, to determine what this new structure might have accomplished had it been given time to develop its full operating momentum, it is essential for us to examine, at this point, the history and nature of the changes contemplated and temporarily put into effect.

On January 17, 1934, at the seventy-eighth session of the League Council, several members had expressed the desire that the Secretary-General should consider the possibility of establishing concordant, if not uniform, rules for the appointment, composition and renewal of the term of office of the League's committees and commissions. Consequently the


Secretariat was moved to take stock of some forty-five of the League's existing committees and other bodies. Subsequently the Secretary-General initiated an enquiry which covered all committees, commissions and bodies to which appointments were made by the Assembly, the Council of the various Organizations of the League. The results of the enquiry appeared on August 25, 1934, in the first official documentary report published on the subject, entitled "Committees of the League of Nations." In that analysis, which was communicated to all the Members of the League on the same date, the various elements of information were uniformly grouped, for purposes of easy comparison, under four main headings:

1. Origin and functions of the commission, committee or other body.
2. Composition and methods followed for the appointment of members.
3. Duration of mandate of the commission, etc., and term of appointment of members, and, where necessary, the methods adopted for renewal.
4. Practice and procedure of the commission, committee or other body, and rules of procedure applicable thereto.

The report was submitted, on September 26, 1934, to the Fifteenth Assembly of the League, which adopted a resolution recommending that the report be further studied by a suitable Special Committee, to be appointed by the Council, in order that a decision might be reached at the Sixteenth Assembly regarding the corrections, adjustments and improvements which it might be desirable to make in the constitution, practice and procedure of the League Committees. The members of the Secretariat was moved to take stock of some forty-five of the League's existing committees and other bodies. Subsequently the Secretary-General initiated an enquiry which covered all committees, commissions and bodies to which appointments were made by the Assembly, the Council of the various Organizations of the League. The results of the enquiry appeared on August 25, 1934, in the first official documentary report published on the subject, entitled "Committees of the League of Nations." In that analysis, which was communicated to all the Members of the League on the same date, the various elements of information were uniformly grouped, for purposes of easy comparison, under four main headings:

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League were also invited to communicate any suggestions that they wished to make in this connection to the Secretary-General. Subsequently observations were submitted by the United Kingdom, Italy and the Baltic States.

The Council decided to take appropriate action on September 28, 1934 and at its eighty-fourth session, held on January 19, 1935, it set up the proposed Committee, which met at Geneva on June 18-21 of the same year. This Committee came to be known both as the "Special Committee" or the "Committee on Committees" and its report, drawn up on August 5, 1935, was communicated to the Council, the Assembly and the Members of the League. This report included, among others, the following observations:

In some respects the practice and procedure of the different committees are divergent. Certain of the differences are due to differences in the character of the work, while others are partly attributable to the Council's inability to keep an effective check on the rules of procedure of some of the committees. In future, the Special Committee suggests that rules should not become operative without the Council's formal sanction.


The Special Committee, with a view to ensuring the proper carrying out of the changes recommended in its report, also prepared a number of suggested rules for practical application to the working of each League committee. These rules, which were embodied in a single list and which were "designed to introduce a greater unity of procedure in the work of the Technical Committees" (though not necessarily to be applied to those Committees already in possession of statutory regulations, such as the C.I.C.I.) included the following stipulations:

I. Duration of the Committees.

1. Committees shall continue for the period necessitated by the character of their task.

2. If a Committee has not met for two consecutive years, the Council of the League of Nations shall consider whether this Committee should continue in existence. To this end, the Secretary-General shall communicate to the Council at its January session a complete list of Committees, at the same time indicating which are in this position.

This rule shall, of course, not apply if the statutes of the Committee give it a permanent character.

II. Duties of the Committees

The duty of Committees is to study the questions in their province as defined by a Convention or by the Assembly's or Council's terms of reference, and advise the Council on these questions.

III. Reports of the Committees

Committees shall report to the Council on the work of each of their sessions.

In the absence of any decision to the contrary by the Committee in a particular case, the report shall be communicated simultaneously
to the Council and to the Members of the
League.

IV Program of Work.

In reporting to the Council, Committees
must indicate their program of work for the
subsequent year or any other suitable period,
this program being drawn up on the basis of
their terms of reference. They shall make
special mention of any new work which they
may propose to undertake.

V. Requests for Information.

1. Within the limits of their competence,
Committees may ask the Secretary-General for
any information necessary for the performance
of their task. They may, in particular, ask
for consultations of experts.

2. If the obtaining of this information
necessitates any outlay, Committees must make
a proposal to this effect to the Secretary-
General. The Secretary-General may act on
this proposal in so far as budgetary credits
permit.

3. Committees may not proceed to a general
consultation of Governments without the Council's
approval.

VI Chairmen.

1. Each Committee shall appoint its chairman.

2. The Committee shall fix the Chairman's
term of office, while bearing in mind the necessity
for making possible reasonably frequent changes.

The term of office shall not be less than
one year.

VII Bureaux and Subcommittees.

1. Committees may appoint a bureau, sub-
committees, etc. from among their members. The
bureau and the subcommittees shall report to the
Committees. They may not send reports direct to
the Council without the latter's consent. The
Council's consent shall also be necessary before
the bureau or subcommittees can assume the duties
belonging to the Committee itself.
2. Committees may not appoint permanently or temporarily subcommittees or delegations consisting, in whole or in part, of persons other than members of the Committee, without the Council's authorization.

3. Cases in which it is merely desired to ask an expert to provide information or conduct an enquiry are governed by Article V.

VIII Publicity of Meetings.

1. Committees shall decide whether their meetings are to be public.

2. If the meetings are private, Committees may decide to admit permanent delegates or other representatives of the Members of the League, duly authorized by their Governments, to attend their proceedings.

3. Such delegates or representatives shall be required to observe the discretion which, in any case, is incumbent upon the members of the Committee.

IX Appointment of Members.

1. The Council shall appoint the members of Committees, as far as possible at its January session.

2. Appointments shall be made by the Council on the nomination of the Rapporteur to the Council in consultation with the Secretary-General. Proposals for appointments to technical Committees working in closely related spheres shall be submitted by the Rapporteurs jointly.

3. The Rapporteur or Rapporteurs in making their nomination and the Council in taking its decision, shall bear in mind the nationality and personal position of the candidate (official or private occupation, age etc.) from the standpoint of the experience, influence and activity he can bring to the Committee's service.

4. The principles of the foregoing paragraph should also be borne in mind by Governments when appointing their delegates to Governmental committees.
X Tenure of Office of Members.

1. Committees composed of Government representatives. - The mandate is conferred on a Government. It shall last for not more than three years. It shall be renewable, unless the Council, in order to facilitate rotation, has decided otherwise.

2. Committees consisting of members appointed in their personal capacity. - The term of office shall be not more than three years but shall be renewable. The Council shall nevertheless bear in mind the necessity of ensuring reasonably frequent renewal of the membership of Committees.

XI Resignation.

The resignation of a member of a Committee shall take effect as from the date on which the Secretary-General has received notice of resignation from the member concerned.

XII Prolonged Absence.

A Government which has not sent a representative for two years to a Committee consisting of Government representatives, or a person belonging to a Committee in his individual capacity who has not attended a meeting for two years, shall cease to form part of the Committee.

XIII Replacement during Term of Office.

If, during the term of office a Government or person member of a Committee ceases to belong thereto, such Government or person shall be replaced for the remainder of the term of office.

XIV States Withdrawing from the League.

1. A Government which has been appointed a member of a Committee in its capacity as a Member of the League shall cease to be a member of the Committee if it ceases to belong to the League.

2. Nevertheless, in the case of a Committee to which States not members of the League may belong, the Council may reappoint the Government in question.
Substitutes.

1. Committees consisting of representatives of Governments. - Governments represented on a Committee may at any time change or replace their representative on giving notice to the Committee.

2. Members appointed in an individual capacity. -
   (a) If the Council or the Assembly has appointed substitutes, titular members may only be replaced by the substitute members thus appointed.

   (b) A titular member who falls ill or is prevented from attending may send a temporary substitute to replace him, with the consent of the Chairman of the Committee and of the Secretary-General.

   If the titular member has not proposed a substitute, the latter may be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with the Rapporteur to the Council.

   The substitute member should, in principle, possess the same qualifications as the titular member.

   (c) The replacement of a titular member by a substitute member shall not involve expenditure materially greater than previously allowed for.

Associate or Correspondent Members and Assessors.

1. Associate or correspondent members and assessors may in special cases be appointed by the Council or by the Committee with the Council's authorization.

2. Such members or assessors shall not be entitled to vote.

Members' Allowances.

1. The expenses of members of Committees appointed in a personal capacity shall be paid out of the budget of the League of Nations under the conditions laid down by the Assembly.

2. It shall be for the Governments themselves to pay the expenses of their representatives on Governmental Committees.
XVIII Application of the Present Regulations.

1. The above rules shall apply to all the Committees of the League of Nations in the absence of any provision to the contrary in their statutes or regulations.

2. Committees already possessing a statute or rules of procedure shall submit them to the Council during the year 1936 and, if possible, before the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly in order that their provisions may be brought into line with the above rules.

3. The Council may authorize derogations to the above rules. Certain derogations are already provided for in part IV of the report.

The Sixteenth Assembly referred the examination of these "General Regulations on Committees" to its Second Committee, whose report it subsequently approved and adopted on September 26, 1935. The Assembly then suggested that the Council should take the necessary steps to implement the Special Committee's report as soon as possible.

On January 24, 1936 the League Council also adopted the General Regulations and on September 24 of the same year it formally approved the report of the Special Committee.


as a whole. The Council then instructed the C.I.C.I., in accordance with Article XVIII, paragraph 2 of the stipulated provisions, to revise its own Rules of Procedure in conformity with the Special Committee's recommendations and to submit them to the Council for approval.

This request demonstrated to the C.I.C.I., the need for the revision of the Statutes of each of the component parts of the I.C.O. It also made the International Committee aware of the necessity of assembling, in a single document, the principles and rules governing the practice and procedure of these parts which, at the time, had to be sought in a number of texts adopted on various occasions by the League Assembly, the Council or the C.I.C.I. itself. Thus the C.I.C.I. decided, at its eighteenth session, held in July 1936, that before it could revise its own Rules of Procedure, it would have to make a general study and revision of the Statutes of all the parts of the I.C.O. The C.I.C.I. accordingly requested the Council to permit it sufficient time to revise the Statutes of each of the I.C.O.'s constituent bodies. The Council, while recognizing the legitimacy of this request, insisted, nonetheless, that a draft of the Statutes of the I.C.O. as a whole be submitted to it as early as possible.

A special Committee was thereafter appointed by the


14. The special Committee was composed of Messieurs Gilbert Murray, Julien Cain, Malcolm Davis, G. de Reynold and J. Susta.
C.I.C.I. to draft the new text and report thereon to the International Committee. This special Committee met on December 18-19, 1936. The material at its disposal did not, however, enable it to frame a complete draft, particularly as regards the Permanent Advisory Committees which were responsible solely to the C.I.C.I., and as regards the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, whose role and status required definition in the proposed Statute of the Organization.

A great step forward was taken in the latter connection in 1937 at the Second General Conference of National Committees when a resolution defining very clearly and in appropriate terms the status and powers of the periodical meetings of the delegates of the National Committees was unanimously adopted. In view of the results of its deliberations the 1937 Conference declared that the National Committees were organized and equipped on a sufficiently sound basis for them to constitute one of the essential bases of all the activities of the I.C.O. The Conference believed, therefore, that general conferences of the representatives of all National Committees should, under the Statutes of the I.C.O., become one of the principal working parts in the machinery of the Organization. It consequently recommended that steps should be taken by the C.I.C.I. with a view to the holding of these conferences at regular intervals of three years and that the preparatory work should proceed without interruption between

the sessions. And, without attempting to limit the powers
of the Conference and without prejudice to what experience
and more exhaustive study might show to be desirable, the Con-
ference believed that its chief functions could be defined as
follows:

The Conference shall be competent to deal
with all questions coming within the field of
activity of the I.C.O., and any question concern-
ing the work of the National Committees, either
in the international field or as a factor in the
intellectual life of their respective countries.

The Conference, without seeking to stereotype
the structure of the National Committees, has as
its object to assist each of them to acquire an
equal degree of authority and effectiveness.

The Conference shall endeavour to determine
the obstacles of every kind which impede the
development of intellectual relations in the
international sphere and suggest those remedies
which it thinks most appropriate.

The Conference shall examine the programme
of the I.C.O., and may, in this connection, make
any suggestions it considers desirable.

The Conference shall be competent to con-
sider the relations between the various National
Committees and the activities of regional groups,
within the general framework of the I.C.O.

The Conference may formulate its suggestions
regarding the statute of the I.C.O., and the adjust-
ments to be made therein, with a view to facilita-
ting the role devolving upon the National Commit-
tees and to taking into account their attributions
and the prerogatives of the Conference itself.

Generally speaking, it shall be the duty of
the Conference to safeguard the essentially non-
political character of the work of the I.C.O.,
to promote its universality and to see that in any
action initiated in the international field account
is taken of legitimate and national aspirations.

The Conference may formulate resolutions and
recommendations for transmission to the C.I.C.I.,
and through it, to the Council and Assembly of the
League of Nations.
The Conference can make recommendations to the Governments, instructing the National Committees of which it is composed, to transmit them to the authorities in their respective countries.15

In addition to defining the status of the General Conferences of National Committees within the I.C.O., the 1937 Conference also discussed a number of other matters relating to the proposed Statutes of the whole Organization. As a basis for its deliberations the Conference used the report which had been submitted to it by His Excellency, Dr. Munch, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the structure and functioning of the I.C.O. In his report Dr. Munch proposed the study and preparation of an instrument which would complete the agreements in virtue of which the Institute had been founded and which had been concluded in 1924 between the French Government and the League of Nations. He also pointed out that eighteen States, some of which were not members of the League, had, at various times, made a contribution to the I.I.C.I. and that forty-four States had appointed special delegates to the Institute. Dr. Munch therefore emphasized the desirability of opening to the signature of the States, a supplementary act to the agreements of 1924, with a view to giving the Institute the status held by other international organizations established by agreements or multi-lateral treaties, while still maintaining its more direct connection with the League of Nations.

Adopting these views, the Conference, in its third resolution, invited the C.I.C.I. to examine the possibility of preparing a draft international agreement "in whatever form may be thought the most appropriate (convention, protocol or declaration), to enable other Governments interested in intellectual co-operation to associate themselves with the responsibilities assumed by the French Government" in providing the I.C.O., with a permanent International Institute to carry on the practical side of its work. The Conference further considered it desirable that the Governments, while declaring their sympathy with and their confidence in the work of the I.C.O., should state, in this international instrument, their willingness to give the Institute their moral and material support, by undertaking, for example:

1. To confirm the international statute of the I.I.C.I.
2. To support its activities with regular contributions, the amounts of which they would severally fix by common agreement.
3. To ensure that the Institute shall receive the assistance of their national authorities and to specify the services which it might be called upon to render such authorities.
4. To this end, the representatives accredited by the contracting parties to the I.I.C.I. would act as a permanent link between the


The Governing Body of the I.I.C.I., at its thirteenth session, held at Geneva in July 1936, had called the attention of the League Assembly to the amounts contributed by certain States to the budget of the Institute and to the desirability of guaranteeing the continuity of these payments by the conclusion of a formal international agreement.
Institute and the public authorities of their respective countries for all questions concerning Government departments.\(^{18}\)

The Conference was of the opinion that such an instrument should immeasurably strengthen the legal and financial position of the Paris Institute.

The Conference also concluded that the international agreement should include certain provisions calculated to further the creation and development of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

In the light of the recommendations made by the 1937 Conference the question of the drafting of a Statute for the I.C.O. as a whole was once again placed under consideration by the C.I.C.I. at its nineteenth session. After considerable discussion the International Committee agreed only upon the wording of the revision of its own Rules of Procedure, thus ostensibly bringing them into harmony with the League's General Regulations on Committees. The C.I.C.I. did decide, however, to instruct its Executive Committee to proceed with the enquiries already in progress regarding the preparation of a complete draft Statute for the whole Organization. This draft was to be submitted to the C.I.C.I. at a future session.

The C.I.C.I., in its report to the League Council and Assembly on its nineteenth session, stated its belief that


See Appendix XXXV, vol. , pp. of this study for the revised Rules of Procedure of the C.I.C.I.

none of the Articles of its revised Rules of Procedure encroached upon the General Regulations on Committees adopted by the League Council for the "permanent Committees consisting of experts appointed in a personal capacity." The C.I.C.I., nevertheless, availed itself of the possibility open to it under Article XVIII, paragraph 3 of the above mentioned Regulations and drew the attention of the Council to Article IX, paragraph 2 of the Regulations relating to the appointment of members. The C.I.C.I. considered, in this connection, that if its own composition was to be in keeping with the spirit of previous League Council and Assembly resolutions, it would have to include "the most authoritative representatives of the main trends of intellectual activity." This circumstance, the C.I.C.I. felt, made it necessary to add a special clause to the general rule regarding appointments. Without prejudice to such future derogations as subsequent experience might indicate to be necessary, the C.I.C.I. recommended that:

... when called upon in application of Article IX of the General Regulations, to nominate in consultation with the Secretary-General candidates for vacancies on the Committee, the Rapporteur to the Council be authorized by a resolution of the Council to seek the advice of the Chairman of the Committee.21

This amendment to the Regulations was subsequently agreed to by the Council.

Besides revising its own Rules of Procedure and instructing its Executive Committee to prepare a Statute for the

whole Organization, the C.I.C.I., at a joint meeting with the Governing Body of the Paris Institute, also discussed the possibility of securing the ratification of an international agreement on intellectual cooperation such as that envisaged by the 1937 Conference of National Committees. In the course of their consideration of this question, the C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the Institute came to the conclusion that the submission of a Draft International Act to the Council and to the Assembly of the League was not only desirable but urgent. Their opinion, as expressed in a special report to the League Council and Assembly, was based on the two following considerations:

(a) First, the unanimous desire of the National Committees to see the recommendations of the Conference put into effect. The programme of action presented by the resolutions of the Conference seems of a nature to commend itself to the favorable consideration of Governments and to incline them to give greater cooperation to the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation established in their respective countries.

It is, however, highly desirable that this support . . . be granted at the earliest possible date . . .

The Committee believes, therefore, that it would be giving full effect to the wishes expressed in the resolution of the Conference in affording the Governments an opportunity of giving by reciprocal undertakings the support which they propose to accord to their National Committees.

(b) Other considerations have led the Governing Body of the Institute and the C.I.C.I. to draw up forthwith the draft text . . . The increasing importance of the I.I.C.I. and the numerous tasks entrusted to it have revealed the really disquieting inadequacy of the funds placed at its disposal. The amount of the contribution paid to the Institute either by the Government of the French
Republic or by other Governments has remained unchanged for several years past, in spite of the fact that the general rise in prices and the devaluation of several currencies have substantially diminished the Institute's financial resources.

The consequences of this situation are that the budgetary retrenchments effected before the devaluation of currencies have not been made good since; that it has been necessary to reduce the number of officials notwithstanding the extension of the Institute's program; and, lastly, that several of its essential activities, such as its publications, for example, have had to be partially sacrificed. 22

The C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body further pointed out that, thanks to a cautious economical administration, the Institute had, during the previous few years, been able to close its financial year with a surplus. In face of the changes that had taken place in general conditions, however, the Institute feared that the accounts of the coming years would show a deficit. This deterioration of the financial position of the I.I.C.I. would inevitably involve a curtailment of its activities at a time when the success of the 1937 General Conference of National Committees should have given it a new stimulus and the need for more numerous and close coordinating national intellectual activities would oblige it to assume new duties.

The members of the Governing Body and of the C.I.C.I. therefore unanimously agreed that the only way to maintain the activity of the Institute and to recognize the services which

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See also, L. of N., Document C.327.M.220.1937.XII., pp.100-101
it rendered to the cause of international good-understanding was to propose to the Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States interested in intellectual cooperation that they should associate themselves with the obligation assumed by the French Government, whose annual contribution of two million francs was the only one which had thus far been made in virtue of a formal agreement.

The Draft International Act which the C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the Institute drew up contained a preamble recalling the great and manifold contribution that had already been made by the I.C.O. to the rapprochement of minds and mutual understanding between nations. Further, the Draft defined the technical character of the engagements that would be subscribed to by the States. Since the I.C.O. was a Technical Organization of the League it was emphasized in the Draft that the engagements contemplated would have no political implication and would have no connection with the political obligations incumbent on the League's Members. These new undertakings were intended merely to complete, without modifying, the undertaking entered into by the French Government on December 8, 1924, when it had placed the Paris Institute at the disposal of the League.

The first four Articles of the Draft dealt with the organization and functions of the National Committees as well as the various ways in which the Governments would participate.

in the life and development of the Institute.

The first Article, in conformity with the wish often expressed by the Conferences of National Committees, provided for the constitution, in each of the contracting countries, of a National Committee charged with coordinating national or international efforts in the matter of intellectual cooperation. Under the terms of a special provision, the States were to agree to grant to these Committees all the facilities necessary to enable them to take part in the General Conferences, the periodical meeting of which was regarded by the 1937 Conference as one of the most appropriate means of furthering international intellectual cooperation.

Article II laid down the principle that a financial contribution should be paid to the Institute by each of the contracting countries and specified that the sums thus received would be added to those which the Government of France had already undertaken to pay annually.

The C.I.C.I. did not consider it desirable to include in the actual text of the Draft a scale which would serve as a basis for the States in fixing the amount of their contribution. It did, however, make a comparative study of the different scales adopted by various international unions and, for purposes of information, it indicated, in an accompanying note, the scale which, in its opinion, would be most appropriate. The scale was as follows:
The C.I.C.I. also pointed out that the amount of each unit might be fixed at one thousand Swiss francs, which, presuming the total subscription to amount to five hundred units (a figure which it felt it could not be regarded as excessive since the World Postal Union had received more than eight hundred), would open up new possibilities to the Institute to the extent of 500,000 Swiss francs, over and above the grant already guaranteed by the French Government.

In return for its assistance, each State would, in virtue of Article III of the Draft Act be granted the right of joint supervision over the management of the I.I.C.I., in accordance with the terms of Article XIII of the Organic Statutes of that body. This supervision was to be implemented by means of a revival of the conferences of the Délégués d'État at the Institute.

Lastly, Article IV, by recognizing the legal personality of the Institute, was chiefly intended to safeguard the I.I.C.I. against any legal difficulties which might arise in the event of donations or bequests being assigned to it.

The remaining clauses of the Draft Act, which appeared in Articles V-XI, were taken, with necessary adjustments, from the General Act for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, dated September 26, 1928. The only pro-
vision worthy of particular note among these was that which stated that the coming into force of the Act was subject to the accession of at least eight of the contracting States.

As final considerations, the C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the Institute pointed out that the provisions laid down in the Draft were inspired by the desire to facilitate the adhesion of all Governments without exception, whether they were League Members or not. The C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body of the Institute also made it clear that they had in no way sought to suggest the final form that should be given to the Act. But being anxious, above all, in view of the position of the Institute, to avoid any delay, they had endeavoured to present the basis for discussion by conceiving the Draft in such a form that it could in no way modify the obligations assumed in 1924 by the French Government, the object being to supplement those obligations and not to replace them by fresh undertakings.

With these explanations the C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body forwarded the Draft Act, together with the statement of its origins and the reasons for its submission, as noted above, to the Council for its approval and requested the Council to forward the Draft to the Assembly and then to all the Members and non-members of the League for their observations. The C.I.C.I. and the Governing Body made an additional request to the effect that the States be invited to send in their replies before May 1, 1938, so that the C.I.C.I. would be able, at its July 1938 session, to take the observations
formulated into account and take action accordingly. The Draft Act was forwarded to the Council, the Assembly and the various Government under the signatures of Gilbert Murray, Chairman and Gonzague de Reynold, Rapporteur on behalf of the C.I.C.I., and by Edouard Herriot, Chairman and Georges Oprescu, Rapporteur on behalf of the Governing Body of the I.I.C.I.

The League Council unanimously approved the Draft Act on September 14, 1937. The Assembly then followed suit and on September 30, 1937 it authorized the transmission of the Draft, together with the comments thereon, to the various Governments for their observations. The Draft Act was subsequently transmitted to the various Governments by the Secretary General on November 10 of that year.

By April 1938 more than twenty-five favourable replies had reached the League Secretariat. In addition, a certain number of assurances, notably from distant countries, had been received directly by the C.I.C.I. or its executive organs. Having thus obtained the certitude that the acceptance, in principle, would be very numerous, the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I., at its April meeting, requested the League Council to authorize the calling of a diplomatic conference to prepare the final text of the Act and to submit it to the Governments for signature. The Executive Committee suggested that the calling of the contemplated diplomatic conference should be entrusted to a Government. This proposal was in harmony with numerous precedents relative to
international institutions based on collective conventions.

The League Council, at its meeting of May 13, 1938, on the recommendations of its Rapporteur, Georges Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, unanimously agreed to these proposals. And, on a motion of the Roumanian delegate, M. Petresco Commene, Minister of Foreign Affairs, seconded by the Chinese delegate, Ambassador Wellington Koo (both of whom pointed out the prominent part played by France in the development of cultural and intellectual cooperation), the Council decided to ask the French Government, since the Institute had its seat at Paris, to organize the Conference. In accordance with this request the Government of the French Republic invited the other Governments to send representatives to the Conference, which was held from November 20 to December 3, 1938, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris.

Meanwhile, on September 26, 1938, M. Herriot, as the Rapporteur for matters relating to intellectual cooperation, submitted a report to the Nineteenth Assembly in which he, on behalf of the members of the C.I.C.I. and the Seventh Committee of the Assembly, made an urgent appeal to all League delegations to recommend the acceptance of the Draft Agreement to their respective Governments. In the meantime, too, the Draft text had prompted a certain number of Governments to submit their observations and suggestions and these

served as a basis for the deliberations of the Conference.

Fifty States responded to the invitation addressed to them by the French Government by sending delegates to the Conference. The result of their deliberations was the adoption of an International Act Concerning Intellectual Cooperation which introduced a certain number of amendments to the original text. One of the most important of these was the completion of the declaration of principle found in the preamble by the insertion of Article I (new) which stated that "the work of intellectual cooperation is independent of politics and based entirely on the principle of universality."

At the closing meeting of the Conference its Chairman, M. Herriot, emphasized the exceptional importance of the results obtained. He said, in part:

... We have, I think, scrupulously observed the programme that was laid down for us and which has terminated in the framing of the Act to which you have just given your unanimous approval. The idea underlying the text of this Act is simple as it is noble in its conception: by the development of the sciences, of letters and the arts, to pave the way for the rapprochement of nations, bringing out ever more clearly all that contributes to the unity of the human personality.

In order that this result may be achieved, there are three conditions to be fulfilled. We have fulfilled them. The co-operation of minds must be universal, with neither reservation nor exclusion; the call it makes to reason and brotherhood must reach all the peoples of the world. Just as the modern airman, flying across the frontiers, dominates land and sea,

27. See I.I.C.I., International Intellectual Co-operation, 1938, 1939, pp. 8-10, for a list of the delegates present at the Conference.

28. See Appendix XXXVII, vol. , , pp. of this study for the text of the International Act.
mountains and plains, so human thought which seeks to establish unity amongst men should abstain from judging the forms which national will has given to institutions. It makes no distinction between the different regimes or between the different races. It addresses itself solely to the intellect and the human conscience. It knows the human mind follows the course which it chooses for itself; our quest is for the ideas it represents.

For an enterprise conceived on such a large scale, the character of permanence is the second condition. And independence, the absolutely non-political feature of the enterprise is the direct outcome of its determination to be universal. Loyalty of spirit would not permit any other situation.

... Our aim is to prepare the ground for peace between nations. There are, no doubt, many circumstances, many arguments of a nature to assail conviction less resolute than ours. Since the days when Scripture promised a life of tranquility for man seated beneath his fig tree; since the numerous appeals of religion and philosophy; since that admirable coalition of the élite known as the Renaissance; since the discerning experiment of the great Bolivar; since the day when, interpreting the wishes in the mind of the people throughout the world, Beethoven wrote the soul-stirring supplication to be heard in his Requiem in D or the joyful exhortation of his Ninth Symphony, peace, which had for so long been offered to men of goodwill, has not made any very apparent progress. We might even resort to definitions of a more pessimistic tone.

The reason, in my opinion, is that all great human innovations must be preceded by a prolonged and spiritual effort. In the sphere of science, Renan showed that practical triumphs must be preceded by years of efforts, just as the river which fertilizes the fields owes its life to the drops of water that trickle down from the face of the lofty glacier. In human affairs, this truth is, to my mind, no less indisputable. No radical change has proved to be of a lasting character unless it was previously conceived in the mind before being translated into fact. That admirable evolution which has endowed England with such freedom is an illustration of that constant correlation between social progress and the
efforts of the thinker. And that tremendous transformation which, at the end of the eighteenth century, changed not only the molecular structure of France and of so many States, and, in particular, of our dear friends: the South American nations, would have been but a regrettable incident without the immense intellectual and moral effort which, little by little, modified customs, tempered institutions, harmonised penal law or international law, impressed the sovereigns themselves, associated the role of women with that of ministers or heads of States and ended by creating the charter of the individual, as we hope will be created, some day, the peace charter of the peoples.

In the words of Emerson, which I always like to repeat, the spring must in all cases be on a higher level than the fountain. You, my dear colleagues, are the artisans and custodians of a great hope. I pray that the day may come when reconciled humanity will pay tribute to your initiative, like the ancients who ascended into the mountains to lay wreaths of flowers around the springs as a token of thanksgiving. 29

A special meeting for the signing of the Act was held on the morning of December 3, 1938 under the chairmanship of His Excellency Fakhry Pasha. Twenty-three signatures were immediately obtained, several of the delegates indicating the amount of the financial contribution to be made by their country. The document constituting the Final Act of the Conference received twenty-four signatures.

A little over a year later, on January 10, 1940, the Government of the Netherlands deposited, with the Government of the French Republic, the instrument of ratification specified in Article VII of the International Act. As the Act had previously been ratified by seven other countries —

France, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania and Switzerland - the ratification by the Netherlands automatically brought the Act into force. By the end of March 1940 two further ratifications, namely those of Egypt and the Union of South Africa, had been received and by the end of 1940, the Dominican Republic and Mexico had also ratified the Act.

The Institute at once began to prepare for the application of the provisions of the Act, notably those contained in Article VI which associated all the High Contracting Parties in the administrative and financial management of the Institute. Hence at the very time when the I.C.O. was about to enter into its most active stage of operations, the Fall of France brought virtually the whole mechanism to a dead stop.

Since the stopping of the I.C.O.'s machinery almost coincided with the end of an important phase of its operations, it may be well, at this point, to survey briefly the principles and working of this machinery in its last years.

It may be observed by even a superficial examination that the League of Nations had placed a very extensive organization at the service of international cultural relations and international understanding. For, when the I.C.O. had reached, what was in many respects its greatest extent insofar as its structure was concerned, it had the following con-


stituent bodies within its fold: the C.I.C.I. and its Permanent and or temporary, Advisory or Expert Committees; the I.I.C.I., with its various Departments, Offices, Sections, Committees and Délégués d'Etat; the I.E.C.I. at Rome, with its National Committees; more than forty National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, many of which had their own Secretariats; the National Committees for Folk Arts; and finally, the Section of the League Secretariat which kept in touch with the various International Bureaux, Associations and Governments on behalf of the Organization.

It may also be observed that the general method towards which the Organization had been tending was the institution of regular conferences between those interested in the several problems taken up. Three such conferences had become regular features of the Organization's work. Two of these, the Conference of Directors of National University Offices and the Conference of International Students' Associations, had been held annually since 1926 and the third, the Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations (the International Studies Conference), since 1928, the Paris Institute being responsible for the arrangements in each case. Then too, there were the Conferences of National Committees, of both the general and regional types. In addition, irregular conferences of associations engaged in international school correspondence had been held from 1929 onward and had made use of the Paris Institute as their secretariat. Annual conferences of library experts and other
expert groups had also been held at increasingly regular intervals.

Another tendency to be noted was the ever-growing contribution made by national organizations and centres to the general activities of the I.C.O. For, apart from the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, there was, generally speaking, a marked tendency towards the formation of national centres between which communications, exchanges and the coordination of work were relatively easy to organize. The activities of the National Centres of Educational Documentation and their coordinating Committee may be cited as an example of this method of work.

In summary, then, it may be said that the I.C.O. permitted the establishment of a double current of ideas between the League and the Intellectual circles of the world. For, through the Geneva Secretariat and the Paris Institute, proposals coming from Members and non-members of the League could, through the Council or the Assembly, be rapidly communicated to all of the forty-odd National Committees and National Centres. Conversely, suggestions made by any National Committee, Centre or I.C.O. Conference could quickly reach the Council or Assembly of the League and the Members of the League through the auspices of the International Committee. For example, when, in 1931, the Assembly, through the C.I.C.I., asked for an enquiry to be carried out on the educational aspects of broadcasting and the international problems raised by its use from the point of view of international rapprochement, the
Paris Institute, by contacting the National Committees, quickly obtained a list of the persons best qualified within their respective countries to discuss the effect of the radio on international affairs. Within three months after the instigation of the enquiry, the recommended individuals had been consulted by the Paris Institute and before the winter of 1932 the enquiry had been completed and its findings submitted to the C.I.C.I. and the Assembly. This question was then further studied and the material compiled therefrom provided the subject matter for several I.C.O. publications. Finally a Draft International Agreement on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace was opened for the signature of all States in 1936. Thus the cooperation of the various States of the world was greatly expedited by the working of the I.C.O.'s extensive machinery, which provided a multitude of opportunities in almost every field of cultural activity for personal and group contacts, both on the official and non-official planes.
CHAPTER XV

The Projects Undertaken by the Intellectual Cooperation Organization

The I.C.O., in its less than twenty years of activity discussed and dealt with a virtually innumerable array of projects of widely varying interest, importance and practicability. In the first eight years of its existence alone, it considered over a hundred different major undertakings, which was a considerably larger number than had been dealt with by any other Technical Organization of the League. Indeed, if the writer were to treat the I.C.O.'s projects with a fullness equal to that of the other major topics in this study, it would require fully as many pages as were required for all the other topics combined, and would thus constitute in itself a suitable subject for a full-scale study. The writer has accordingly restricted the length of the present discussion of the I.C.O.'s projects to a bare outline of the topic, to an account which will suffice only to give the reader an inkling of the number and variety of the I.C.O.'s undertakings and of the progress made in achieving their objectives.

If one were to survey the I.C.O.'s activities in the chronological order in which they were undertaken, they would present a picture which could hardly be considered

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anything but chaotic. If, on the other hand, one were to consider them as a whole and were to attempt to discover some order in the apparent chaos, then an entirely different picture would be obtained. It would be observed that the I.C.O.'s undertakings, as a whole, could be roughly classed under the following headings and sub-headings:

A. **Protection of the Rights of Intellectuals in Matters of Employment and Property.**

1. Employment conditions of intellectuals.
2. Scientists' and inventors' rights.
3. Authors' and artists' rights.
4. Journalists' rights.
5. Authors' rights in cinematography.
6. Musicians' and performers' rights.
7. Museums' rights to musical editions.

B. **Organization, Classification, Dissemination and Preservation of Knowledge and Cultural Arts.**

1. Coordination of the services of and cooperation between:
   a. Libraries.
   b. Archives.
   c. Museums.
   d. Casting workshops.
   e. Sources of cinematographic literature and information.
   f. Sources of information concerning music, music catalogues, collections of recordings, and musical scores.
2. Preparation and publication of bibliographies.
3. Standardization of terminology and nomenclature in certain subjects.
4. Preparation and publication of translations of literary classics and lists of translations.
5. Preservation of artistic works and monuments.
6. Distribution and exchange of scientific, artistic and educational information and publications.
7. Preparation of regulations for the holding of artistic, scientific and educational competitions and exhibitions.
8. Preparation and publication of studies on folk arts and the holding of folk art exhibitions and festivals.
C. Disinterested Study and Discussion of Intellectual Topics and International Problems.

1. "Conversations" and "Correspondence."
2. International Studies Conferences.

D. Organization, Coordination and Improvement of Educational Services.

1. Promotion of the creation and coordination of national information bureaux and centres of educational information.
2. Promotion of the creation and coordination of the activities of international students' associations.
3. Promotion of the creation and coordination of, and announcements concerning, international student and staff exchanges and courses of study.
4. Promotion, creation and coordination of international student correspondence and international summer camps.
5. Promotion of the creation and coordination of information and announcements concerning adult education and recreational facilities.
6. Certification and dissemination of educational films, recordings and broadcasts.
7. Reorganization of the Chinese educational system, 1931.

E. Promotion of the Spirit of Peace and International Cooperation (Moral Disarmament).

1. Revision of text-books and curricula.
2. Training of teachers.
3. Liaison with major organizations interested in education for peace.
4. Promotion of international understanding by means of radio, broadcasting, motion pictures, and the press.

It will, of course, be seen that the topics subsumed in each of the divisions and sub-divisions of the above classification are by no means mutually exclusive, but rather, that they are almost inseparably related to one another. Hence, in the treatment of these projects which follows, though they will, in general, be discussed in the order noted above, this order will be abandoned wherever such a procedure will aid in
giving the reader a sense of the continuity of the Organization's work.

Section A: the Protection of the Rights of Intellectuals in the Matter of Employment and Property

The very first of the I.C.O.'s undertakings related to its efforts to defend the interests of intellectual workers by seeking to ameliorate their economic status and to preserve their rights of property, employment and liberty from the evil effects of specialization and commercialization in the arts, the sciences, and letters.

The C.I.C.I., at its first session, decided to do something practical for those intellectuals who were suffering as a result of the First World War. Rumours were being circulated at that time to the effect that professors and students in Vienna and Berlin, and especially in Moscow, lacked not only books but the very necessities of life. The C.I.C.I. accordingly began a general "Enquiry into the Present Conditions of Intellectual Life" in order to determine the extent of the evils from which intellectual activities and intellectual workers in the various countries of the world were suffering, and to compile a list of suggested remedies.

Mme. Curie and M. de Reynold were requested to prepare reports on the situation of intellectual workers in Poland and Austria respectively and the Committee itself prepared a questionnaire which was to be sent to all governments and academic institutions. The questionnaire requested information concerning the following points:
1. Administrative organizations taking part in the direction of intellectual life (higher education, science, literature, fine arts, publications); financial resources of these organizations since 1913.

2. Laws, proposed laws, principal decrees and circulares relating to higher education, science, literature, fine arts and intellectual life in general published since 1913.

3. Statistical data relating to higher education and the output of printed matter and to the salaries and wages of intellectual workers since 1913.

4. Principal scientific, library and artistic institutions (libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories, etc.); scholarships, prizes and foundations for the encouragement of intellectual work.

5. Adherence to international conventions relating to intellectual work or to education.

6. Intellectual relations with other countries.

The replies to the questionnaire, together with the personal investigations undertaken by members of the Committee, constituted an ample documentation, which gave a highly instructive picture of the conditions of intellectual life in many of the countries of the world following the termination of the First World War.

The first series of reports which the Committee decided to publish as a result of its enquiries included a number of general reports on intellectual life in Albania, Austria, Brazil, Greece, Hungary, India, Lithuania and Luxembourg; a monograph on a particular profession - the musical profession - written by William Martin, the I.L.O.'s delegate on the C.I.C.I.; and a number of other monographs dealing with problems of intellectual life in general or from a national point of view. These reports indicated that though

2. A complete list of the thirty reports actually published in this series may be found in the Bibliography of the relevant publications of the League of Nations Secretariat's International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section, under the heading Brochures: Enquiry into Conditions of Intellectual Work.
the crisis was general (for example, as regards the lowering of the living standards of young intellectuals), it was nonetheless true that certain countries were more endangered than others. The countries which were suffering most were those in which the currency exchange rate had fallen very low, thus condemning their students to intellectual isolation and material poverty and preventing their Universities, libraries and laboratories from obtaining foreign publications, books, scientific instruments, etc., which were, of course, indispensable for their work.

The Committee made it clear that its only purpose in publishing these documents was to draw attention to the problems of organization and international assistance raised by each of the subjects treated. It did not claim to deal exhaustively with those subjects, but only to emphasize their importance and so pave the way for fresh suggestions on the part of those interested. It hoped, however, that the work would have more than a purely documentary value, important though that was. Since the attention of the League, the governments, intellectual workers and public opinion was being drawn to the different aspects of the crisis in intellectual life and to the various possibilities of mitigating its effects, the Committee expressed the hope that certain of its suggestions would be acted upon and thus help remove some of the evils and dangers described.

As a result of these investigations the League Council invited the C.I.C.I. to appoint an Austrian correspondent,
Professor A. Dopsch, to keep it informed of the needs of intellectual life in that country. At the Council's invitation, too, a C.I.C.I. appeal on behalf of the intellectual workers in Austria was addressed, on November 4, 1922, to the learned institutions and societies of all countries. This appeal invited the universities, academies and learned societies of the whole world to send their publications to the Austrian universities, academies and learned societies, and to organize systems of exchange with them. It also suggested that agreements be concluded with the central purchasing organization for intellectual workers associations (the "zegam") for the shipping of material requirements to Austria (such as clothing, articles of primary necessity, etc.). Furthermore, it invited the universities, academies and learned societies to organize exchanges of professors and lecturers with similar institutions in Austria and it suggested that men of science should either visit Austria themselves or endeavour by means of personal intercourse to break down the wall of intellectual isolation with which that unfortunate country was surrounded. Also, in order to relieve the dire conditions of Austrian professors, scientists, writers and artists, it urged that they and their families should be assisted to spend their holidays abroad and that certain immediately available funds or foundations should be placed at the disposal of such persons to enable them to continue their researches and studies.

In response to this appeal, thousands of books were sent
to Austria from the United States, England, India, and several other countries. Some generous gifts of money and clothes were also given to the distressed intellectuals. Thus, for example, gifts presented by the Japanese universities made it possible to award two scholarships to Austrian students.

The Committee, however, did not render assistance only to the intellectuals of Austria. A similar appeal was also made on behalf of Hungarian intellectuals. And, since nearly all the nations of Eastern Europe between the Baltic and the Aegean Sea were either new nations needing assistance or nations whose intellectual life had been disorganized by the War, they too needed material and financial aid. At the invitation of the League Council, the I.C.O., in agreement with certain of these countries, selected appropriate local institutions to which it transmitted the more urgent requests of scholars and scientific institutions, particularly as regards the exchange of books and other essential materials. Hence, in addition to Austria, the following countries, at the beginning of 1923, had taken steps to avail themselves of the organization for intellectual assistance thus created: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Roumania, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia).

Requests from these countries were forwarded by the Secretariat of the Committee (the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat), either to the members of
the C.I.C.I., who took the necessary steps in their respective countries to see that the requests were complied with, or to institutions, such as the Universities Library for Central Europe in London, the Institute of International Education of the Carnegie Foundation in New York, the European Centre of the same Foundation in Paris, the Junta Para Ampliacion de Estudios in Madrid, and the Office de Renseignements at the Sorbonne in Paris.

In this way the C.I.C.I. was able, for example, to obtain certain publications for the Polish Academy, the Budapest Observatory, and the School of Mines at Sapron. Exchanges were also organized between the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in London and institutions at Athens and Vienna. In addition, the Russian Academic Union of Prague was requested to furnish a detailed report on the way in which Russian émigré students were distributed among foreign universities and secondary schools. The purpose of this request was to enable the C.I.C.I. to ascertain whether these students could not be more equitably distributed, for it was felt that there were, at that time, many institutions of higher learning which had no Russian students and which could have accommodated a few of them easily.

In addition to these activities and proposals, governments and private benefactors were requested by the C.I.C.I. to create funds to assist international exchanges of professors and to organize centres of study and work for émigré scientists and artists. As a result of this appeal the Italian
Ked Cross Organization placed 100,000 lire at the disposal of the I.C.O. for the relief of émigré Russian intellectual workers. In addition, an offer was made by the Municipality of Capri (Italy) in 1923 to place the Charterhouse of that island at the disposal of émigré artists. This offer was accepted in principle by the I.C.O. but during the subsequent negotiations no satisfactory agreement was reached between the Organization and the Municipality and the whole idea was eventually dropped.

While the I.C.O. was thus unsuccessful in securing a headquarters for artists, it was, on the other hand, most successful in obtaining very valuable international assistance for the reconstruction of the libraries and scientific laboratories of the University of Tokyo, which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1923.

During the years that followed the I.C.O. continued its endeavours to aid in the direct relief of intellectuals who were suffering in various countries due to economic conditions. After 1925, however, its efforts in this field were made largely through its representation on the I.L.O.'s Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers and most of the credit for that Committee's achievements on behalf of intellectuals has naturally been given to the I.L.O. rather than the I.C.O. The I.C.O., nevertheless, played an important

part in the Advisory Committee's many activities, for example, in the placing of intellectuals in new employment in the event that they lost their positions due to economic or political conditions. Furthermore, after 1935 the I.C.O. was very active in the compilation of University enrollment statistics and statistics concerning the unemployment conditions of intellectuals. It was thus enabled to do valuable work in publicizing the current needs and surpluses in the labour market for intellectual workers in each of the major countries of the world.

In these steps which were taken by the C.I.C.I. towards the preservation of the economic well-being of the intellectuals of certain areas there lay the germ of a large part of the Organization's program in other fields, not only in the protection of the rights of intellectuals, but also, in the organization and improvement of educational services in various countries by means of exchanges of students, professors, publications and scientific apparatus. Therein, too, lay the beginning of the I.C.O.'s efforts to foster the development of the spirit of peace and international cooperation, and to promote the organization, preservation and dissemination of knowledge and cultural arts, for the international exchanges of professors, students, publications and scientific apparatus were all means to these ends.

Besides endeavouring to provide direct financial and material relief to intellectual workers, the C.I.C.I. also reserved a large place on its program of activities for the
study of legal measures and safeguards for the promotion of intellectual activities. In this connection it attempted to secure the provision of guarantees consisting of moral and material privileges to be conferred on creative intellectual workers.

Now, in a good number of countries the social importance of intellectual rights had already been partly recognized by the lawmakers, and, as we have already seen, various international agreements had been concluded in this field even before the setting-up of the C.I.C.I. The best known and most important of these were the two Conventions established at Berne in 1886, the one relating to patent rights in inventions, the other to copyrights.

The points on which the I.C.O. decided to concentrate its efforts in this sphere may be summarized as follows: the right of the scientist to the economic utilization of his discovery; the moral rights of authors in respect of their literary or artistic works, more particularly in relation to modern means for the diffusion of knowledge, such as the radio, recordings and the motion picture; the rights of journalists to copyright privileges; the droit de suite in favour of authors of artistic works forming the subject of subsequent public sale; the I.C.O.'s international jurisdictional endorsement of the Berne Conventions; and the universalization of authors' rights by the unification of the Berne Convention and the Pan-American Conventions of Havana.

5. v. supra, p. 50.
The C.I.C.I. and its Sub-Committee which was appointed to deal with the protection of intellectual property and intellectual rights decided to direct their first efforts chiefly towards the protection of "scientific property" and the right of the scientist to his invention - a right which no legislation had as yet recognized. Professor Ruffini, the Rapporteur for this question in 1923, put forward a plan for the recognition of the legal right of the scientist to share in the profits derived from the practical applications of a new idea or discovery originated by him. Professor Ruffini felt that scientific discoveries should rank with artistic creations and technical inventions, both of which were already protected, the former by copyright and the latter by patents. An international Convention existed for the protection of literary and artistic property and he was of the opinion that another for the protection of scientific property should also be established.

The C.I.C.I. considered that this scheme, if adopted, would remove a gross injustice, for, while the invention of a new rubber heel was protected and could bring a fortune to its patentee, the scientist who discovered a scientific law - a discovery which could have incalculable results not only for the progress of industry but for humanity in general - was protected by no law and could not claim the smallest share of the benefits reaped by those who were enriched by the application of his discovery. This unfairness inevitably gave an impetus to the already evident tendency among young
intellectuals to abandon disinterested research and to take up more lucrative careers. The Committee therefore believed that the redress of this injustice, to which scientists had for centuries been subjected, would result in a beneficial effect upon public opinion and upon the younger generations of students. It felt, too, that the prestige of the scientist would be increased by the protection of scientific discoveries, just as legislation regarding copyright had done much to increase the prestige of the profession of letters and art.

The Fourth Assembly (1923) approved the principle of Professor Ruffini's scheme, and decided to submit it, in the form of a draft Convention, to all governments, requesting them to communicate any observations that they might desire to make to the Secretariat of the League. The question was then most exhaustively discussed, in both its theoretical and its practical bearings, at Committee meetings and in the public press. By the end of 1927 the I.C.O.'s preliminary enquiry on the subject was completed. A special committee of experts, meeting at Paris from December 12 to 14, had prepared a revised draft of the Convention (and the Charles C. Linthieum Foundation of Chicago had announced a one thousand dollar prize for the best essay on the subject submitted by March 1, 1929). After receiving the approval of the C.I.C.I. the revised draft of the scheme was laid before the Ninth Assembly (1928) and, with its approval, submitted to all

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governments for their observations. The principle governing the right embodied in the revised draft was that "every scientific discovery open to material utilization entitles its author to remuneration from the users thereof," utilization being understood as "contributing to the production of a commercial commodity." It must be recorded, however, that the draft Convention did not succeed in attracting a sufficient measure of corporate support, either from governments or from those in whose interest it had been devised, for it to be ratified, and the I.C.O. was therefore forced to drop the question.

Despite its failure to secure the recognition of "scientific rights," the I.C.O. continued its endeavours to strengthen the revised Berne Convention (Paris Convention) concerning the protection of patent rights. Hence when it was invited to send representatives to an international conference which was convened in London in 1934 for a further revision of the latter Convention, it prepared certain recommendations which it desired to put forward there. These recommendations included the following points:

1. Insertion in the Paris Convention of a provision regarding "the moral right of the inventor," that is to say, a clause permitting the author of any invention to claim the authorship and to have his name mentioned in the patent.

2. To bring about the adoption in the various countries of legislative measures permitting inventors to have their inventions patented in certain cases in which they had been prematurely divulged.

In addition, the I.C.O.'s delegation was given full power to support any other proposals in keeping with the principles of
the League of Nations.

The I.C.O.'s first recommendation was supported by several national delegations. As, however, there appeared to be some danger of it failing to secure the unanimous support required for the acceptance of any amendment to the Convention in force, it was thought wiser to withdraw it in favour of a text conceived in more general terms:

... The inventor has the right to be mentioned as such in the patent.

The insertion of this new clause in the Union Convention in some measure ensured that thenceforward inventors would enjoy the prerogative claimed on their behalf by the C.I.C.I. But it of course rested with the countries in which the right had not hitherto been recognized to bring their national legislation on this point into harmony with the International Convention. In this connection the I.C.O. was given an opportunity of giving effective support to the action which was being taken by the professional associations concerned with this question and, in consequence, a number of governments adopted the amendment.

With regard to the I.C.O.'s second recommendation, concerning inventions previously described in communications published in the proceedings of learned societies, in the majority of countries the law provided that no patent could be issued in respect of an invention that was not absolutely new. That requirement was justified by the public interest

and also by the need for avoiding the complications that might have arisen out of private transactions. But even so, its consequences were at times unreasonably severe, more especially when the disclosure of the patent took the form of a communication made by the inventor to his colleagues or in a review article. In such cases the discoverer, on applying for his patent, was met with the reply that his invention had become public property as a result of his own disclosure of its nature. There was, furthermore, a danger that, in spite of the liberal tendency shown by the laws of certain countries, the inventor's position would be the same when the discovery had been disclosed without authority, for example, by a former employee. This state of affairs had been frequently criticized in scientific circles. It had more especially been quoted in support of the campaigns conducted in favour of the institution of "the right of the scientist."

In a memorandum submitted to the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and transmitted in 1933 to the C.I.C.I. by Professor Shotwell, Professor Ralph H. MacKee of Columbia University had drawn attention to the more equitable treatment accorded to inventors in the United States, where a patent could be validly taken out provided that not more than two years had elapsed between the invention and the application for the patent. It was the unique facilities granted by these American laws which decided the American delegation to the London Conference to submit a proposal that a certain margin should be allowed, during which patents could
be taken out in respect of inventions previously communicated or published. In conjunction with the Italian delegation, which brought forward a draft law newly prepared by the Italian authorities, and the Netherlands delegation, the I.C.O. used its best endeavours to devise a formula which would make it possible to reach unanimity on this point and a draft article was actually submitted to the Conference.

The opposition of two delegations, however, made agreement impossible and the Conference was unable to go further than to arrive at a recommendation drawn up by M. Piola Casselli, head of the Italian delegation. This recommendation also referred to the rights of salaried inventors and stated that:

The Conference recommends that any amendment which the countries represented in the Union may introduce in their national laws on the protection of industrial property shall be based on the principle of the protection of the inventor's interests, account being taken of the proposals discussed at the present Conference, more particularly in respect of employed inventors and the need for prescribing a time-limit within which the communication and use of an invention by its author shall not constitute an obstacle to the granting of a patent or involve the invalidity of the patent for which he may subsequently apply.

Thus the I.C.O. was partly successful in its endeavours to secure the international acceptances of the moral right of the inventor to his invention and to patent his discovery, even if previously divulged in a scientific journal. The I.C.O., however, failed completely in its attempts to have a

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clause inserted in the Paris Convention which would have made it mandatory for the signatories of the Convention to refer all disputes concerning interpretations of the Convention to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The I.C.O. also made very considerable efforts to strengthen the Berne Convention relating to artistic and literary property and to increase the number of parties to that Convention. Partly as a result of these activities, a diplomatic conference was convened at Rome, in June 1928, for the revision of the Convention. The C.I.C.I. was invited to send a representative to the Conference. While there he presented and supported the following points of view:

Authors' rights should be internationally fixed as valid for a period of fifty years post mortem auctoris; national reservations to the Berne Convention should be abolished; applied art, as far as authors' rights are concerned, should be considered as works of art strictly speaking; all national legal systems should take account of the droit de suite (to secure for an artist a share in the increase of the value of his works at successive sales), the principle of the respect of works of art (prohibition of alterations which might change the character of a work of art) and the principle of paying for reproductions of works which have become public property (for the purpose of constituting funds to encourage the arts). 9

As a result of the C.I.C.I.'s representation almost all of these points were adopted in the revision of the Convention which has since come to be known as the "Rome Act."

Thus the I.C.O. was an important factor in obtaining the international recognition of both the "moral right" of

authors of literary and artistic works and the droit de suite.

Following the Rome Conference the Ninth Assembly, in September 1928, requested that investigations be made respecting the unification of the revised Berne Convention and the Copyright Convention signed in 1910 at Buenos Aires by the American states and revised at Havana in 1928. This investigation involved the study of all national laws and measures for the protection of intellectual property. The I.C.O., the I.I.U.P.L., and the Secretariat of the Pan American Union began the necessary studies in this field and a conference was finally scheduled to be held in Brussels in 1940. The outbreak of the Second World War unfortunately brought this project to a dead stop.

The I.C.O. had meanwhile attempted to induce all countries to submit their disputes concerning interpretations of the revised Berne Convention concerning copyrights to the Permanent Court of International Justice. As a result of this effort several nations, during the period 1930-1939, formally agreed to refer all their disputes relating to the Berne Convention to the International Court. The increasing acceptance of this jurisdictional clause in the Convention helped ensure a universal and uniform interpretation of the Convention and the credit for this great advance in international justice was due, in part, to the I.C.O.'s efforts.

During the period 1930-1939 the I.C.O. also strove to strengthen the Berne Convention by preventing unauthorized reproductions or the republication of the writings of journal-
ists. The I.C.O. also endeavoured to have the benefits resulting from such prevention accrue to the journalist concerned rather than to the management of the paper in which the work was published. The I.C.O. eventually induced both the I.L.O. and the International Bureau which had been set up to administer the Berne Convention to have these questions dealt with at an international conference held in Belgium in 1935. At that Conference the I.C.O.'s recommendations in this connection were embodied in the official proposals submitted and these recommendations eventually became integral parts of the Berne Convention.

In addition to the above activities in the field of intellectual rights, the I.C.O. also examined possible means for the protection of professional titles and it prepared a resolution for the consideration of governments concerning this question. "When a nation has organized a whole course of studies for the bestowal of a professional title," said the resolution, "such title should, both in the interest of the studies themselves and from the point of view of honest competition, be protected against usurpation, preferably by a penal clause similar to that rendering the unauthorized wearing of decorations an offence." Having received the approval of the League, this resolution was then submitted to governments for their consideration, it being deemed that any international regulation of the question would be premature.

Subsequently nearly all governments which had not already done

so enacted legislation which embodied the purpose of the resolution put forward by the I.C.O. Thus the I.C.O. was able, at least in this way, to benefit the legitimate interests of certain intellectual workers by affecting national legislation.

The I.C.O. had further decided that it would be desirable to frame an international régime to provide international associations and foundations with a universally recognized legal status and the necessary means of subsistence. The C.I.C.I. therefore instructed the Paris Institute to investigate the possibility of establishing these associations on an autonomous basis independent of national legislation. The Paris Institute's work in this connection was continued over several years, in cooperation with the League Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, and the results were then considered by the I.I.U.P.L. However, no positive action in the form of an international convention was ever adopted as a result of the I.C.O.'s efforts in this connection.

Still other work was begun by the I.C.O. in the field of the protection of rights of intellectuals, including attempts to secure the protection of authors' rights in cinematography, performers' rights, and the rights of museums to musical editions. The I.C.O. seemed to be making definite progress on all of these questions when the outbreak of the Second World War brought a stop to its activities in these and other fields.
Section B: the Organization, Classification, Dissemination and Preservation of Knowledge and Cultural Arts

The work of the I.C.O. in the very broad field encompassed by the organization, classification, dissemination and preservation of knowledge and cultural arts was assigned, until 1930, chiefly to two of the C.I.C.I.'s Sub-Committees and, after 1930, to the successors of these two bodies. Those duties which related to the activities of libraries, archives, information centres, and organizations dealing with the pure and applied sciences were devolved, first, upon the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography and then, upon the Committees of Experts which succeeded it, that is, the Committee of Library Experts, the Committee of Expert Archivists, and the Committee of Scientific Advisors. Those duties which related to artistic activities were devolved upon the Committee on Arts and Letters, which later became the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.

The I.C.O.'s activities on behalf of libraries and archives date from the very beginning of the C.I.C.I.'s existence. Indeed, the C.I.C.I., as early as 1922, had recognized the fact that libraries and archives were the custodians of all knowledge and hence it attached the greatest importance to any efforts made to improve the facilities of these treasure houses. The C.I.C.I.'s members were all aware, for example, of the fact that the collections of even the best libraries of the world were quite incomplete, that there was a considerable waste of energy due to the duplication of
effort which existed among workers in these fields, that the intellectual world lacked not only well-trained librarians and archivists, but also properly built and cared for libraries and archives. The C.I.C.I. accordingly made an extensive effort to come to the assistance of the libraries and librarians, and the archives and archivists of the world. By 1923 it had begun the following program, which was at once designed to coordinate the then existing international library activities, to establish relations between the scientists of various countries, and to facilitate their researches:

(a) Immediate publication of an *Index Bibliographicus* giving a systematic table of all the bibliographical institutions and periodicals already in existence throughout the world.

(b) Organization of cooperation between the libraries or groups of libraries which have been formed in the different countries with a view to the systematic classification of their contents, making them more easily accessible, and completing the foreign sections by means of exchange.

(c) Utilization of the records and work of the International Bibliographical Institute at Brussels.

(d) Preparation of technical conferences to coordinate the work of analytical bibliography (abstracts) edited in the different countries with reference to certain... sciences...

(e) A conference of experts to prepare a revision of the International Conventions of 1886 relative to the exchange of publications of every kind, books, periodicals, catalogues, papers, theses.

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In accordance with this program the I.C.O. had, during the period July 1923-December 1925, secured the appointment by the League Council of a temporary Sub-Committee to prepare a revision of the Brussels Convention concerning the international exchange of publications; it had appointed M. Marcel Godet, a member of the Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography, as the editor and chief compiler of the Index Bibliographicus and the first edition of this work had been published; and, by November 1924, it had successfully negotiated an official agreement between the Brussels International Institute of Bibliography and the League of Nations.

Under the latter agreement the Brussels Institute undertook the development of an alphabetic union catalogue of the great libraries of the world; the collection of bibliographic works, library catalogues and bibliothecal documents; the preparation of subsequent editions of the Index Bibliographicus; and the maintenance of a bibliographical and bibliothecal information office. An appointee of the C.I.C.I. was designated to aid the Institute in determining the order in which this tremendous program was to be undertaken.

By the end of three years the Brussels Institute, without having received any appreciable sums of money from the I.C.O. or the League, had made considerable progress in carrying out this program. Its alphabetic union catalogue or Bibliographical Repertory had maintained its position as the world's largest catalogue of books. It had succeeded in

12. v. supra, p. 432.
gathering together what was probably the world's best collection of books concerning bibliography and librarianship. It had published a new edition of the Index Bibliographicus, which, however, was rather defective as a result of its having been printed hurriedly. Further, it had published, although irregularly, a number of bulletins and monographs on bibliographical questions and it had maintained an information office. It had not, on the other hand, devoted its efforts solely to those activities enumerated in its agreement with the League. Indeed, since it had received practically no support from the League, its authorities had very largely put their best efforts into activities which best suited their own plans, rather than those of the I.C.O. or the League.

Conversely, the I.C.O. had not entrusted the Brussels Institute with the carrying out of all of the Organization's projects in the bibliographical field, but only with those specific undertakings mentioned in the terms of the agreement between the Brussels Institute and the League. Indeed, in all of its other activities in this sphere, the I.C.O. undertook to complete its work by itself, or with the help of bodies other than the Brussels Institute. And a number of these other activities duplicated or closely resembled prior activities of the Brussels Institute.

This lack of a full measure of cooperation between the I.C.O. and the Brussels Institute resulted in almost open hostility between the authorities of the two organizations.
and, as we have seen, the I.C.O., by the end of 1927, had seen fit to completely ignore the agreement between the League and the Brussels Institute. Thenceforth the I.C.O., with the Paris Institute as its executive organ, had increasingly encroached upon the field of activities of the Brussels Institute. Thus, for example, it had taken the revision of the Index Bibliographicus prepared by the Brussels Institute, corrected the errors in it, brought it up to date, and then had it privately published, without as much as mentioning the efforts that the Brussels Institute had exerted in this connection. In addition, the Paris Institute had begun a number of studies, investigations and projects relating to technical problems of bibliography and documentation, to the work of public libraries, and to the role and training of librarians.

Among the projects in this field which were discussed by the I.C.O. even before it broke off its relations with the Brussels Institute was one which involved the compilation of an annual analytical bibliography of the publications issued in all branches of science, literature and art. This scheme had received the approval of the League Council but on close examination it was decided that it would first be necessary to divide this tremendous field into its constituent parts. It was then found that various annual bibliographies and abstracts were already being published in many subjects and

that there was a lack of uniformity in the methods being used
in their compilation. The I.C.O. accordingly appointed a
number of Expert Sub-Committees, each of which had the func-
tion of devising methods for the standardization of bibli-
ographies in a certain field of knowledge, of planning means
of coordinating the bibliographies already being published,
and of determining what publications or bibliographical organ-
izations should be called upon to facilitate the work. The
list of Sub-Committees appointed for these purposes included
the following: one Committee to deal with the physical
sciences, one to deal with the social sciences, one to deal
with Graeco-Roman antiquity, one to deal with biology, and
one to deal with the Romance languages. By the end of 1926
these Sub-Committees had accomplished very little and the
work, in general, had not progressed beyond the preliminary
stages. In a few instances, however, negotiations had been
initiated concerning the division of the work among the differ-
ent publications and organizations concerned, for example, in
the case of the coordination of the bibliography of the
economic sciences, five regional specialist organizations or
publications had been enlisted in the enterprise. In the
case of the bibliography of the Romance languages, too, the
I.C.O., by the end of 1929, had made arrangements for the
publication of an annual bibliography of bibliographies which
was to include sections dealing with the history, the current

14. L. of M., "Minutes of the Ninth Session of the C.I.
state, the technical and literary idioms, and the dialects and slang of these languages. With regard to the bibliography of the biological sciences, the I.C.O. had decided, by April of 1927, that, due to the existence of excellent annual bibliographies and abstracts in this field, it would devote its efforts to other spheres. As for the compilation of bibliographies in the other sciences, the I.C.O. concluded that it would be advisable for it to postpone the carrying out of these projects until the International Research Council, its constituent Unions, and other similar bodies had become sufficiently well organized as to make possible the joint undertaking of this work on a wider and more representative basis than that which the I.C.O. had hitherto been able to initiate. Thus it was not until some years later, that is, until 1934, that the I.C.O. was able to make any significant progress in this field of its activities. After 1934, however, with the aid of the international organizations directly concerned, the I.C.O. was able to make numerous recommendations for the unification of bibliographical methods and in the drafting of abstracts and these recommendations met with constantly growing support and universal acceptance.

The I.C.O. had, meanwhile, been active on other related fronts. For example, the Committee of Library Experts which had met under the I.C.O.'s auspices in Paris in April 1927 had proposed that the Paris Institute should endeavour to bring about the creation in each country of a national library coordination service, such as already existed in the United
States, Germany and France, through the establishment of National Library Coordination Centres... The establishment of such national institutions, the Committee claimed, would then make possible an international library service, which could facilitate loans and exchanges between the libraries of the various countries, promote the organization of information services in libraries, and direct intellectual workers to the libraries containing the most suitable material for their studies. More than four hundred individual libraries expressed their willingness to cooperate in an endeavour to bring the National Coordination Centres into being and, as a result, most nations established one form or another of a national library coordination service.

In order to make the services of these National Coordination Centres available to serious students, the Paris Institute prepared a questionnaire which it forwarded to the various National Centres. The questionnaire requested information concerning their addresses, aims and programs, their working equipment, the nature of the information which they supplied, the conditions pertaining to the consultation of their books, their means of reproducing documents, their current charges, the conditions on which loans might be obtained from them, etc. As a result of the replies which it received from the National Centres the institute was able to publish three extremely important volumes which indicated,
concisely, the services provided by each of these Centres.

By February 1929 the Committee of Library Experts was able to present a further plan for a cooperative investigation to be undertaken by the National Library Coordination Centres into the possibilities of a unified International system for the microphotographic reproduction and exchange of published documents and for a unified system of abbreviating titles of periodicals. By 1930 this cooperative enquiry had also resulted in the publication by the Institute of a work which has been a guide to librarians ever since.

Then, for several years after 1930, the Paris Institute and the Committee of Library Experts devoted their main attention to an enquiry into the professional training of librarians. The information which had been received in this connection in the course of previous investigations had shown that, while there were a few points on which they coincided, on the whole the methods employed by the various countries differed widely. The conclusion had also been reached that a comparative study for the purpose of ascertaining the results obtained by these various methods would be of great utility, and the Committee of Library Experts which met in 1933 at


Geneva had therefore requested the Institute to undertake the enquiry which, they considered, should cover all publicly owned libraries. Under this head came national, municipal, specialized, and free public libraries. This division was chosen for the enquiry because it was known that the categories of libraries in which the professional training of librarians needed improvement varied according to the country. To cite only one example of this diversity of requirements: in the United States the need for improvement was chiefly felt in the case of scientific libraries, whereas in France it was the training of librarians of the free public libraries that called for improvement.

The Institute's enquiry was conducted in two stages. It first asked for definite documentary information, and received from nearly all European countries, the United States, China and Japan replies which constituted a valuable record. It did not, however, wish to confine itself to this necessarily schematic enquiry and thus it also approached certain persons possessing the requisite qualifications, requesting them to submit original reports dealing with the various factors of the problem in their own country and giving their general views and suggestions. The results of the survey indicated guiding principles which appeared to be most likely to ensure a satisfactory technical training for the various posts in the field of librarianship. They also dealt with methods of instruction, such as practical training, curricula, and special schools and courses.
The enquiry and survey were completed in 1934 and the resulting data amply demonstrated the necessity for the professional training of librarians of all classes and categories. For this purpose the report advocated not only national measures but international cooperation as well; periodical international meetings of directors of library schools or professors of librarianship; and the establishment of institutes for research in library management. These innovations were meant to enable libraries to adapt themselves to the changing need of the times and to economic and social circumstances.

The results of the enquiry were set forth in sixteen original national reports and some twenty replies to the questionnaire that was sent out. This documentation was published as one volume, in the series which the Institute devoted to library relations.

During the early 'Thirties the Paris Institute, at the request of the I.L.O., also made a study of how the industrial working class was spending its leisure hours. The Institute, in particular, studied the role of the free public library in this connection and here too its findings formed the subject of an important volume. Then, broadening the scope of its enquiry, the Institute took up the general question of the social role of free public libraries, the type of


collections found in such institutions, and the study of the measures which practical experience had proven to be the best for giving these libraries their maximum efficiency. This enquiry was conducted in cooperation with the I.L.O. and with the aid of specialists in adult education and welfare workers. It, too, ended, in 1937, in the publication by the Paris Institute of its findings.

In 1935 the I.O.O. undertook another enquiry in connection with libraries. This enquiry related to the question of the legal deposit of books. The Institute compiled a mass of information concerning the laws governing this matter in countries where such a system was in operation; the results of the application of these laws; the system, if any, which replaced that of legal deposit in countries where the latter did not exist; and objections to the adoption of legal deposit systems. Again the Institute published its findings in a notable volume.

Still other studies undertaken by the Paris Institute and its working Committees in the sphere of libraries resulted in the formulation of plans for the most desirable construction for library buildings and for the equipment which would ensure their most effective functioning. Recommendations were also published relating to cataloguing and indexing systems for libraries and to the best means of preserving printed matter and manuscripts.


The I.C.O. was almost as active in its promotion of cooperation between archives as it was in the field of libraries. But although it had begun enquiries concerning archives before 1926, it was not until 1934 that its efforts in this connection began to bear fruit. Perhaps its most important achievement in this field was the compilation of the International Guide to Archives. This volume was drawn up with the assistance of the heads of the most important archives in Europe. During 1935 the Institute began the preparatory work necessary for a companion volume to the Guide, dealing with extra-European countries, but this volume was never published.

In addition to the publication of the Guide, the I.C.O. was successful in securing the simplification and unification of archival terminology. And during 1934 and 1935 it also initiated a series of outstanding lectures on archival practice.

The I.C.O. dealt with yet another question relating to the work of libraries and archives. In 1934 the Paris Institute undertook an enquiry into the possibility of securing the universal adoption of Roman characters in the writing of all languages. For the purposes of this enquiry it entered into relations with scientists, philologists, and National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in almost every country. Though this enquiry does not appear to have produced appreciable results in the achievement of its principal purpose, it did form a valuable study in itself, for the institute's

findings constituted the first attempt to combine in a general framework the results of all the research undertaken on this subject.

Besides seeking to coordinate the activities of those persons who were the custodians of knowledge, the I.C.O. also attempted to coordinate the activities of those men who were adding to the world's knowledge, especially in the field of the sciences. By endeavouring to secure the international cooperation of the scientists of the whole world it believed that it was aiding in the organization of mankind's intellectual output. In this connection the I.C.O. made great efforts to achieve a standardization of terminology and nomenclature in all scientific fields. The I.C.O.'s chief undertakings in this sphere were begun in 1928 and were made in conjunction with either the International Committee on Tables of Constants and Numerical Data or the International Council of Scientific Unions. In both instances, however, its most fruitful period of activity did not begin until 1932.

During the period 1932-1940 the I.C.O. made a valiant and partially successful effort to keep the International Committee on Tables of Constants and Numerical Data in existence. This Committee, which had originally been formed as a result of an official international conference held in 1909, had, as a result of the world depression of the Thirties, found itself in receipt of smaller and smaller financial contributions from its various member states. The

I.C.O., by giving publicity to the plight of the Committee and by securing the official aid of the League Assembly and the International Council of Scientific Unions, did much to keep the Committee in operation.

In the case of the International Council of Scientific Unions, the Paris Institute was designated, in 1933, as the official Secretariat for all the Council's international activities relating to the standardization of scientific terminology. Thereafter, the Institute played an important role in all the international discussions which occurred concerning this matter. By the end of 1934 a great number of recommendations relating to scientific definitions and nomenclature had arisen from studies and investigations made at the Paris Institute. Almost all of these recommendations were eventually officially adopted by the Unions concerned and are still accepted by scientists throughout the world.

In addition, the I.C.O. compiled a card-index of laboratories of pure and applied physics. The tremendous demand evidenced for this list after its completion by the Institute made it quite apparent that its compilation helped meet a great need for that type of documentation.

The I.C.O. also organized a great number of meetings and conferences for scientists. Some examples of the questions collectively studied at these gatherings and of the books subsequently published by the Paris Institute in cooperation with the scientific bodies concerned are the following:


theless, adopted by many nations in subsequent bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements concerning the free exchange of their respective publications.

So much, then, for the activities of the I.C.O. in the field of the sciences and bibliographical and archival questions. We must now determine what the I.C.O. attempted to do in the artistic sphere and in the sphere of letters.

When the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters was set up in 1926 it drew up the following program of work for the sections of the Paris Institute which came under the Sub-Committee's jurisdiction:

1. The establishment of a list of museums.
2. Plans for an international art yearbook.
3. The organization and work of an International Museums' office.
4. An inventory of catalogues of photographic collections and the creation of national photographic archives.
5. The organization of an international congress and exhibition of popular art.
6. The regular publication of reviews dealing with certain aspects of international artistic life.
7. Histories of national literature, beginning with the least known.
8. An enquiry to be addressed to literary associations and editors on the possibility of setting up a central office for translations.
9. The interchange of musical programs, the collection and preservation of folk songs, the establishment of a standard concert pitch, and performances for children.

While a number of the activities on this program were never embarked upon, the list does include the major proportion of the I.C.O.'s undertakings in the field of arts and letters, and it was the International Museums' Office and its offshoots which did most of the work in this connection.
The International Museums' Office attempted to do the same type of work as that undertaken by other branches of the I.C.O. in connection with public libraries and archives, by the parallel organization of museums and archaeological institutions. And soon after its establishment it devised plans for the protection of works of art and the preservation of historical monuments. Furthermore, as a result of the systematic efforts of its information service, it was able to define the most pressing problems requiring a general enquiry or necessitating the consultation of specialists for their solution in these fields. But in the course of its work, and in consequence of the enquiries which it constantly received, the Secretariat of the Museums Office found that the development of research and scientific experiment in museography was frequently hampered by the lack of cooperation between the laboratories and research institutes attached to the museums and fine art departments, and by the necessity under which they were placed of confining their experiments to the cases which concerned the museum or monuments to which their work related. Pending the intended establishment of a laboratory for the International Museums Office, in which researches could be carried out freely by the Office itself, the work involved in the enquiries in this field was entrusted to specialists whose personal researches qualified them for the task. A series of systematic studies was thus undertaken. For example, the question of the transportation of works of art had arisen on various occasions in connection
with large exhibitions of works from public or private collections which had been subjected to the influence of a change of climate and environment. The Office studied the technical aspect of this problem, notably the action of atmospheric agents on works of art. By approaching the curators and the transport companies concerned, it collected a series of documents, opinions and suggestions, which constituted a practical guide that could be consulted with advantage by all who were interested.

Another problem in the field of museography which was investigated by the Office was that of the preservation of old tapestries and fabrics. Curators who had specialized in this field were good enough to send the Office very detailed reports on the various means of protecting fabrics and the methods and material used in European and American museums for displaying fabrics, carpets, tapestries and lace. The Secretariat of the Office also enlisted the cooperation of a specialist who went more fully into the question whenever these replies or other information received made additional investigations necessary.

In addition, the Office engaged a biological chemist to make a systematic study of the resources of science from the point of view of a chemical, microscopic and optical analysis of the pigments used in the different techniques of painting, and a radiological expert made a valuable contribution, in report form, to the highly controversial question of the possible deterioration of pigments examined by X-ray or sub-
jected to the action of ultra-violet rays.

Still other questions, such as the technique of encaustic painting, the restoration of wood and metal objects, and specific problems of restoration, preservation and classification were studied by the Office from technical and practical standpoints.

In making these scientific investigations the Museums' Office did not overlook the administrative problems and questions of general museography arising out of the preservation of works of art. It also devoted special attention to the vocational training of professional museum curators and restorers.

The Museums' Office, furthermore, interested itself in numismatics and philately. For some time the various points of view to be considered in arranging and presenting collections of coins and medals had been receiving the attention not only of numismatists but also of curators of historical, ethnographical and art museums. The Office therefore endeavoured in a study on this subject to bring out the historical, sociological, pedagogical and aesthetic function of these collections, which in itself determined their museographical value. These data and the opinions of numismatcal experts provided curators with new ideas and fruitful suggestions for the profitable use and presentation of coins and medals. They formed a valuable contribution to what might be called museographical methodology. The Office also undertook, in this connection, to encourage cooperation between
the various curators of coin and medal collections with a view to the exchange or transfer of duplicate specimens and the most advantageous use of objects excavated.

Museum curators also benefitted from the Office's investigations into the characteristics of objects falling more specifically within the scope of ethnographical collections. Light was thrown on the various aspects from which these specimens could be interpreted and arranged in a museum collection by a general study of the question, and, more particularly, by a written statement on negro art.

The favourable reception accorded to these works both by curators and in the scientific press encouraged the Office to extend its researches to other classes of collections, such as museums of musical instruments. The latter were considered from the point of view of their role and function in relation to musicology, historical ethnography, technique, and the artistic and decorative aspects.

The Office also devoted considerable time and effort to the study of the history of museography. It planned a comprehensive program of research in this relatively unexplored historical field and soon received a number of statements with regard to the sources of various collections. These statements, however, did not give an adequate idea of the main principles and tendencies to which modern museography owes its origin. The only way to achieve that was by comprehensive studies of the development of certain classes of collections and of the history of national museums. Such
studies were therefore undertaken by the Office and the latter series included a voluminous contribution to the history of Italian museums and art galleries, which was to have been followed by similar statements dealing with the museums of other countries.

Lastly, the educational function of museums, which had always had an important place in the Office's activities, was studied, from 1934 on, both from the theoretical point of view and in the light of practical experiments, such as those carried out in open-air museums in the Scandinavian countries, and in the form of regular cooperation between museums and educational institutions in the important museographical centres of Europe and America.

Conferences organized by the Museums' Office were held in Rome, in 1930, for the preservation of paintings and sculpture; in Athens, in February 1931, for the preservation of artistic and historical monuments; and in Madrid, in October and November 1934, for the study of general museography looking toward the general coordination of effective national administration and the preservation of works of art and historical monuments.

The Athens Conference, at which Directors of Fine Arts, delegates and experts of twenty-four countries were present, was the starting point of a series of studies and researches, some supplementary and others entirely fresh, in the legislative sphere, in regard to which mention should be made of a detailed report on German legislation on historical monu-
ments; the question of open air museums; and the utilization of artistic monuments as museums, and means of protecting and preserving buildings so employed. Another survey dealt more particularly with the preservation of castles, which were frequently used for purposes detrimental either to their architectural integrity or to their safety.

One or two other special investigations should also be mentioned. As recommended by the experts who met at Athens, the Office attempted to keep a register of the restoration work done in various countries, and to give in its periodicals the most typical instances of such work. It published regular reports on the excavations in progress in different countries and successfully completed one of the original tasks entrusted to it in this field, by compiling and issuing the first annual map of excavation sites, dealing with Italy. Lastly, it examined what may be called the new question of architectural museums. The gift to the Office of a model of ancient Rome gave it an opportunity of investigating the precedents for such work and of collecting documentary material likely to encourage the creation of architectural museums.

The volume issued by the Museums' Office on the proceedings of the Athens Conference was entitled La Conservation des Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire.


Following as it did on the Rome Conference in 1930 and on that held in 1931 in Athens, the Madrid Conference had available to it the fundamental data of the problems with which it was concerned and could thus proceed to a study of the means offered by modern techniques for satisfying these requirements.

Seventy-five experts, representing about twenty different countries, attended this Conference and discussed the principles, the methods and the practical means best calculated to ensure the housing, preservation, classification and enhancement of objects of art. The ultimate object of their deliberations was the preparation of a sort of handbook of modern museography for the guidance of curators, architects and persons who, directly or indirectly, might be called upon to take part in the designing and fitting-up of art museums.

The deliberations of the Conference were further facilitated by the fact that the Museums' Office had sent to Madrid, for exhibition in appropriate rooms, a considerable portion of its graphic and photographic documentation and this material proved of immense value in illustrating, by concrete examples, the papers submitted by the rapporteurs. This unique collection of documentation, representing the result of years of work and study, was highly appreciated by the experts who, for the first time, were given an opportunity of consulting such a vast collection of reference material and of making their own comparisons regarding almost every
conceivable museographical question and the practical means used by museums elsewhere.

The agenda of the Conference included the following questions, the mere enumeration of which will give the reader an inkling of the variety and importance of the subjects dealt with and, at the same time, a brief summary of the publication which was the outcome of the Conference:

1. The architectural program of a museum - general principles.
2. Museum equipment.
   (a) Exhibition rooms and sections open to the public.
   (b) Museum services and working equipment.
3. Natural and artificial lighting.
4. Heating, ventilation and air conditioning.
5. Conversion of ancient monuments and other buildings into museums.
6. General principles regarding the enhancement of works of art.
7. Different methods of presenting collections.
8. Organization of stores, reserves and study collections.
9. Permanent and temporary exhibitions.
10. Problems arising from the growth of collections.
11. Exhibition material.
12. Plans of rooms, numbering and labelling of exhibits.

In addition to these general questions, the Conference examined a number of problems which specifically concerned prehistoric collections, collections of sculpture, decorative and industrial art, folk art and ethnography, and lastly, graphic and numismatic collections.

Something more must be said, at this point, concerning some of the publications of the Museums' Office. Some of these were periodicals, such as the quarterly review for

museum curators entitled Mouseion, and its Monthly Supplement (Information Mensuelles), which comprised both a current organ of information and a bibliography of museography. Other publications embodied the results of enquiries and research work in the field of museography, as, for example, the Dossiers series, which contained data collected by the Office in the course of its enquiries concerning the preservation of paintings. Still other publications consisted of monographs, treatises or manuals on the techniques used in connection with special types of museographical collections or institutions. For example, the monumental International Repertory of Museums contained both a directory of the world's great museums and a catalogue of their chief exhibits. In addition, it discussed the technical methods employed and the innovations introduced in the museums of the Old and New Worlds. Similarly, the Manuel de la Conservation et de la Restauration des Peintures, which the Paris Institute took five years to compile, contains both a lexicon of the technical terms used in the field and a table of colors, in addition to all the other material relating to the title of the book.

The suggestions to be found in studies and manuals such as these were promptly adopted by numerous national administrations in compiling their circulars and regulations relating to museography.


Closely related to the early activities of the Museums' Office were the Paris Institute's undertakings which concerned chalcographical institutes and casts of works of art. In this connection the Paris Institute, by 1927, had succeeded in arranging a cooperative agreement between a number of European chalcographical institutes with regard to the exchange and sale of prints produced by these institutes and the joint exhibition of such prints. The first of such exhibitions opened in April 15, 1927, simultaneously in Rome, Paris and Madrid. As a result of these exhibitions, the Belgium Government began to contemplate the foundation of a national chalcographical institute, and Geneva, Liege, Brussels, Mülhausen, Saragossa, and a number of American cities began to plan similar chalcographical exhibitions. Moreover, under the agreement reached in 1927 further joint exhibitions of proofs were held in Birmingham, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Geneva, Liege and London in 1928. In the years which followed the number of participating institutes continued to grow, as did the number of their joint exhibits.

Meanwhile, the Paris Institute, in 1928, began the compilation of a handbook for workshops producing casts of works of art. At the same time the Institute began to compile a list of the most famous moulds of works of art. In addition, the cooperation of the official cast workshops of Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece and Italy was secured for the holding, in 1929, of three exhibitions of casts of works of art.
While the I.C.O. gradually ceased to concern itself seriously with the activities of these casting workshops and chalcographical institutes, it had nevertheless initiated cooperative projects which were to continue long after it ceased to take an active part in them.

The I.C.O. undertook activities in still other fields closely allied to the work of the Museums' Office. Among the more important activities of this nature were those sponsored by the Paris Institute's Liaison Centre for Science Museums and Scientific Information Centres, and the Institute's undertakings in the field of archaeology and the history of art.

The Liaison Centre continuously collected information and suggestions for circulation among the institutions concerned. It also published the monthly bulletin *Scientific Museums*, which published an ever-increasing amount of original information on the organization of scientific museums, the expansion of their collections and their general activity, as well as information on the scientific expeditions sent to various parts of the world.

As for the archaeological questions, they had been drawn to the attention of the C.I.C.I. at its first session by Professor Bergson and the Paris Institute and the Museums' Office had taken up their duties in this field where the activities of the C.I.C.I. had left off. Professor Bergson had pointed out, in 1922, that, in spite of the great zeal shown by many nations in discovering and preserving monuments

of antiquity, numerous monuments of the highest value still remained buried in the earth or inaccessible to the world of science and letters, or were kept in conditions that rendered them liable to destruction. International cooperation in these matters therefore seemed advisable. Such cooperation, in fact, already existed between certain nations, but hitherto no national rules had been established for regulating the whole matter from the point of view of a just distribution of the work, expenses and benefits involved. The C.I.C.I., after some discussion, decided that it might be possible for it to work for an international understanding on the following matters in this connection:

1. The framing of a list of archaeological sites not yet explored.
2. A general plan of research.
3. An agreement on methods of research.

The Committee adopted the conclusions of a report submitted on this question by M. Ruffini, who had been asked to study the subject in view of the fact that he was the author of the Italian Law for the Protection of Archaeological Monuments and Research. And, in accordance with its principle of cooperating with existing international scientific organizations, the C.I.C.I. decided to submit all the strictly technical questions that were involved to the International Academic Union.

Regarding legal questions, such as national and international agreements on conditions of archaeological research or the preservation and rights of proprietorship in archaeological monuments, the Committee agreed with the suggestion of its Rapporteur that a distinction should be made between mandated territories and countries of "higher civilization." It was considered that for mandated territories the Permanent Mandates Commission might be entrusted with overseeing the way in which certain rules for archaeological work and the preservation of antiquities were observed, just as it watched over the observance of sanitary and educational rules. As regards non-mandated territories and "highly civilized" countries, the facilities granted to foreigners for archaeological research and the rules to be followed in preserving or establishing property rights in archaeological discoveries were matters for national legislation and depended on the international conventions which governments chose to conclude.

M. Ruffini's report had suggested, in this connection, that agreements should be negotiated between States members of the League and other countries, such as the United States, to prevent the smuggling of works of art and antiquities - a traffic which was highly injurious to methodical and fruitful scientific research. His report, in addition, had suggested that the Italian Government, together with the Greek Government, should take the initiative in drawing up a draft scheme for international cooperation in preserving archaeological monuments and settling questions of ownership.
The matter was then referred to a number of C.I.C.I. Sub-Committees, which studied such problems as the means of identifying works of art and conditions contributing to the smuggling and forgery of these works. Nothing concrete, however, came of any of these plans until after 1926, when the International Museums' Office and later, the International Centre of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art and the International Historical Monuments Commission began to investigate these questions.

As we have seen, both the Rome and the Athens Conferences of the Museums' Office had made a number of significant recommendations concerning historical monuments, which were accepted almost without reservations by all the nations represented at those two gatherings. Further, a preliminary draft Convention for the Repatriation of Objects of Artistic, Historical or Scientific Interest which were lost, or stolen, or unlawfully alienated or exported was submitted, in 1933, by the Museums' Office to the C.I.C.I. This draft Convention received the approval of the International Committee, as well as the approval, in principle, of the Council and Assembly of the League. The draft was then referred to the various Governments for their observations by the Secretary-General of the League. By the end of 1934 more than forty governments had sent in their observations, the majority of which were favourable, and it became possible for the I.C.O. to amend the text of the draft in the light of the replies received. This work was completed during 1935 and the revised text was laid before
the C.I.C.I. in July of that year, when a decision was taken regarding the procedure to be followed. Meanwhile the interest taken by National Government departments in these proposals was unmistakably demonstrated when several of them, by way of anticipation of the procedure laid down in the Draft Convention, had recourse to the Museums' Office and its official publications to report the disappearance of objects from their collections. The Office therefore placed at their disposal, in the manner provided for in the Draft Convention, the very publication which the latter contemplated for communications of that kind, and, moreover, took other measures, such as the issuing of confidential circulars and press or broadcast announcements to ensure the adequate dissemination of these communications.

The International Historical Monuments Commission had meanwhile been established and the first duty entrusted to it was a study of the technique and administrative systems used in excavations. The first stage of this work was of a preparatory nature. It nevertheless involved the consultation of numerous experts. Consideration was not given, to begin with, to the actual objective of excavation operations, namely, the work of art, but rather, to a comparative study of the methods of professional training of archaeologists and to an examination of the question of the accessibility of such training. This study, like many other I.C.O. investigations, was quite successful and in turn led to a number of allied studies.
As to the work of the International Centre of Institutes of Archaeology and the History of Art it studied the possibilities of using motion pictures for rendering assistance to excavations; the preparation of documentary material for teaching archaeology and the history of art, and for making known the ancient methods of artistic endeavour; and the materials and processes used by artists. As a result of these studies the Paris Institute was able to submit numerous suggestions on this subject to the International Congress of Educational Cinematography, held in Rome in May 1934. In addition, the Centre, with the aid of the Paris Institute's liaison work, was enabled to obtain much original documentation and to begin the publication, in 1934, of a periodical, Office International des Instituts d'Archeologie et d'Histoire de l'Art: Bulletin. This Bulletin contained studies on the various points of the program drawn up at the Rome Congress with regard to the use of cinematography in this sphere, and special articles on the institutes of archaeology and the history of art which were members of the International Centre. Although prepared on a modest scale and appearing only three times a year, this Bulletin indicated that the International Centre was a most active body and constituted an effective bond between institutions cooperating in this regard with the I.C.O.

Closely allied to the activities of the archaeological Centre were the undertakings of the Paris Institute's Study Centre for Architectural and Urban Questions. Its most important project was the preparation of a form of international
regulation for national and international architectural competitions. Following the publication of its recommendations in 1937, the majority of the architectural competitions of note operated under the regulations set by the Study Centre and indeed, in a number of cases the Study Centre was given the privilege of supervising the competitions in order to make certain that its regulations were being adhered to.

The I.C.O.'s endeavours on behalf of the preservation and cultivation of folk arts were manifested chiefly in the holding of folk art exhibitions and the publication of a number of studies and enquiries in this field, all of which seem to have created a good deal of interest. These activities began with the Popular Arts Congress held in Prague in October 1928 and an International Exhibition of Popular Arts held in Berne in the same year. Numerous folk art exhibitions were held almost every year thereafter, in which the I.C.O. played an active part. As for the I.C.O.'s publications in this sphere, nearly all of them emanated from the Paris Institute's Folk Music and Folk Song Information Centre. There, studies were made of the common characteristics of folk art, of the means of expression of folk art, and of the relationship between folk art and workers' spare time.

The I.C.O.'s activities in the literary field also began early in its career but in this instance its initial undertaking was negative rather than positive in its nature.


Third Assembly of the League, in 1922, had requested the C.I.C.I.'s advice concerning the feasibility of a world-wide adoption of an international auxiliary language such as Esperanto. After discussing the question at its second session the C.I.C.I. reported that it was of the opinion that:

... it should concern itself primarily with encouraging the study of modern languages and foreign literature, since its task is to establish intellectual and moral contact between men and women of different nationalities. Without contesting the practical advantages that might ensue from the general adoption of an artificial auxiliary language, such as for instance, Esperanto, the Committee does not feel able to recommend any such language to the attention of the Assembly of the League of Nations. 35

The C.I.C.I.'s negative decision with regard to this matter was not, however, the end of the matter. Enthusiasts of various international languages continued to bring their selected language before the Assembly with requests for its official adoption. Eventually, despite non-approval of the C.I.C.I., the League members came to recognize Esperanto as the best of these languages.

The C.I.C.I. had meanwhile embarked on a positive program, which was meant to encourage the study of modern languages and foreign literatures. Thus in 1929 it adopted a proposal for the compilation of an annual bibliography, to consist of a list of the most notable and valuable works appearing each year in every country in all branches of

science, literature and art. This bibliography was intended to serve as a guide to the general reader. The C.I.C.I. also decided that the list would be prepared in consultation with the leading authorities of each country in each branch of intellectual activity. Six volumes were eventually published by the Paris Institute in this series.

The next I.C.O. project in the field of letters was begun as a result of a suggestion made by the noted writer John Galsworthy, who was at the time a member of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. He proposed, in 1926, that the I.C.O. participate in the production of a regular series of translations of the best literary works produced each year, as a means of encouraging interest in the life, thought and culture of foreign nations. The C.I.C.I.'s members agreed that the publication of such a series was most desirable but considered that the embodiment of this idea into practical shape would involve very considerable difficulties, including the establishment of an International Translation Office. During 1927 the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters decided that it might be possible for the I.C.O. to establish such an Office at the Paris Institute, as soon as specially qualified translators had formed national groups, which might set up an International Translation Committee with which the Paris Institute could enter into relations. Nothing was accomplished towards the achievement of this purpose, however,

36. See I.I.C.I., Notable Works Published in the Different Countries, 1924-1929, 6 vols.
until 1928, when the I.C.O. began to cooperate with the representative international literary associations, such as the International Federation of P.E.N. Clubs. By 1929 the International Federation of P.E.N. Clubs had agreed to make both the translations and the selection of works to be translated and the C.I.C.I. had referred the Galsworthy proposal to the National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. But the basis for effective I.C.O. action in the field of translations was not laid until 1930, when, in common with not only the International Federation of P.E.N. Clubs, but also the Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale, the Federation of Professional Associations of Literary Workers, and the International Congress of Publishers, the C.I.C.I. decided that the first task to be undertaken in this sphere should be the regular publication of a bibliography of translated works.

The C.I.C.I. accordingly requested the Paris Institute to convene a Committee of Experts to examine this question. This Committee met on December 18-19, 1931. Its recommendations were then approved by the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. and the first number of the quarterly Index Translationum was published by the Paris Institute in July 1932, in cooperation with the national bibliographical centres. By 1934 the list of countries whose translated works were being announced in the Index had climbed from six to twelve.


38. These countries were: France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, the United States, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and the U.S.S.R.
Having successfully launched the *Index Translatonum*, it became much less difficult for the I.C.O. to embark upon a program for the publication of literary masterpieces. The Publications Committee for the Ibero-American Collection was revived and given the task of overseeing the publication of a collection being to place at the disposal of the French reading public of Europe specially selected masterpieces of Latin-American literature.

The publication of this collection awakened considerable interest not only in intellectual cooperation circles and among League members, but also amongst the general public. Indeed, so great was the interest aroused that several South American states made financial grants to the Institute in order to aid in the publication of the collection. The Publications Committee continued, nonetheless, to reserve the right to select the works to be translated and published.

In addition, committees were formed in a few other Latin American states for the purpose of collecting funds to increase the number of volumes in the collection. At Havana, for example, a "Marti Committee" was set up in connection with the publication of a volume by the famous author of that name. Similarly, a "Hostos Committee" was formed at Porto Rico. It included the two sons of that author and one of them collaborated with the Institute in the publication of

Hostos' work in French. Arrangements were also made in Colombia for the purpose of raising funds in this connection, through the active collaboration of M. Sanin Cano, a notable writer in the Bogota newspaper El Tiempo and a member of the C.I.C.I.

The first two volumes which appeared in this series were Le Diamant du Brésil and Historiens Chiliens. In 1934, two further volumes were added, namely, Faundo and Choix de Lettres, Discours et Proclamations. Both of these works were quite favourably received in bookselling circles and were successful publishing ventures.

During the years 1935-1940 eight more volumes were published in this series and all of them were widely cir-

40. Dos Santos, Joaquim Felicio, Le Diamant du Brésil, preface by Alfonso Celso, translated by Manoel Gahlsto, Paris, I.I.C.I., 1931, 290 pp. See the list of publications of the I.I.C.I. in this study for further details concerning this and the other volumes of this collection.


oulated throughout Europe.

A similar series comprising French translations of Japanese literary masterpieces was begun in 1936 and three volumes were published by 1940.

The above volumes constituted the chief literary productions of the I.C.O., with the exception of those published in connection with the two series of discussions entitled "Conversations" and "Correspondence", to which we must now turn.

Section C: the Disinterested Study and Discussion of Intellectual Topics and International Problems

The I.C.O.'s endeavours to promote objective studies and discussions concerning intellectual topics and international problems were, in the main, undertaken by two bodies, the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters and the International Studies Conference.

The activities of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters in this field centered around the two series of discussion which it inaugurated in the early 'Thirties.


namely, the "Conversations" series and the "Correspondence" or "Open Letters" series.

While the idea for the inauguration of the "Conversations" sprang from a meeting of the Permanent Committee in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1932, in connection with the Goethe Centenary, the discussions included in this series dealt, very largely, with the aims of education and the idea of an "elite" - the part it can and does play in civilization, and the possibility of its enrolment in the service of mankind.

At the first "Conversation" a score of leading authors and thinkers from a dozen different countries assembled at Frankfurt and contributed papers of permanent literary and historical value on the life and works of Goethe. These were preserved and published in volume form by the Paris Institute.

The second "Conversation" was held in Madrid in 1933 and it dealt with "The Future of Culture." Since the Paris Institute published a whole volume regarding the discussions which occurred at that "Conversation", these few lines cannot hope to give a clear and full idea of the views put forward at that meeting. The object of the participants was primarily to show that the I.C.O. and its eminent members constantly kept in mind the great problems which dominated the world of their day, such as the aims and outcomes of education. The editor of the volume, Mme. Curie, summed up these discussions by expressing the agreed-upon view that the future of civilization.


even within the different national units, was bound up with
the development of its universal aspect and with the organiz­
ation of humanity on the basis of a secure world peace and
as a moral and juridical unit.

During the same year the Paris Institute was able to
assist in organizing a third "Conversation", which formed a
sequel to that held at Madrid. The French Committee of Euro­
pean Cooperation, which was presided over by M. Emile Borel,
had decided to ask a few distinguished thinkers to exchange
their views on "The Future of the European Mind," and the
Institute had associated itself with this proposal. In colla­
boration with the Committee on European Cooperation it organ­
ized a meeting at the Palais Royal from October 16 to 18,
1933, which was attended by distinguished representatives of
many schools of thought and shades of opinion. Again it is
impossible in this brief summary to describe the wide field
covered by these discussions, an account of which was published
48 in extenso by the Paris Institute early in 1934. Suffice it
to say that there was almost complete unanimity as to the
need for adapting national educational systems to the new
economic and mechanistic conditions of Europe, and the idea
of the existence of a "European Mind," was recognized by
almost all the speakers. There was, however, no agreement on
such questions as individual freedom as opposed to collectiviz­
ation. One of the direct results of the Paris "Conversation"

48. See I.I.C.I., L'Avenir de l'Esprit European, 1934,
308 pp.
was the creation of a Société d'Etudes Europeenes whose object was the examination of intellectual questions bearing upon the future of European civilization. Through the personal relations existing between its members it endeavoured to help Europe to become conscious of the essential unity of its culture.

The fourth "Conversation" was held from July 25 to 28, 1934, at Venice. There the participants turned to the discussion of a new topic, "The Role of Art in Modern Life," and it was dealt with under two of its many possible subheadings: "Art and the State" and "Contemporary Art and Reality." This "Conversation" was also organized by the Paris Institute, this time in cooperation with the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and the Committee of the International Exhibition of Art. The meetings were held at the Ducal Palace, under the chairmanship of M. Jules Destree, a former Belgian Minister of Science and Art and a member of the C.I.C.I.

Since Italy, under the prodding of Mussolini, was about to launch an aggressive war against Ethiopia, she was, at the time, attempting to do her utmost to secure, in advance, the sympathy of other nations for her civilizing motives and hence the Italian and municipal authorities of Venice, without exception, accorded cordial support to the "Conversation."

The participants, after many sessions of heated discussion, found it possible to define, if not to reconcile, the divergent standpoints of the artist, on the one hand, who
is most reluctant to submit to rules, and of the State, on the other hand, which demands obedience to laws and the maintenance of order. The Paris Institute also published a full account of this "Conversation."

The fifth and sixth "Conversations", which were held at Nice in 1935 and at Budapest in 1936 respectively, reverted to discussions relating to the subject of the Madrid "Conversation."

The "Conversation" at Nice was devoted to the question of "The Intellectual Training of Modern Man and the Purposes of Education." The participants first critically discussed the present situation and attitudes of modern man. Then, after considering the problem of the individual, or rather, of the human personality, in contemporary life, they proceeded to a discussion of the type of education which would best enable the individual to draw the maximum benefit from his membership in society and to give the maximum service to the society of which he was a member. Such problems as the education of the greatest possible number of persons and the education of society as a whole, intelligence and irrationalism, modern methods of forming public opinion, and the part played by the State and by social and cultural tradition, in education, were also considered.

The records of these discussions contain considerations of great importance regarding the methods to be used in imparting the elements of culture to school children; they also note


the dangers that must be avoided in discharging this delicate task, in particular by a judicious appeal to the natural gifts of the growing child; and they point out that it is the duty of teachers to develop a sense of responsibility in their charges and to make certain that the intellectual faculties of the individual are properly balanced.

The Budapest "Conversation" was of a more specialized character. It dealt with "The Role of the (Classical) Humanities in the Training of Modern Man," that is, the place which the classics should be given in present-day educational programs because of their influence in developing a sense of order, method, and aptitude for culture in the young. In effect, this "Conversation" was a search for a modern form of humanism. It nevertheless covered the whole field of education, and among those who took part were representatives of teachers of the sciences and of modern and ancient languages. The speakers recognized, of course, the important educational contribution furnished by the exact sciences and by the experimental method, which brings the student into close contact with realities. In the course of this "Conversation" an effort was also made to indicate what constitutes a well-balanced mind.

Adult education was also considered at great length by the participants of the Budapest "Conversation." Attention was mainly directed to the distinction that must be made between education, on the one hand, and propaganda (which results in the individual ceasing to think for himself) on
the other. At that session of the "Conversation" which dealt with the formation of public opinion it was agreed upon that public opinion is adaptable to existing circumstances and hence is profoundly modified by economic evolution. The participants, keeping these facts in mind, endeavoured to discover means by which public opinion could be directed towards international cooperation and suggestions were made for the enlistment of both reason and emotion in this cause.

The later "Conversations" were equally as vital as the earlier ones, as may be gathered from their titles: "The Effects of New Theories and Recent Discoveries in Physics on Intellectual Life," being a discussion on the nature of matter and the immediate consequence for human thought of the recent advances of human knowledge; "The Current Trends of Thought Among University Students," being a discussion by university students on university education; "Present Relations Between European and American Cultures," and "The Immediate Future of Letters," which gave a fresh impetus to the work of the I.C.O. in the domain of literature and was attended by some of the world's leading literary person-

52. Supra, p. 548, footnote.
53. See I.I.C.I., Students in Search of Their University, 1939, 176 pp.
ages. All of these "Conversations" bore upon the basic matters that affected the relationships of the peoples of every continent. In all of them comparisons were made on the state of intellectual relations between different peoples in the hope of uniting them in peaceful aims.

No less interesting and important were the series of "Open Letters" or "Correspondence" which the Permanent Committee sponsored and which the Paris Institute published. For, by means of these "Open Letters" those most qualified to speak in each country endeavoured to explain the conditions necessary for the attainment of that mutual comprehension by which nations could learn to know one another and prevent recourses to violence. All who took part in these exchanges of views were deeply conscious that means had to be found to remove the causes of war. The natural defenders of the mind thereby laid claim to the place that was due to the intellect in the field of international relations. They pronounced their views on the problems of peace and war from the standpoint of the psychology of individuals and crowds. They also emphasized the necessity for an acknowledged moral doctrine as the vehicle for any true progress towards a genuine improvement in human relations.

The "Open Letters" series comprised four volumes in all. The first volume, which dealt with the proper attitude of intellectuals towards war, was entitled A League of Minds and contained letters by Messieurs H. Pocillon, Salvador de

Madariaga, G. Murray, Miguel Ozorio de Almeida, Alfonso Reyes, Tsai Yuan Pei and P. Valery. The second volume, entitled *Why War?* contains the correspondence between Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud on the causes of war. The third volume, containing letters by Messieurs Johan Bojer, J. Huizinga, Aldous Huxley, Andre Maurois and Robert Waelder, was a continuation of the discussion begun by Messieurs Einstein and Freud and was entitled *The Mind, Ethics and War.* The final volume of the series, published in 1934 and 1935 and entitled *Civilisations: Orient-Occident, Génie du Nord-Latinité,* contains contributions from Messieurs G. Murray, Rabindranath Tagore, Josef Strzygowski and H. Pocillon concerning two topics: "East and West" and "The Northern and the Latin Mind." The last volume is of particular interest in view of the differences of cultures delineated therein and the placing of emphasis on the possibilities of a synthesis of cultures. All of these volumes found a wide circulation and were the subject of many comments in the daily press and literary reviews of the world. Numerous quotations from them were cited in many languages and the English periodical, *The New Commonwealth,* issued a small pamphlet reproducing the text of the letters between Professor Einstein and Dr. Freud.

Perhaps even more important than the "Conversations" and the "Correspondence" series were the efforts made by the I.C.O. to improve international relations by the exchange and


comparison of views on the vital political and economic problems of the day, by means of the International Studies Conference.

Although it was convened annually from 1928 onward, the Conference did not actually accomplish a great deal, visibly, until its fifth session, held in 1932 in Milan. During the period 1928-1932, however, it did effect a practical system of cooperation between the relevant institutions. The latter system involved, on the one hand, the exchange of speakers, information, publications, programs of study, bibliographies, etc., among the member institutions, and, on the other hand, the preparation, in common, with the technical assistance of the Paris Institute, of handbooks of information for students of international affairs, such as the Handbook of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations and its successor, the Handbook of Reference Centres of International Affairs, published in 1929 and 1931 respectively, and a projected Lexicon of Political Terms. Side by side with these practical tasks the Conference did much useful work in giving teachers of international relations from a large number of countries an opportunity of meeting once a year and of personally discussing their common problems.

From 1931 onward the Conference assumed a much greater importance in the field of international affairs, for it became an instrument for the study of concrete problems of international relations. At the fourth Conference, which met at Copenhagen in June 1931, a small Program Committee was set
up and charged with the duty of drawing up, for the next session of the Conference, a detailed program of discussion on the topic "The State and Economic Life," that is, a study of the international implications involved in the relations between governmental authority and private economic activity, with particular reference to the new forms of public management, control and supervision, national and international, direct and indirect, which had grown up since the First World War, and to the nature of the motives and policies underlying them. The various institutions represented at the Conference were then invited to submit to the Program Committee provisional reports or outlines on this subject, and, on the basis of the Program Committee's recommendations, to undertake detailed studies of the topic. Consequently, when the Program Committee met in February 1932 it had before it a large number of suggestions and outlines of study which had been prepared by the member institutions. After carefully analyzing these memoranda, the Committee drew up a program of study, urged the member institutions to appoint special experts to participate in the next Conference, and nominated several General Rapporteurs. At the same time the Program Committee and the Conference's Executive Committee expressed the hope that the papers to be prepared in each country would be, so far as possible, the results of group study rather than contributions by individuals. It was also recommended that, within the general framework of the program, each national group should make a simultaneous study of the same problem with a view to
a cooperative study of national reports being made by an international gathering on the occasion of the next Conference. As a result of all of these national studies the first actual International Studies Conference was held at Milan in May 1932, where several days were devoted exclusively to study-discussion meetings on national papers on "The State and Economic Life," with the last two days of the Conference being devoted to the consideration of administrative questions.

On the whole the Conference was considered so great a success by its participants that it was decided to continue the discussion of the same general topic at the next Conference, but to delve into new aspects of the question. And, as a further result of the Conference, the Royal Institute of International Affairs agreed to undertake the work of establishing a central clearance bureau for the exchange of books and documents relating to the subject of the Conference. In addition, considerable progress was made with the project of the *Lexicon of Political Terms*. An International Editorial Committee and a Director were appointed to supervise the publication of the *Lexicon*.

The same subject was therefore discussed in the follow-

59. See International Studies Conference, *The State and Economic Life: A Record of the First International Study Conference Held at Milan from May 23 to 27, 1932*, Paris, I.I.C.I., 1932, 168 pp. See the list of publications of the I.I.C.I. in this study for further details concerning this and the other volumes, mentioned below, which were published for the International Studies Conference by the Paris Institute.
ing year, with equally satisfactory results, and it was decided that the topic for the next Plenary meeting, to be held in 1935, should deal with the question of "Collective Security." Arrangements were also made for the holding of a preliminary Conference in Paris in 1934.

The 1935 session of the Conference was held in London and was attended by some twenty different groups. This figure may be taken as typical of the attendance record of most of these Conferences, although in the last years before the outbreak of the Second World War the number of cooperating institutions had risen to more than thirty.

The discussion on the problem of "Collective Security" in the 1935 Plenary session of the Conference led it to decide to devote the two following years, 1936 and 1937, to the study of "Methods of Peaceful Change," under the general direction of Professor Shotwell. Preliminary meetings were held in Madrid in May and June of 1936, where it was pointed out that, as a result of the studies made by the Conference during the previous two years, various aspects of collective security had already been reviewed, namely: national attitudes and reactions; the philosophic bases of the problem; the prevention of war by the pacific settlement of international disputes; the reduction and limitation of armaments; the repression of war; the prohibition of resorts to the use


of force; the determination of the aggressor; sanctions and
measures of mutual resistance; regional pacts; and neutrality
in a system involving the punishment of a resort to war. It
was consequently decided to deal, at the 1937 Conference,
only with the pacific adjustments necessary for the prevention
of international disputes themselves. The subject of the new
enquiry was defined in the following terms: "Methods of
Peaceful Settlement," with reference to certain special cases,
such as the difficulties of principle and procedures appli­
cable in the pacific settlement of economic, social and terri­
torial problems. Special attention was to be given to the
following questions:

1. Population, migration, colonization.

The Madrid meeting also drew up a detailed plan of
research and discussion. This plan comprised a number of
successive sections, namely, "Questions of Population," "Raw
questions." Hence, for the full Conference held in Paris in
1937, abundant documentary material was placed at the dis­
posals of the General Rapporteur and the four Assistant­
Rapporteurs. The final studies undertaken by the Conference,
in this connection, dealt with the problems of the reconstruc­
tion of world trade.

62. See International Studies Conference, The Synthetic
Imre Ferenczi); International Raw Materials Cartels, Paris,
I.I.C.I., 1938, 56 pp. (by William Cualid and L. Ballande);
Markets and the Problem of Peaceful Change, Paris, I.I.C.I.,
1938, 64 pp. (by J.E. Condliffe); Monetary Aspects of the Raw
The final session of the International Studies Conference was held in Bergen, Norway, at the end of August 1939. In the spring of that year the Executive Committee of the Conference had proposed that the problem of international organization be studied for the next two years, a suggestion which was unanimously adopted. The outlines of the research for this project were then charted. During the first months of the war several preparatory meetings were held at Geneva, The Hague, and Paris and a more detailed plan of study was drawn up and put into effect in all the participating countries. It is a striking confirmation of the importance of this project that no subject of international import was more widely studied in the years that immediately followed.

Besides the studies and publications resulting from the "Conversations", "Open Letters", and the International Studies Conference, another major project, in the field of social science, was undertaken, in 1935, by the I.C.O., in this instance, with the cooperation of the I.L.O. It related to the influence of modern machinery and the changes brought about by such machinery in the cultural and social


See also the numerous other volumes published for the International Studies Conference by the Paris Institute in the list of publications of the I.I.C.I. in this study,
habits of the various countries, and also, to the effects of these profound changes on distinctive national characteristics. The subject of this study was briefly entitled "Man and the Machine."

In this study it was agreed upon by all concerned that it was necessary to consider the relation between the effects and influences of machines not only on men but also on the progressive development of international relations; to study the important question of the contributions of the several countries to the organized international community, and to determine by what means the value of these contributions could be safeguarded and satisfaction given to the increasing-ly imperative need for concerted international organization.

In connection with this study, and with the assistance of the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, the Paris Institute began the preparation of a directory of the institutions which, in certain countries, concerned themselves with research, documentation and teaching as applied to the social and political sciences. This directory was to be drawn up along the line of a "Survey" submitted by Professor Shotwell for the United States. The directory was to include an indication of the methods and principles adopted in this matter by the countries considered.

The study of this aspect of the social sciences, in view of its extensive range, was spread over a period of years and

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was just drawing to a close, in 1939, when the outbreak of
the War made it impossible for the I.C.O. to complete it or
for the Paris Institute to publish its projected volume,
"Mechanisation in the Modern World."

Sections D and E: the Organization and Improvement
of Educational Services; and the Promotion of the
Spirit of Peace and International Cooperation
(Moral Disarmament)

The activities of the I.C.O. in the field of primary,
secondary, and higher education, as well as education for
international cooperation, constituted its most extensive
and, in many ways, its most fruitful work. A mere list of
the I.C.O.'s innumerable projects in these broad spheres
would require more pages and more time than the present
writer finds it possible to devote to them, especially in
view of the fact that so many of the major projects and
studies have already been noted in passing in this and pre­
vious Chapters of this study, or have been alluded to or
described in one or more of the Appendices. Then too, a
perusal of the relevant titles of the League of Nations
documents and the reports and publications of the Paris
Institute, to be found in the Bibliography of this study,
will provide the reader with a general picture of these
activities. And, finally, the I.C.O.'s more important
undertakings in these spheres will be critically evaluated
in the Chapter which follows. The writer has therefore
decided not to undertake a treatment of these educational
projects at this point.
CHAPTER XVI

An Evaluation of and Conclusions on the Achievements and Failures of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization's Aims, Methods, Machinery and Projects

In order that the I.C.O. as a whole may be evaluated from the standpoint of the lessons which may be drawn from its experience and applied, where desirable, to the organization and functioning of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, it is essential that a number of points be held within view. Consideration must be given, not only to the aspirations and accomplishments of the I.C.O., but also to the world's needs which the Organization was called upon to meet. What the I.C.O. might have achieved, had all its limitations been removed, should also be kept in mind. A bird's-eye view which includes all the corners of the earth in its perspective and sees humanity as a single economic and political unit is desirable too, for that, after all, was to have constituted the proper background of the Organization. Only then can we judge the extent to which the I.C.O.'s scope was commensurate with the world's needs, and the degree to which it was solving the world's problems that came within its jurisdiction; only then can we properly discover what changes would have been advisable in its terms of reference and what practical recommendations should be brought to the attention of those concerned with the future of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
The ideas propounded by the forerunners and founders of the I.C.O., as to what the Organization should have been and what it should have done, may be gathered, at least in part, from a reading of the Chapters of this study which deal with the efforts and writings of Messieurs Jullien and Molkenboer, Lafontaine and Ostwald; of Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, Walter Scott, and the many others mentioned therein. We have already seen that the proposals of Senator Lafontaine, for example, as indicated in his address to the First Assembly of the League, and as they were further elaborated by his colleague, M. Otlet, in 1929, included an embryonic plan for an international city or centre, located either at Brussels or Geneva, where all the official and private international associations of the world could be brought together to form a powerful and significant accumulation of international opinion, energy, and activity. The sponsors of the Union of International Associations had also desired to establish an international University at this international centre or city, very much along the lines suggested centuries before by Comenius.

Again, we have seen how numerous, sincere, and experienced educationists had devoted years of their lives in endeavouring to secure the foundation of an international education office or bureau. Messieurs Otlet and Lafontaine had also made provision for the establishment of such an office, as an integral part of their proposed international centre.
What the precursors of the I.C.O. had envisaged, then, was either an international educational office or bureau, an international coordination centre for artistic, scientific, and academic institutions and associations, an international University, or possibly, a combination of two or more of these plans. Such were the idealistic proposals put forward for an international cultural organization, and they are indicative of the functions which would have been assigned to the I.C.O. had no limitations been placed either upon its scope or upon its support. Unfortunately, however, ideal conditions never prevailed during the lifetime of the Organization. Indeed, the limitations of the I.C.O., from the outset, were both numerous and onerous.

Accordingly, any criticisms of the Organization, if they are to be legitimate, must take into consideration the handicaps under which it operated and under which it floundered. For an analysis, no matter what its point of departure, is of little value if it fails to take account of immediate conditions. Otherwise it is liable to grow the winged feet of Mercury and to take flight in the clouds.

A review of the I.C.O.'s history reveals that the limiting factors which acted with so telling an effect upon its every function and activity were at least four in number and were closely related to one another. These four factors may be stated in a single sentence. The I.C.O. was a pioneer venture, called upon to operate in a disrupted and disillusioned world which was dominated by the concept of unlimited
national sovereignty and was frustrated by military aggressions and economic depressions, all of which resulted in international inertia and in the placing of severe restrictions on the Organization's scope and financial support. Since the limitations and weaknesses of the I.C.O. were, then, to a very considerable degree, reflections of the system of world organization extant during the period in which the I.C.O. was in operation, the successes and failures of the Organization should be judged, in part at least, from the standpoint of the need for it to develop, empirically, principles and methods of operation for a truncated new international organization in the midst of a critical and nationalist period of world affairs.

How tellingly and how cumulatively effective these limitations were is not difficult to discern. For example, the general acceptance of the concept of unfettered national sovereignty led directly, first to an ambiguous statement of the C.I.C.I.'s terms of reference and then, to a temporary but nevertheless very severe, if not unworkable, limitation of the International Committee's scope of activities. For, as we have seen, the firm opposition of certain delegates at the Second League Assembly to the idea that the C.I.C.I. should deal, in any way, with education (which was then considered by many people to be a purely national matter) resulted in the International Committee being appointed to "examine international questions concerning intellectual
cooperation. As we have also seen, the C.I.C.I., on the advice of its first Chairman, Professor Bergson, and the League Secretariat, then decided to interpret its terms of reference very narrowly, so as to virtually exclude educational and most other controversial matters.

The limitations placed on the scope of the C.I.C.I. as a result of its initial acceptance of the principle of complete national sovereignty in educational matters are of sufficient importance in the evaluation of the I.C.O.'s structure and personnel to merit a digression, in the form of a personal criticism, at this point. It is the writer's contention that this incongruous limitation of the C.I.C.I.'s scope was one which the C.I.C.I. itself decided upon and accepted; one which it need not have accepted had it shown foresight and initiative. The writer believes that Professor Gilbert Murray is especially culpable in this connection for, while there is a possibility that the other members of the International Committee were unaware of both the events leading up to the appointment of the C.I.C.I. and its exact terms of reference, Professor Murray cannot plead ignorance in this regard. Indeed, he bore a special responsibility to the C.I.C.I. in this matter. As Rapporteur for the Assembly Committee which dealt with questions relating to intellectual cooperation and education at the Second Assembly, it was he who led the movement for the appointment of a committee on intellectual cooperation which was tacitly to be

permitted to discuss all questions submitted to it which related to "education considered as a science." Furthermore, he himself advocated, at that same session of the Assembly, that the C.I.C.I. be given the responsibility of dealing with questions relating to education on behalf of international cooperation and the League. Surely, then, it was his bounden duty to point out to his colleagues that questions of education were not necessarily beyond the C.I. C.I.'s terms of reference! To make matters worse, Professor Murray went even farther in the dereliction of this duty when he declared publicly in 1926 that "any interference with the national or 'confessional' systems of education ... is expressly forbidden to the C.I.C.I. by its constitution." There is no document, printed, written, or otherwise, other than the C.I.C.I.'s "Rules of Procedure" which can be considered as its constitution, and that document contains no reference to this question! The writer is consequently unable to understand Professor Murray's actions regarding this whole matter, or to forgive him for allowing the C.I.C.I. to forego the possibility of dealing with educational problems from the outset.

As a result of this sidetracking and initial rejection of education as an important concern of the C.I.C.I., many of the supporters and enemies of the League came to regard the

2. v. supra, p. 189.

activities proposed for the International Committee as vague, impractical, immaterial, and transitory. Consequently, the I.C.O. was for many years looked at askance by Governments and was not taken seriously by the world of scholarship and science. And even though the issue has, on the whole, contradicted these viewpoints, they nevertheless had direct repercussions on the financial grants and moral support given by the League and other bodies to the I.C.O.

As a further result of this limitation of the Organization's scope, its development, in practice, consisted of improvisations and additions which, when combined together, did not for many years serve as a global plan. For, when the task of setting up agencies for the promotion of intellectual cooperation was first undertaken by the C.I.C.I., major attention was devoted to the cooperation of intellectuals, and the educational foundations upon which international understanding must be based were ignored.

Eventually, however, and despite the opposition, the common sense needs of the situation resulted in education becoming one of the I.C.O.'s most fruitful branches of activity. The Organization and its proponents, albeit belatedly, accepted, as major functions of the I.C.O., the laying of the basis of a just and lasting peace through education, the promotion of the ideal of equality of educational opportunity, the freeing of education from nationalistic prejudices, and the making of a positive effort to promote a better reciprocal knowledge of the various nations
and their cultures. Unfortunately, however, the Organization's attempts to promote "a closer union and better understanding between peoples," since they were made as an afterthought, had to be superimposed upon existing aims of national educational systems based, almost wholly, upon nineteenth-century concepts of nationalism. These attempts were thus less effective than they might have been, had educational activities been permitted the I.C.O. from the outset.

Partly for financial reasons and partly because of their controversial nature, the C.I.C.I.'s members had, at first, further limited the scope of the I.C.O. by refusing to seriously concern themselves with the social sciences and the possibilities of organized international cooperation among social scientists. For similar reasons, the I.C.O. originally neglected to undertake activities relating to the various mass-media of education and information, such as the radio, the moving picture, and the press. As in the case of education, however, the C.I.C.I. ultimately assumed numerous functions which gave full recognition to the importance of these forces in modern culture.

Not only did the world-wide acceptance of the concept of the supremacy of national sovereignty lead, both directly and indirectly, to restrictions in the I.C.O.'s scope of activities but also, as has already been hinted, to a severe limitation of both the moral and financial support granted to the organization. For, due to the exaggerated nationalism,
international insecurity, and anarchy which this nationalistic concept helped to engender, all nations sooner or later found it necessary to devote a major portion of their revenues to armaments, which, in turn, precluded the possibility of adequate sums of money being made available to the League, much less to any of its auxiliary organs, such as the I.C.O. Therein, then, lay the bases of the two other limitations - lack of moral support and pecuniary assistance - which bore so heavily upon both the League and the I.C.O., and upon all their activities. Indeed, so important was the latter deficiency that it has been only very rarely that a writer, in commenting either upon the League or the I.C.O., has failed to mention the niggardliness of the financial support which the nations of the world saw fit to provide these two history-making international enterprises. Carl J. Hambro, in his Introduction to the volume entitled World Organization, made this comment on League finances:

To visualize in terms of dollars and cents just how much was put into the League, the Labour Office and the Court, it is enough to remember that the first two lease-lend acts of the United States for armaments it was to give to other nations would have paid all the contributions of all the nations to the three great agencies of international organization back through the centuries to the time of Christ.

And, even more so than the other League organs, the I.C.O. was hampered at every step by the parsimony of governments.

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For the I.C.O. was annually faced by the gibbering spectre of economy brought out of its cupboard almost invariably by Great Britain or one of the Dominions. As a result, in almost every case, the Financial Committee of the League saw fit to allot to the C.I.C.I. only the minimum amount of money needed by it in order to convene an annual session of approximately one week's duration. In terms of American dollars and cents, during the period 1922 to 1940, when the world expenditures for armaments reached astronomical figures, the per capita contribution of most League Members to intellectual cooperation amounted to one cent every hundred centuries. With the possible exception of France and, for a time, Italy, no state saw fit to act on the principle that its own cultural interests would be best served by serving the international community.

In addition, many nations, during the last few years of the I.C.O.'s existence, relinquished their membership in the League or forgot, or pretended that they had forgotten, to pay their contributions to that body. This factor naturally created a delicate financial problem which made it most difficult to maintain any equilibrium in the League's budget as a whole, let alone in the I.C.O.'s expenditures.

It is no wonder, then, that a student of the League's Committees such as Mr. Greaves described the I.C.O.'s lack of successes as being "due not to incompetence, but to lack of funds," and that the League Assembly itself, in 1927,

declared that:

... it is only the smallness of its financial resources which prevents the I.C.O. from rendering all the services which may now be expected from it.

It was with such meagre support and under such unfavorable general conditions that the I.C.O. was asked to establish an almost new form of international cooperation between governments, between unofficial organizations, and between individuals. That the I.C.O. flourished, even under these adverse conditions, is evidence of the apparent world-wide need which it filled. And, with the above environmental factors affecting it so greatly, one cannot without fairness blame the policy-making authorities of the I.C.O. for refusing to extend the functions of the Organization much further, at any rate until some great increase had been made possible, both in the amount of its budget and the number of its supporters.

A consideration of the criticisms which may be or have been aimed at the I.C.O. on the basis of its practical working is relevent at this point. The reader may have discerned that such criticisms may be classified according to whether their target is the I.C.O.'s machinery, the methods by which that machinery operated, or the number and quality of its products. In addition, there are, of course, general criticisms which may be aimed at the overall success or failure of the I.C.O. in developing the technical apparatus

of formal international intellectual cooperation, including the creation and extension of the "international mind."

Probably one of the frankest and most revealing general criticisms ever levelled at the I.C.O. was made by one of the C.I.C.I.'s own members. In 1930 Albert Einstein wrote the following paragraphs in his letter of resignation from the International Committee, the letter being addressed to M. Dufour-Feronce, Under-Secretary-General and Director of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat:

Dear Herr Dufour-Feronce,

Your kind letter must not go unanswered, otherwise you may get a mistaken notion of my attitude. The grounds for my resolve to go to Geneva no more are as follows: experience has, unhappily, taught me that the Committee, taken as a whole, stands for no serious determination to make real progress in the task of improving international relations. It looks to me far more like an embodiment of the principle ut aliquid fieri videatur. The Committee seems to me even worse in this respect than the League taken as a whole.

It is precisely because I desire to work with all my might for the establishment of an international arbitrating and regulative authority superior to the state, and because I have this object so very much at heart, that I feel compelled to leave the Committee.

The Committee has given its blessing to the oppressions of cultural minorities in all countries by causing a National Committee to be set up in each of them, which is to form the only channel of communication between the intellectuals of a country and the Committee. It has thereby deliberately abandoned its functions of giving moral support to the national minorities in their struggle against cultural oppression.
Further, the attitude of the Committee in the matter of combatting the chauvinistic and militaristic tendencies of education in the various countries has been so lukewarm that no serious efforts in this fundamentally important sphere can be hoped for from it.

The Committee has invariably failed to give moral support to those individuals and associations who have thrown themselves without reserve into the task of working for an international order and against the military system.

The Committee has never made any attempt to resist the appointment of members whom it knew to stand for tendencies the very reverse of those it was bound in its duty to foster.

I will not worry you with any further arguments, since you will understand my resolve well enough from these few hints. It is not my business to draw up an indictment but merely to explain my position. If I nourished any hope whatsoever I should act differently - of that you may be sure.

All of Professor Einstein's criticisms are worthy of examination and comment. But since each of them fits well into the general pattern of criticisms of the I.C.O. outlined above, the present writer has decided to deal with them in that order. One general comment relating to Professor Einstein's observations should, however, be made at this point. If taken each in its turn, it may be discerned that many of Professor Einstein's criticisms were no longer as justifiable after the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry in 1931 as they were at the time of his resignation.

If we turn first to an evaluation of the more specific

aspects of the I.C.O.'s machinery, in the order in which that machinery was discussed in this study, it may be observed that the first organ deserving of our critical attention is the C.I.C.I.

As to the composition of the International Committee, there can be no doubt at least as to the eminence of its members. Professors Bergson, Curie, Einstein, Bose, Millikan, and Rocco were all world renowned in both academic circles and in the public press. In addition, Professor Murray, for example, was well-known for his literary works and his activities in the League of Nations Union, where he was a peculiarly vital factor in the education of English public opinion in the aims and value of the League of Nations. There were, as well, many notable political figures who served on the C.I.C.I. at different periods. M. Destree, for example, was a former Belgian Minister of Arts, Sciences, and Education; M. Cornejo was a Peruvian Minister in France; and Messieurs Painleve and Herriot were both former French Premiers. These, then, were men and women whose names may well be remembered long after the League's I.C.O. or the great statesmen of the day are forgotten.

To have gathered such an array of talent, representing such a variety of specialist knowledge, countries, and cultures, was in itself no mean achievement, particularly following a period in which international contacts between scholars had reached their nadir. Indeed, the mere existence of the C.I.C.I. seems to have had a noticeable influence in favour
of international cooperation and understanding among intellectuals, which resulted, if not so much in their giving direct support to the I.C.O., at least in their giving assistance to other international organizations.

But the disadvantage from which the C.I.C.I.'s members suffered, from the point of view of the practical educationist and man of affairs, was not a lack but an excess of eminence. Because a man is a botanist of world fame, it does not necessarily follow that he will be an outstanding organizer of international intellectual relations. Indeed, it did not follow. For when scientific qualifications are so high as to include around the same table a Bergson and an Einstein, their coming together reminds one of a meeting of Mount Blanc and Mount Everest. Each, to use Shelley's words, had "the still and solemn power of many sights and many sounds, much of life and death," but - unfortunately for practical intellectual cooperation - this power was naturally apt to "dwell in its tranquility, remote, serene and inaccessible."

While scientific, academic and political circles were thus more than adequately represented on the C.I.C.I., elementary and secondary school teachers, departmentalists, and administrators were conspicuously lacking in fair representation. The reader may have noted, for example, that nine out of twelve of the C.I.C.I.'s original members were university professors. Yet in practice, it was those few C.I.C.I.

members who happened to have had administrative experience who proved the most useful to the I.C.O.

The casual reader might object to any criticisms of the C.I.C.I.'s composition based on the limited number of school teachers to be found among its members on the grounds that the C.I.C.I. was not intended to serve educators as such. To that objection the present writer would reply that so long as the C.I.C.I. was endeavouring, as a major feature of its program, to create international understanding and to inculcate League ideals among people of all ages, and especially among children and youths, it was essential that members of the teaching profession be well-represented on it. Professor Kotschnig, a noted authority on international educational questions has penned a similar observation concerning the C.I.C.I.'s composition. He said:

...the very strength of the Commission [the C.I.C.I.] was also its chief weakness. Its members moved in a rarefied atmosphere far removed from the struggles of everyday life. They had forgotten their early origins in kindergarten and elementary school. They could not be bothered to look into the needs and anxieties of the adolescent. Their minds dwelt on a plane beyond the reach of the ordinary man. They themselves were scholars and thinkers and writers and they represented their interests almost exclusively. If they thought of education at all they thought of higher education. To be practical—down to earth—meant for them the coordination of research and the protection of intellectual rights.  

Although the present writer considers Professor Kotschnig's stricture too strong as regards the C.I.C.I.'s complete failure to cater to the needs of the world's youth, he would agree with Professor Kotschnig's main point: that the emphasis of the I.C.O.'s work was, in part, mis-placed and misdirected, as a result of the composition of the C.I.C.I. On the other hand, the writer disagrees wholeheartedly with those League observers who claim that the C.I.C.I., at the time of its establishment, was expected to be only a temporary committee, consisting of men and women who, by casting the glamour of their spiritual fame upon the group of politicians sitting around the Council Table, would add to the League's prestige by passing virtuous resolutions.

In addition to the observations noted above, a number of further criticisms of the C.I.C.I.'s composition still remain to be expressed. First, although the C.I.C.I. always had at least one or two women members, on the whole, the proportion of men to women on the International Committee was quite unjust when one considers the proportion of men to women engaged in the fields in which the C.I.C.I. was active. In addition, the C.I.C.I. lacked a proper balance as regards the geographical areas from which its members came, for, throughout almost the whole of its existence, it lacked adequate representation from the New World and from Asiatic countries. Then too, the C.I.C.I. was left open to criticism because neither M. Lafontaine nor M. Otlet was ever appointed to membership on it, despite the fact that on all the other League Committees which undertook activities which had been initiated by some other
international organism before the League came into existence, some continuity of effort was assured by including in their personnel a representative of the earlier activity. Here, then, was an example of an organization making use of a man's ideas as well as his practical undertakings, and refusing, at the same time, to recognize him save as an impractical idealist and a dreamer! And finally, as to Professor Einstein's claim that the C.I.C.I. did not resist the appointment to its membership of persons whom it knew to be anti-internationalist and that it failed to support the leading internationalists and anti-militarists of its time, the present writer, while he is not sufficiently well-acquainted with the personal history of each of the C.I.C.I.'s members to pass judgment on each in this connection, believes that very few prominent and ardent nationalists, with the possible exception of Professor Bergson, were ever appointed to membership on the C.I.C.I. Indeed, it is the conclusion of the present writer that by 1930 the C.I.C.I. had overcome what Professor Einstein had labelled "the greatest obstacle which the work of our Committee has to encounter" - "the lack of confidence in its political impartiality."

So much, then, for the criticisms relating to the composition of the C.I.C.I.

The above critical observations do, however, not exhaust the list of adverse comments which have been made concerning the International Committee. Criticism has also been

aimed at it because it chose only three different Chairmen throughout its existence. It has been said, for example, that:

There may be some justification for this; but from the standpoint of democratic practice it is probably not expedient. Limited leadership may lead to the exclusion of new ideas and prevent the spread of the work to other geographical areas in a global pattern. 11

The present writer is not in agreement with this criticism, for two reasons. First, the Chairman of the C.I.C.I. was elected annually by a majority vote, and there has been nothing whatever, in any of the sources to which the present writer has had access, to indicate that there was ever any coercion, or political consideration, which affected the choice of the Chairman. Secondly, to the mind of the present writer, there are undoubtedly certain advantages in a continuity in administration, at least as long as there is no danger to the democratic process as a result of that continuity.

And now, after so many critical comments, at least one important laudatory observation may be recorded concerning the International Committee. That the C.I.C.I. had itself realized that all was not well within its system by 1930, and that it had itself proposed the setting up of a Committee of Enquiry, was a real sign of vitality. Certainly there was a noticeable improvement in almost every branch of the I.C.O.'s

machinery and activity immediately following the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry. The establishment of the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. was a notable step forward in organization, since it was so constituted as to ensure the inclusion of a number of members who had had practical administrative experience. The writer is not inclined to agree, however, with one commentator who claimed that the C.I.C.I.'s establishment of an Executive Committee revealed a "half-instinctive effort to develop the pattern of an inter-governmental group as executive and a larger body of functional international specialists as the advisory arm." The writer is unable to discern any such pattern either in the composition of the Executive Committee or the C.I.C.I., and would not agree, in any case, that the adoption of that pattern would have constituted an improvement in the I.C.O.'s machinery.

With regard to the Paris Institute, it too was open to many dangers and criticisms, from the time of its inauguration until it closed its doors in 1940. For, as we have seen, the French proposal to furnish the C.I.C.I. with an executive organ had given rise to one of the few "scenes" which occurred in the early history of the Assembly of the League, at which Mr. Charlton, the Australian Labour Delegate, had openly opposed the other members of his own delegation. There were many other delegates, in addition to Mr. Charlton, however.

13. v. supra, p. 306.
who doubted whether a League institute in Paris could properly function at such a distance from the League's headquarters. It is not possible for the writer, even now, to say that those anticipations of danger were unjustified. Then too, while the generosity of the French Government in setting up the Paris Institute and providing for its support has been much and justly praised, it is the view of the writer that the value of France's gift would probably have been immeasurably greater than it was, had some of the conditions attached to it, such as the stipulations as to the site of the Institute and the nationality of the Chairman of its Governing Body, been sacrificed. For, as a result of these stipulations, the Institute was peculiarly susceptible to the accusation of being under excessive French influence. For example, Professor Einstein, who was still a member of the C.I.C.I. at the time of the opening of the Paris Institute, voiced some of the misgivings which had already been heard in this connection and which were to be voiced on many occasions thereafter. Professor Einstein said that:

When, therefore, the French Government sets up and maintains an Institute out of public funds in Paris as a permanent organ of the Committee with a Frenchman as its Director, the outside observer can hardly avoid the impression that French influence predominates in the Committee.  

Professor Einstein's claims in this connection have, however, been refuted by several other later authorities. For example, Miss Edith Ware, who was quite critical of a number of the I.C.O.'s other features, wrote, in 1934, that the Paris

Institute

... has won international confidence on all sides and is working out a well-balanced programme on a genuine international basis without any trace of French Governmental influence. So long as it continues on these lines, co-operation with it should be kept in mind for all plans for research which fall within its field. 15

And Dr. J. E. Robbins, the outstanding Canadian cooperator with the Paris Institute said, in 1937, that:

The fact that the Institute was provided by the Government of France, does not make it any more a French organization than does the fact that the British Government contributed most to the I.L.O. make it a British institution. The Institute's headquarters being at Paris instead of Geneva has not prevented it developing under the auspices of the League of Nations any more than has location at The Hague in the case of the International Court. 16

The present writer would, however, like to add the following comments to those recorded above. While the Institute may not have been susceptible to the influence of the French Government, it was nevertheless administered under the direction of an official of the French Ministry of Education for the first three years of its existence and by another Frenchman until the Fall of France. And, despite the efforts of these Directors to keep the staff of the Institute as international as possible in its composition, the I.I.C.I. remained largely staffed (and paid for) by French citizens. The plac-


ing of a greater proportion of non-French citizens in the non-
executive positions on the Institute's staff would undoubtedly
have improved its efficiency as an international instrument
and would also have made it a more welcome innovation to
various countries; but such improvements would have meant an
increase in expenditure, which was out of the question. The
ideal solution would, of course, have been to have moved the
Institute, or at least all of its effects and personnel, to
Geneva. That, too, was out of the question since it would
have been most unreasonable to have expected the French Govern-
ment to have continued to defray most of the Institute's ex-
penses if the I.I.C.I. were no longer situated in France.

Then too, the Paris Institute, despite the numerous
efforts which it made, especially after 1930, to rid itself
of its over-organization, continued to suffer from what
English speaking people are apt to consider the demands of
"the logical Latin mind," in that it had been started with and
continued to have too complete and inflexible a form or struc-
ture.

To the above comments concerning the Paris Institute, the
writer would like to add that all of them applied with equal
or greater measure to the I.E.C.I.

As for the name of the Paris Institute, the writer, with
all due respect to Shakespeare, has concluded that the re-
commendation of the Committee of Enquiry concerning a change
in the Institute's name, should have been implemented. If,
for example, the word "Institute" had been changed to "Office"
or "Bureau," perhaps more statesmen and intellectuals could more readily have understood the breadth and scope of the *I.I.C.I.*'s activities and might possibly have been more prepared to render it their moral and financial support. As it was, the Paris Institute, by its name, was trading on and detracting from any projected schemes for a real international institute of intellectual cooperation, that is, an international University.

So much, then, for the Paris and Rome Institutes of the *I.C.O.* We must now turn to an appraisal of the Organization's network of National Committees and the International Act Concerning Intellectual Cooperation.

As we have already seen in the Chapter which dealt with the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, many of them had not originated naturally out of a recognition of the need and importance of inter-relating the varied and multi-coloured aspects of national cultures. Indeed, since most of the National Committees had been created *ad hoc* at the bidding of the *C.I.C.I.*, they seemed to have stood outside the general current of intellectual activities within their respective nations. As a result, there was a tendency among governments, scientists, educators, and artistic and academic circles to regard the National Committees as agencies created by and for the *I.C.O.*, as incidental to, and not as integral parts of, all the activities which make up a nation's culture and civilization.

Besides being set apart somewhat from the main streams
of national cultures, many of the National Committees suffered from the numerous disadvantages of the system whereby they were permitted to make such arrangements as suited their particular conditions, for the purpose of associating themselves with their respective national governments and the principal national bodies interested in cultural cooperation. For, in accordance with this system, it was possible for the National Committees both to ignore certain cultural minorities and to be subject to governmental domination, which actually meant the placing of a bureaucratic barrier between the I.C.O. and the organizations and people active in the fields concerned. Consequently it must be admitted that even if the National Committees were not actually guilty of oppressing cultural minorities, as Professor Einstein claimed they were, they did, by their very composition, present the possibility of such oppression.

In the opinion of the present writer the National Committees should never have been permitted to become the mere servants of national governments or of cultural majorities, for freedom of thought and of action are basic necessities in all cultural matters. On the other hand, it is the writer's opinion that the I.C.O. should have made increased efforts to have had each National Committee accepted by its respective government as an advisory body, with the privilege of consultation in the selection of delegates to international conferences dealing with cultural problems and in the determination of national policies as regards such problems.
Despite the adverse criticism noted above, however, the National Committees are deserving of considerable laudatory comment. For the frequently heavy expenditures incurred by them in the carrying out of their share of the I.C.O.'s work constituted valuable material and moral support for the Organization's enterprises in the fields of international understanding and international technical coordination.

As for the General Conferences of National Committees, the writer believes that they formed the best possible basis for a whole reorganization of the I.C.O., somewhat along the lines envisaged by the 1937 Conference of National Committees. In any case, the writer feels that the C.I.C.I., in its early years, should have made even greater efforts than it did to convene such Conferences at regular and frequent intervals. He believes, too, that more definite functions should have been assigned to these Conferences than was done before 1937. For example, the League Council might have been induced, either to permit the Conferences of National Committees to elect a portion of the C.I.C.I.'s members, or else, to allow the Conferences to act as advisors to the Council in questions relating to the appointment or re-appointment of members of the International Committee. Such functions would probably have both improved the C.I.C.I.'s composition and developed a greater sense of responsibility among the National Committees.

Then too, had the Conferences of National Committees been assigned the functions usually assigned to the General
Assembly of an international organization, they would, of necessity, have had to become more accessible to voluntary and non-governmental organizations, at least to the extent that the United Nations Charter makes the Economic and Social Council accessible to such bodies.

Had the Conferences of National Committees been assigned the degree of control which was envisaged by the 1937 Conference of National Committees, it would have resulted in the establishment of a very remarkable precedent in international government. For it would have meant that, for the first time in mankind's history, national bodies, some of which had no direct connection with their respective national governments, would have been placed in a controlling position in an officially recognized international institution supported by national taxation. Thus, to whatever extent the National Committees were non-governmental bodies, to that extent the I.C.O. would have been an organ of real world government in one important sphere of human relations. Furthermore, had this increased participation in and control of the I.C.O. by the National Committees (to which the C.I.C.I.'s members were evidently agreeable) been accompanied by the implementation of the International Act Concerning Intellectual Cooperation (which came into effect in 1940), it would, in the opinion of the present writer, have eventually resulted in a lessening of the control of the C.I.C.I. over the Paris Institute, and hence over the whole Organization, in that the C.I.C.I.'s control would have been very largely supplanted by
that of the Conferences of National Committees and the revived Conferences of the Délégués d'État. In addition, it would have meant a lessening of the powers of the Institute's Governing Body as a policy-forming organism. In all probability, it also would have necessitated the conversion of the Governing Body into a small executive or administrative organ and the abolition of the Institute's Committee of Directors, whose functions the Governing Body would have assumed.

We must now turn to a critical treatment of the more general aspects of the I.C.O.'s machinery, including a few comments on the role of the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat. In this connection, it will be recalled that one outstanding feature of the I.C.O.'s machinery relates to the role and function of intellectuals in international life. It has often been said, for example, that since intellectuals, especially those who devote themselves to creative endeavours or original research, are strong individualists, anxious to preserve their independence of thought and work, they can hardly be expected to turn their efforts to collective enterprises. While such claims as this do present a reasonably accurate picture of the milieu in which the I.C.O. had to work, it was nevertheless essential that the Organization should keep in close contact with the associations and the people interested in the fields which fell within its scope of activities, if it were to succeed at all.

The I.C.O., as we have seen, adopted a variety of tech-
niqes and evolved several types of machinery in order to secure these contacts and, where possible, to develop them into definite cooperative arrangements. In its efforts in this connection its degree of success varied greatly from one type of activity to another. For example, when it called upon intellectuals to participate in discussions on the vital problems of the day, the favourable replies received from almost everyone concerned proved that the intellectual, as often as not, was awake to the need for and was willing to aid in the promotion both of free intellectual discussions and of cooperative intellectual enterprises. Indeed, it may be said that one of the I.C.O.'s most important achievements consisted in the multitude of relationships which it established and extended between diverse persons, institutions and associations which would otherwise never have had the opportunity of entering into contact, much less of cooperating, with one another.

We have seen, too, how the Paris Institute and the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat both eventually became common secretariats of a number of very important private and official bodies interested in the fields of education, the arts, and the sciences. Had it been successful in this activity alone, the I.C.O. would have justified both its existence and the effort required to solve the problems with which it was beset.

To bring these numerous organizations together in one
plane, either through gatherings of their representatives or through the establishment of joint central offices, or both, was, however, to perform the services of coordination for which Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet had planned and waited all their lives. In so doing, the I.C.O., to some extent, duplicated, rather than cooperated with, the efforts of the Union of International Associations. Hence the I.C.O.'s role in this connection is not one that is deserving of unqualified praise and it was only after the Union had become defunct that the I.C.O.'s success in this field became apparent.

It should also be noted at this point that the I.C.O. had what was in effect a dual policy as regards the association of outside bodies with its activities. For, while the Paris Institute was prepared and, indeed, was quite anxious to become a cooperative and administrative centre for international organizations, the League Secretariat, which, in accordance with Article XXIV of the League Covenant, was theoretically supposed to officially bring these organizations within the League's orbit, tended, in practice, after 1930, to discourage such organizations from being brought under the protection of the League, for fear that such relationships would add to the League's expenditures and responsibilities. The effect of this dual policy was to make it impossible for the Union of International Associa-

tions to become a League organ and to cause it to languish for lack of international support, while another League body successfully competed with it and took over a number of its functions.

With regard to the I.C.O.'s relations with the chief organs of the League and with the various governments of the world, and the effects of these relationships on the operation of the I.C.O.'s machinery, a number of important observations and criticisms may be brought to the reader's attention. But before doing so, it would perhaps be advisable to reiterate the fact that the I.C.O.'s authorities, in addition to having to answer to the League Council, the Assembly and the Member States for their actions, also had to carry out the not always identical directions of these bodies. Furthermore, since the League's statesmen were themselves, for the most part, uncertain in their own minds as to the I.C.O.'s aims, functions, and powers, the Assembly's discussions on the reports of the I.C.O. were shifted from one Assembly Committee to another from year to year. This latter practice made it difficult for any sizeable group of individuals in the League Assembly to become experts in intellectual cooperation matters as a result of their continued presence as delegates to the Assembly over a period of years, as was the case, for example, in the field of Health, Drugs, International Finance, or Mandates. This inability of a body of delegates to the Assembly to become experts in the field of intellectual cooperation, or even to
become properly acquainted with the aims and scope of the I.C.O., resulted in the Organization having less prestige in, and receiving less financial and moral support from, the Assembly than might otherwise have been the case. Furthermore, it made for a lack of continuity in the Assembly's recommendations and decisions as regards intellectual cooperation questions. Faced with this irresponsibility on the part of the Assembly, and being in an anomalous position in general within the League's structure, the I.C.O. naturally found it more difficult to operate than would have been the case had its status within the League structure been more precisely defined.

The lack of a more permanent sponsor, in the form of a particular Assembly Committee, had still another unfortunate effect on the I.C.O. For, from the time that France made her offer to establish and subsidize the Paris Institute, and thereafter, when Messieurs Painleve and Herriot successively assumed the position of Chairman of the Governing Body of the Institute, the I.C.O. was assumed to be France's baby in League circles, and hence, France's responsibility. This assumption was made all the more plausible due to the fact that Messieurs Painleve and Herriot were often France's representatives on the League Council or at League Assemblies where, owing to the fact that they were, by comparison with other League diplomats, authorities on the subject of intellectual cooperation, they were usually chosen as the defenders of the I.C.O. before the League or as the rapporteurs for
intellectual cooperation questions. Consequently France was increasingly linked in the minds of diplomats and statesmen with all questions relating to the I.C.O. This association, in turn, resulted in the I.C.O.'s fate being dependent on the current status of France in the League and in power politics, on current French political alliances, and on current French or anti-French political maneuvers. Thus, for example, national and international politics entered into the picture when the unanimous report of the Committee of Enquiry was adopted. A storm resulted in the more excitable organs of the Parisian press. One set of newspapers accused the Institute's Director of every obscure crime from "gabegie" to common barratry, while another claimed that the whole scheme was a fascist plot, engineered by Signor Rocco, in order to destroy the Institute and undermine the prestige of France. Thus the close association of France and the I.C.O. tended inevitably to compromise both the Paris Institute's and the C.I.C.I.'s efforts to appear and to become truly international organisms. This association also had its repercussions in the amount of financial and moral support received by the I.C.O. from the League and other sources.

In its relations with other governments and governmental departments, the record of the I.C.O. would seem to indicate that, despite its many limitations, it succeeded admirably throughout the years of peace in reconciling its duties

towards national governmental departments with those that concerned the intellectual world. In fact, it may be claimed that with the exception of the German Government after 1933 and the Italian Government after 1937, the support of most governments could be counted upon by the I.C.O. whenever any of its enterprises seemed likely to furnish a solution for a specific cultural relations problem. Indeed, as we have seen, the I.C.O., or rather, some of its subsidiary bodies, succeeded in becoming permanent liaison instruments for various national administrative departments which dealt with certain intellectual or cultural matters, where they performed a number of coordinative tasks of an administrative nature.

The creation of such inter-governmental committees and the holding of meetings at which official administrations or departments were represented greatly facilitated the I.C.O.'s work and enhanced its prestige. It also greatly eased the I.C.O.'s financial burdens since many of these meetings, especially those held outside Geneva, were made possible by the monetary assistance of the nations tendering the invitation.

Furthermore, a growing number of governments were seeking to conclude international agreements which bore the name of "Intellectual Cooperation Agreements," and these, in themselves, were clear proof of the progress which the Organization was making. These international instruments were steadily extended to cover every aspect of intellectual and cultural life and their extension implied a recognition of
common principles. Thus, whether negotiated under the auspices of the I.C.O. or not, these agreements strengthened the prestige of the I.C.O. and all of its activities.

On the other hand, it was only in rare instances that any government objected to the I.C.O.'s undertakings. In a few cases, however, the I.C.O. and the League Secretariat were represented as being bodies of internationalists who were prepared to manipulate national interests to serve their own utopian ideas. In 1933, for instance, the League Secretariat had a bad moment with the Premier of Canada because it distributed a pamphlet which had been prepared by the I.C.O. and which summarized the conclusions of the International Studies Conference on the problem of the state's relationship to economic life. (This pamphlet was distributed at the opening meeting of the Economic and Financial Conference at London.) This unpleasant episode was not cleared up until the 1935 Canadian elections, which brought into power an administration more favourable to the conclusions reached by the International Studies Conference. At other times complaints were also made by the Irish, Soviet and Italian Governments, but all of these were settled amicably. Probably the most unfortunate repercussion of these various incidents occurred when the only Soviet citizen ever to have served on the C.I.C.I., Comrade Obolinsky-Ossinsky, was recalled and shot in the 1937 Soviet Purge Trials, as a result of charges that he had allowed himself to come under the influence of foreign powers hostile to the Soviet Union.
No doubt certain of the I.C.O.'s activities did not please all governments or important official or semi-official bodies in all countries. And, no doubt, a number of the I.C.O.'s projects failed as a result of the opposition of these governments or groups. But it is not to be expected that all differences can ever be entirely eliminated from any international activity. Certainly, considering the short period permitted the I.C.O. to establish contacts with, and international cooperation between, the departments of the various nations, the success which it achieved was quite notable.

Despite the progress made in this direction, however, it is the writer's belief that even closer contacts with the really decisive factors in the educational system of each nation could and should have been secured by the I.C.O. The Organization might, for example, have taken note of such observations as those made by Mr. Greaves when he pointed out that:

... it seems clear that over a whole decade [1920-1930] the Committees which have done the most work are those which have been associated with a regular conference, sometimes containing ministers as well as unofficial interests.  

Now, while it is true that the I.C.O. had succeeded in obtaining government representation on a number of its committees, such as the Advisory Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League, which included a number of members who were officials in their respective Ministries.

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of Education, it had never attempted to associate government ministers in a regular conference such as that suggested by Mr. Greaves.

A Conference of Ministers of Education, possibly one similar to that which was suggested at the Tenth Assembly by a Danish delegate, might, for example, have been called to consider the question of the education of youth in the aims of the League. It seems to the present writer that this would have been a most fruitful scheme had it been implemented, for it would, in all probability, have lent power and authority to the I.C.O. — which lacked both — and to which both were a sine qua non of practical effectiveness. Then too, a Conference of Ministers of Education would have created direct governmental interest in the whole Organization. Perhaps it would have been useful for this Conference to have met at the same time as the General Conference of National Committees. Perhaps it might also have been given a share in the election of the members of the C.I.C.I., which could have remained the executive body.

Or perhaps it might have been possible for the I.C.O. to have convened a Conference of Committees, consisting of delegates of National Committees and of Ministers of Education, in which each National Committee might have sent four delegates, one representing the national institutions and societies, one the primary and secondary teachers, one the scientific and research institutions and societies, and one the ethnic, artistic, and cultural institutions and societies. Thus there
would have been five sections in all, similar to the sections of the I.L.O. Conferences, and each section might have been entitled to elect one-fifth of the members either of the C.I.C.I. or of the Executive Committee. In addition, each section might have deliberated apart upon certain subjects. The teachers' section, for example, might have considered such questions as school text-books, or the influence of elementary education on the growth of a national psychology. Such people, from their different experiences, would have had many valuable suggestions to offer in the more positive study of educational method. They could also have attempted to evolve standards of educational techniques. By the mere force of publicity they might very well have brought pressure to bear upon governments whose educational policy was backward or illiberal. Then too, mutual schemes might have been agreed upon for the teaching of foreign languages and culture or the facilitation of travel and of contact between teachers and students of different nationalities.

There is no reason to suppose that such a Conference would have been any less active or less successful than the Conferences of the I.L.O. Such activity and such success may not be a commendation to those who have found the I.L.O. even now too energetic for their wishes, but that does not mean that some such scheme was not urgently needed or would not have received wide official and unofficial support. Such a Conference, besides being the constitutive organ of the I.C.O., might also have sought the power, by a two-thirds
vote, to obligate all governments members of the Conference to place conventions before their respective ratifying authorities within a year or so, in a manner similar to that of the I.L.O.

There remain two further criticisms of the I.C.O.'s machinery which should be brought to the attention of the reader. They concern two all-important errors of omission. The writer has already alluded to the fact that the I.C.O., in its early years, had decided, largely on its own volition, neither to deal seriously with educational matters nor to sponsor an international university. He would at this point record his disagreement with the I.C.O.'s continued refusal to fully utilize these two practical methods of approach in seeking the solution of its problems.

As regards the first error of omission, that is, the I.C.O.'s failure to establish an International Bureau of Education, we have already noted in passing that such a Bureau was in operation in Geneva by 1930 but not under League auspices. Indeed, its only connection with the League was through the I.C.O.'s Liaison Committee of Major International Associations, on which the Bureau was represented. In the opinion of the present writer, the I.C.O. should have made a much greater effort than it seems to have made to become closely associated with the International Bureau. Indeed, the writer is inclined to believe that had more serious efforts been made by the I.C.O. in this connection, the Bureau might have become an integral part of the I.C.O. and
would thus have brought to fruition the ideas of so many of the I.C.O.'s founders and precursors.

As to the I.C.O.'s decision not to sponsor an international University, it may be said that all the parts of the I.C.O.'s program might have been carried out with an International University as its major instrument. Furthermore, the foundations for such a university were already laid, not only in Brussels, where the Union of International Associations' efforts constituted a clear step in the direction desired both by men such as William Ostwald and by the Union's founders, but also at The Hague and at Geneva. The International Academy of Law at The Hague had already taken its place alongside the International Court. And Geneva, in the 'Twenties, was already an international students' centre. There the Post Graduate Institute for International Studies (the Geneva Institute), created on the initiative of League circles, had become an unofficial international super-university in embryo. For the Geneva Institute's students came from almost every country in the world and its staff came from the most important centres of Western civilization. Any or all of these institutions, with League and I.C.O. sponsorship, might very well have become an official centre of international thought and might have formed the nucleus of the "international mind."

The writer therefore believes that the C.I.C.I. missed a tremendous opportunity for rapid advance in international cultural organization when it rebuffed the proposals of the
Union of International Associations that it, its Mundaneum, and its International University should become parts of the League organization. Perhaps the most damning aspect of this refusal was the fact that the C.I.C.I. spurned these offers despite the Union's willingness to move all of its effects to Geneva; despite the fact that the League Council had already given aid to one of the Union's projects, the Code des Vœux; and despite the fact that the International University had earned the blessing of the League.

It was very largely as a result of the C.I.C.I.'s lack of initiative as regards the question of an international university and an international office of education that H.G. Wells made the following comment concerning the C.I.C.I. in 1937:

... in timid, polite and scholarly hands the C.I.C.I. has so far achieved little more than a building, a secretary and a few salaries. The bare idea of a World Encyclopedia would give it heart failure. Still there it is, a sort of seed that has still to germinate, waiting for some vitalizing influence to stir it to action and growth.

While the I.C.O.'s machinery, as Mr. Wells and other critics have pointed out, was neither as extensive nor as well supported as it might have been, the present writer has nevertheless concluded that, from the pragmatic point of view, this machinery was, on the whole, quite commendable. For the I.C.O. had unquestionably established numerous permanent liaisons, carried through considerable research work, created new ties between important organizations and, in not

a few instances, called into being national and international organizations capable of helping both themselves and the world at large in their work. The results of the collective studies, conferences, congresses, and international conventions and agreements which were successfully concluded under the I.C.O.'s aegis form a surprisingly long list. Indeed, it cannot be denied that as a result of the I.C.O.'s methods and machinery a close network of cooperative international activities in cultural matters was being extended over most of the earth.

In summary, then, it may be said that the I.C.O.'s methods and machinery enabled it, in a quiet and more or less efficient manner, to:

1. Collect, sift and disseminate evidence and information drawn from all over the world.
2. Obtain the services of the best experts in the world, working without reward for the benefit of humanity.
3. Arrange meetings between experts working in the same fields, and enable them to discuss their preoccupations, their successes and their failures.
4. Provide essential links between the experts and those responsible for the making of governmental policies.
5. Promote opportunities for governmental officials of different countries to meet and discuss their respective cultural and educational policies.
6. Provide means for a widespread and better understanding of the cultural aims and policies of the different nations and of the League itself.
7. Provide machinery for the conclusion of international conventions and agreements in cultural matters.
8. Provide aid and advice to governments, associations and individuals concerning educational, scientific, artistic and cultural matters generally.
In a word, the I.C.O. achieved the international organization of cooperation in the fields of education, science, the arts, and general cultural relations.

If we turn next to an evaluation of the various projects undertaken by the I.C.O., we will recall that these projects may be grouped under the following general fields of activity:

1. The protection of intellectual rights of property and employment.
2. The organization, coordination and improvement of educational services.
3. The organization, dissemination and preservation of knowledge and cultural arts.
4. The disinterested discussion and study of intellectual topics and international problems.
5. The promotion of the spirit of peace and international cooperation.

The present writer will accordingly endeavour to present the appraisal of the I.C.O.'s undertakings in the order of the above classification.

There can be little doubt that the very first project undertaken by the I.C.O., namely, its enquiry into the conditions of intellectual workers in Central and South-Eastern Europe, greatly stimulated, at a most critical time, a number of movements to assist the intellectual workers of those countries. Similarly, the I.C.O.'s endeavours to secure aid for the University of Tokyo after the earthquake were most successful. On the other hand, the I.C.O.'s enquiry into the protection of authors' rights did not produce any substantial results and the proposal of Senator Ruffini for the securing of financial benefits to scientific inventors was eventually discarded, after much discussion and investigation, on the grounds that it might introduce false standards into scien-
tific work. In the other fields of intellectual rights, such as journalists' rights, authors' rights in cinematography, the rights of museums to musical editions, performers' rights, etc., the I.C.O. did much spade work which was helpful in the clarification of the rights of the workers concerned. In many instances this spade work resulted either in an amplification of the rights under consideration or in the initiation of important movements for the granting of further rights, movements which showed every sign of being successful when they were stopped by the outbreak of the Second World War.

In its endeavours to aid in the organization, coordination, and improvement of educational services the I.C.O. made an outstanding contribution to human welfare. Its efforts to secure the establishment of National Educational Information Centres, for example, were highly successful in some forty countries and they constituted one of its most encouraging achievements in the educational sphere. For here, in a clearly defined field of primary importance for international educational relations, the I.C.O. had succeeded in promoting the creation of official organizations especially equipped to enter into relations with foreign governments, associations and individuals. Being responsible for the coordination of educational information at home and for keeping a current record of all educational developments both at home and abroad, these Centres enabled all nations to benefit by the experience of other nations. It is worth noting, in this connection, that in the case of Canada, where the Educa-
tion Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics fulfilled these functions, it was the Head of that Branch who was largely instrumental in promoting the organization of a Canadian National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, which, though only organized in 1934, was nevertheless able to wield sufficient influence in 1945 and 1946 to secure the Canadian Government's approval of a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization.

Similarly, in the matter of the certification and international circulation of educational films, the I.C.O.'s work was an outstanding success. For, in view of the various difficulties entailed in the production and international dissemination of good educational and scientific films, the methods chosen by the I.C.O. in this connection proved most effective. By securing the ratification of an international convention for the certification and free circulation of such educational material, and by promoting the creation of National Educational Film Centres, the basis was laid for effective international cooperation not only in the field of scientific and educational films but also in the field of recordings and broadcasts.

Then too, the meetings of the representatives of the International Students' Organizations were equally successful in promoting the improvement of national educational services and international understanding. For at these conferences student groups representing many different nations and factions worked together in an endeavour to reconcile the differ-
ences that separated them, and the free exchanges of views that took place as to the real meaning of international student cooperation constituted regular probings of the conscience of each delegate and each organization concerned. The good effects of these discussions were evident in the increasing tolerance of the views put forth by each of the constituent groups.

The I.C.O. also rendered important service to students through its annual publication of Students Abroad and Holiday Courses in Europe. In addition, its enquiry into the organization and operation of "Holiday Courses" filled a long-felt need. And, as a result of the I.C.O.'s activities in this sphere, there undoubtedly was an increasing tendency among the national and international organizations dealing with students' travel facilities and student exchanges to create permanent links between their various affiliated branches and thus to centralize their efforts.

Despite all that the I.C.O. did to promote international student exchanges, the writer nevertheless holds that a great deal more could have been done had the I.C.O. chosen other methods of operation. The I.C.O., for example, should have endeavoured to constitute itself an international clearing house for student and staff exchanges and for the issuing of information relating to such exchanges. It should have made every effort to become an agency capable of administering, if not distributing, grants-in-aid for international educational scholarships, exchanges, and promising educational ventures.
Possibly some of the money spent in compiling the information contained in the publications noted above might have been better spent in the provision of these services. To some extent at least, then, the I.C.O.'s claim that:

It is only lack of the adequate funds which prevents the Paris Institute from developing this service [i.e., the direct promotion of university exchanges] on a very considerable scale . . .

does not entirely justify the I.C.O.'s negligence in this matter. And, in any case, in the opinion of the present writer, a more direct, more certain and quicker method of applying the policy of developing the exchange of ideas and of effecting personal contacts than that of the exchange of professors and students, would have been to bring as many students and teachers as possible together in one international centre. It was through the establishment of such an international centre, above all, that an international outlook could have best been developed at the university level and an international university would clearly have been the best instrument for developing and maintaining such a centre.

Still another important activity of the I.C.O. in the sphere of education was its willingness to proffer expert advice on educational matters if requested to do so by any nation, institution or individual. The I.C.O.'s Educational Mission to China may be cited as the outstanding example of this service. The recommendations of the Mission, in addition to being implemented by the Chinese Government, received

almost unanimous praise from the educators of nearly every country. And, since the recommendations were, in part, concerned with the part that education can play in the enlightenment and practical improvement of the everyday living of great masses of people, they were and are significant and basic, not only for China, but for the entire world.

There is, however, one major criticism of the recommendations made by the Mission which must be mentioned at this point. This criticism relates to the recommendation which stated, in effect, that a group of Chinese educators should visit the various school systems "in Europe." The recommendation neglected to advise the Chinese educators to visit the Western Hemisphere, despite the fact that the majority of the Chinese scholars studying abroad were at that time in the Americas and hence were receiving their major educational influences from those lands. This writer has concluded, as a result of this rather serious error of omission, that the membership of the Mission, like the C.I.C.I.'s membership, lacked adequate American representation and influence and hence was too much influenced by European developments.

Only one further point need be made in respect to the I.C.O.'s Mission to China. Benefitted as she was, China's request for aid implied an admission of inadequacy and imperfection not readily admitted by most national governments or governmental educational administrators. Indeed, it can only be conjectured how many other governments would have risen to the point of international thinking to which China
rose when she requested this advice and assistance. By China's action, however, a precedent was set whereby other governments could make similar requests for international aid in the reorganization of their educational systems. How much China and the world benefitted from this precedent-making request may be seen in part by the fact that China, having learnt the lesson of the value of international educational cooperation, was the first nation to press for the amendment of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and later, the United Nations Charter, in order that provision might be made in them for a United Nations Cultural and Educational Organization.

The I.C.O.'s attempts to promote the organization, synthesis, dissemination, and preservation of knowledge and cultural arts were no less important and no less fruitful than its educational activities. Through its publication of new journals, such as the Museion and the Index Translationum; through the rules which it devised for the drafting of scientific abstracts; through the educational bibliographies which it compiled; through the information published by the Museums' Office and the various Departments of the Paris and Rome Institutes; through the proposals made and implemented by the Library, Archives, Museums, and Architectural Experts; through the standardization of scientific terminology and nomenclature; through the various means taken for the preservation of artistic works and monuments; and, through its efforts to secure the free international exchange of all types of views and information, the I.C.O. appears to have helped
fill imperative contemporary needs for international cooperation in the many branches of the vast field of documentation.

But the I.C.O.'s activities in the field of documentation, successful as they were in general, were not so in every instance, nor were they always deserving of praise. Thus, for example, the Paris Institute's attempt to create an international bibliography not only duplicated a prior and almost identical project of the Union of International Associations but also the efforts of a number of other learned bodies who were far more capable of completing the work than it was. The failure of this venture was paralleled by that of the Institute's yearly publication of the Annual List of Best Books. In this instance the assistance received by the I.I.C.I. from the groups which were to have compiled the lists and the demand for the volume itself were both insufficient to justify the effort required to continue its publication.

As for the initiative taken by the I.C.O. in promoting the disinterested study and discussion of intellectual topics and international problems, its activities in this sphere are the most difficult of all to evaluate since their degree of success or failure is not, as yet, susceptible of measurement. Some observations and criticisms may, nevertheless, be justly made concerning these undertakings.

The International Studies Conference was apparently not nearly as successful or as useful in its early days, when it served solely as a meeting ground for administrators repre-
senting schools of international relations and when it con-
centrated on mere organizational tasks as it was later on,
when it blossomed forth and gained in stature by embarking on
what one might call problems of substance, that is, when it
brought together teachers and scholars in a common search for
facts and conclusions in a particular field. And, by means
of the International Studies Conference, the I.C.O., was even-
tually able to render a double service. On the one hand it
helped, through international coordination, in the advance
of a particular science and on the other, it promoted mutual
understanding by contributing to the enlightenment of the
responsible circles concerned and the public at large. Thus
in the first instance the International Studies Conference
may be cited as a typical example of an important service
rendered by the I.C.O., by the mere creation and support of
cooperative action in the study of a given problem. The
exchanges and contacts initiated at the Conferences con-
siderably increased the facilities at the disposal of all
branches of research in international affairs and, in addi-
tion, extended the system of cooperation in the field to a
number of countries where no institutions or centres engaged
in such studies had previously existed. At the same time
the Conferences themselves led to closer contacts between the
various national institutions and developed the habit of
common action. In the second instance, by appealing to the
representatives of the political and social sciences and by
asking them to study modern conditions by the methods custom-
arily employed by science, the I.C.O., without claiming to exert any influence on those responsible for governmental policies, nevertheless placed at the disposal of the League the results of work which was the fruit of impartial reflection and disinterested study. The writer is therefore in full agreement with the following statement made by Miss E. Ware concerning the International Studies Conference:

In the judgment of those who took part, this organization [the International Studies Conference] has definitely proved its utility in the field of research as a forum for technical international discussion.22

Through the I.C.O.'s institution of its series of "Conversations" and "Correspondence", authors and thinkers of high repute were also drawn into public discussion across national frontiers on the outstanding problems of the day. By means of these series the I.C.O. was able, at the same time, to revive one of the best traditions of the philosophic meetings of the eighteenth century. For it was thus enabled to initiate a search for the necessary conditions for an international spiritual rapprochement and the means of achieving the universal recognition of this spirit. Indeed, all the contributions to the "Conversations" and "Correspondence" bear witness to the interest of the intellectual world, and its best representatives, in a movement directed towards ensuring the recognition of a universal world doctrine and those ethical principles which must constitute the bases of a flourishing world government.

The next and last general project undertaken by the I.C.O., the promotion of the spirit of peace, international understanding and international cooperation, constituted, in the mind of the writer, the Organization's most important work, from the point of view of practical results. And, despite Professor Einstein's claim that the I.C.O. was quite ineffective in combatting militaristic tendencies, the writer holds that with a few exceptions the Organization did almost everything that it could in this sphere of activity, considering the scope of its powers.

Perhaps its most important single achievement in this connection was its enquiry into the attitude of the educational authorities of almost every country on the instruction of their children and youth in international cooperation and in a knowledge of the League and its aims. The reports which were received by the Sub-Committee (later the Advisory Committee) indicated that in almost every country there was some recognition of the need for improvement in both the content and methods of instruction used in this sphere of education. The most striking feature of these reports was the revelation of the unexpected variety of conditions and individual techniques that existed for dealing with what, viewed from the outside, seemed to be a relatively simple common problem. It was conclusively shown that the problems of how to teach the aims of the League of Nations and of international cooperation were being faced, and necessarily needed to be faced, in different ways in different countries,
despite the fact that voices had been raised urging the adoption of a single method, and even a single text-book for the teaching of this subject in the schools of the world. The I.C.O. was thus confronted, in a most practical form, with the problem of reconciling a common international purpose with all that was most intimate and deep-rooted in national temperaments and traditions. If the younger generation was to acquire the habit of peace and to realize that it was growing up in a new era of history, the adjustment that was involved had to be carried through in harmony with its own social environment and within the framework of its own cherished institutions. This task of adjustment, with all its psychological difficulties, was one of great delicacy, more delicate, perhaps, in its own sphere, than the political adjustments which nations were expected to make in accordance with Articles X and XVI of the League Covenant. Certainly the variety of methods suggested by the I.C.O. in this matter were, on the whole, excellent, even though they were ultimately inadequate to meet the total needs of the situation.

It cannot be denied that some tangible results were obtained by the I.C.O. in this sphere of its activities, for in many instances its recommendations were enthusiastically received by numerous states and were subsequently embodied in official circulars to national and provincial educational authorities. In this way there was introduced into the schools of many nations the most modern ideas concerning the interdependence of peoples, the respect due to other nations,
and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. And in
not
this work the I.C.O. was able to count only on the aid of a
strong body of public opinion but also on the support and
cooperation of the National Committees and the great inter-
national federations and associations, with their millions of
members, whose aim was peace through education. Consequently,
in those countries which chose to impart to their children a
spirit of international cooperation and peaceful change, the
I.C.O.'s recommendations were used with tremendous effect.
The willingness of the citizens of the democratic powers to
appease the Axis nations, even to the detriment of the demo-
cratic powers, may, to some extent at least, be attributed to
the sincere, if somewhat misguided, efforts of those who
thought they were putting into practice the educational polici-
23
es recommended by the I.C.O.

Despite the I.C.O.'s efforts to create a deeper inter-
national understanding of international problems and a deeper
feeling of international solidarity, these sentiments and
understandings failed to emerge triumphant when the time of
testing came and, in the end, the I.C.O.'s attempts proved a
dismal failure. But the I.C.O.'s ultimate failure in this
connection was only a part of the more universal failure of a

23. The writer is prepared, at this point, to freely grant
that in its program for creating a world of peaceful change by
means of education on behalf of international cooperation, the
I.C.O. failed to point out with sufficient emphasis that what
the League policy implied was not "pacifism", and not "non-
resistance" to aggression, but rather, "collective security," and
that peace and cooperation "at any price" is neither peace
nor cooperation, but slavery.
first attempt at world government. The work of the I.C.O. was the educational and cultural counterpart of the whole political and economic movement of the post-war (1918-1939) years, which sought, through the auspices of the League, the World Court, and the acceptance of the Kellog Briand Pact, to lay the foundation of an international community. And as such, the I.C.O.'s work had proceeded throughout the world not so much be legislation as by reason and persuasion. Its work, as had already been pointed out, was but a part of the great work of "moral disarmament."

The reasons for the I.C.O.'s eventual failure in its educational campaign were not, therefore, due to its own ineffectiveness but rather, to the whole world situation in which it found itself. Hence some of the reasons for its failure are fairly obvious. Modern warfare necessarily develops strong national loyalties, exalts force and violence, thrusts aside questions of equity and reason. When the hostilities end, the revived nationalistic fervors which they released continue to coast along with a slowly slackening momentum. By the time a more balanced international outlook can be restored in any one spot, the seeds of the next war have already been sown elsewhere. As H. G. Wells so aptly put it - "we are engaged in a race between education and catastrophe." The I.C.O. ran the race against the catastrophe of war and lost.

It must also be pointed out that the task of making the world civilized and intelligent by the extension of education
for internationalism had only just begun. Twenty years is all too short a period in which to change the mind and outlook of any one nation, let alone of the world, or even its younger generation, for provincial attitudes rooted in centuries of tradition cannot be overcome in two decades. Thus while the I.C.O.'s civilizing work proceeded apace, the older habit of war was by no means forgotten. The schools themselves, even in the Western democracies, being closely bound into the fabric of the several nations, were often slow in adjusting themselves to the demands of an interdependent world. For teachers brought up in the tenets of the day-before-yesterday could not be expected to see and understand clearly what most of the world's statesmen failed to see. And no amount of text-book revision will necessarily change traditional practices unless it is accompanied by a change in the spirit of instruction given by the teacher.

To make matters worse, even though the more internationally minded teachers in some countries, and in some instances, the majority of the teachers, were strongly in favour of the whole-hearted teaching of international cooperation and understanding, in some cases the ministries whose servants those teachers were refused to tolerate any departures from the traditional nationalist aims of their educational systems. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere of conflict between the authorities and the teacher, between the cultivation of the ideal of sécurité d'abord as the first principle of national policy and the ideal of international
peace as the aim of education upheld by the teacher, the efforts of the teachers, as public servants of national educational systems, were seriously obstructed. It was partly on this conflict, then, that the I.C.O.'s schemes in the sphere of educational for internationalism were shattered.

Of course, the worst hurdle of all that was placed before the I.C.O. in this field was the steady decline in international security. World events during the last ten years of the I.C.O.'s existence had belied the hopes of even the least optimistic of the League's supporters. And, during this period, the world had gradually come to be divided into two parts: Axis nations, and all other nations. Between these groups there was no longer anything in common, even in the intellectual and spiritual field. To the Nazis, for example, even the exact and natural sciences had a national character; there supposedly was a German system of physics founded on the gift of the Aryan spirit to understand what was moving, living, and changing - as distinguished from the arid speculations of the mathematicians or theoretical physicists, good only for Frenchmen or Jews. Thus while the non-Axis and democratic nations were, for the most part, sincerely trying to inculcate peaceful and cooperative attitudes among their youth, those powers which were dissatisfied with the status quo and were prepared to use violence to upset it, were trying to inculcate as warlike a spirit as possible among their youth. Hence the Axis outlook fostered hostility to everything international, including the I.C.O.'s
federations of students and, indeed, all the I.C.O.'s machin-
yery and activities.

Small wonder, then, that the I.C.O. lost the race against
catastrophe! And, if the writer may be permitted to continue
the analogy, he would like to draw the reader's attention to
the fact that education for internationalism lost its first
race with heavy odds against it. For it was a race in which
its experienced opponent had a long head start. The track
was too rough, the hurdles too high, and the course too short
for internationalism to catch its second wind before the
race was over. Fortunately, however, international cultural
cooperation lost only the first heat of what appears to be a
relay race at least two heats in length. And now the baton
has been handed by the I.C.O. to the United Nations Educa-
tional, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, for whom
catastrophe is not a competitor known by hearsay alone, but
rather, an ever-present and ominous rival, deserving of man-
kind's utmost efforts and attention if it is to be defeated.

We must turn now to a more general appraisal of the
I.C.O.'s projects and activities. But before doing so it
would perhaps be well to remind the reader that the I.C.O.,
being anxious to justify its existence, had plunged into
numerous ambitious projects without too much thought as to
their practicability, or too much enquiry as to the best
methods of carrying them into effect. Many projects were
undertaken for which the adequate funds were lacking and
still others were undertaken of which the I.C.O., as a whole
and its auxiliary organs were hardly the most suitable initiators. Furthermore, as regards some of the I.C.O.'s earlier projects, especially those in which the combined efforts of scholars and savants were needed, there was a tendency for many of the intellectuals concerned to place more faith in their own national and international organizations, for they felt that such organizations were more cognizant of the labour and expenditure required to perform, in an adequate fashion, the tasks upon which the I.C.O. had so lightly embarked. Consequently a number of the I.C.O.'s projects either failed completely or produced such small results that they failed to compensate for the efforts made to complete them.

Considering the prevailing financial and political conditions, the reader may, of course, wonder why or how the I.C.O. had the temerity to continue to assume more and more commitments as regards its functions and activities. The answer of the I.C.O.'s officials would no doubt have been that owing to their intense interest and love for their work, no handicaps were considered too great to be overcome. To some extent, too, it was hoped that a progressive consolidation of results, following the period during which their program was drawn up, would set some energies and finances free and thus help provide the necessary personnel and funds for the further development of still-unexplored aspects of projects already begun or under consideration. Furthermore, it was constantly hoped that many of their projects, in their
natural, development and because of t h e i r Importance., would
arouse s u f f i c i e n t

outside interest as to result i n - s u b s i d i z -

ation- by one or more philanthropic: foundations.

Then too,

there was evidently a strong prevalent b e l i e f among the
0.' s o f f i c i a l s

I.e.

that the best way for i t to find i t s proper

niche in international c u l t u r a l l i f e wis to 'learn by doing,"
to endeavour to secure a progressive and natural improvement
i n the e f f i c i e n c y
range of

of I t s machinery as a result of a $ide

experience.

Bespite i t s

ove,r-anxiety to undertake too much too soon,

and despite a few dismal failures,; the 1,-0,0,., In some f i e l d s ,
found work in which i t could and d i d play an important and
successful r o l e .

Furthermore, i t must be remembered that

none of.the 1 , 0 . 0 , ' s labours can be said to have been u t t e r l y
useless.,, for a l l that it. undertook may t r u l y be s a i d to have
promoted the ends of i n t e l l e c t u a l cooperation.
must also be remembered that there are no

Then too,

it

statistics-with

which the i n t e r - p l a y of thought at the higher l e v e l s can be
measured.,

Nevertheless,

the just contention of the

I.C.O.'s

defenders that a l l that i t undertook promoted the cause of
i n t e l l e c t u a l cooperation does not necessarily absolve
Organization from a l l blame.

the

The point was rather one of

r e l a t i v i t y , that i t s work may not always have been the most
useful and e f f i c i e n t

possible under the

circumstances.

In summary, then, the writer has concluded that the

I.e.

0.,. despite i t s errors of omission and commission, was the
very opposite of what Professor E i n s t e i n claimed when he said
that i t was an even worse embodiment of the p r i n c i p l e


ut aliquid fieri videatur than the League taken as a whole, for to the writer the I.C.O. accomplished much without the appearance of having done so. Its work represented a pioneering adventure into an entirely new and tortuous region of official international activity. Hence its chief preoccupation lay in the exploration of the ground and in the gradual discovery of the special methods needed for dealing with it, rather than in any striking positive achievements. Then too, cultural cooperation, like all forms of intellectual labour, is a cumulative thing, the sum of small results methodically obtained and perseveringly applied. The steeper the mountain to be climbed, the slower should be the pace and the greater the necessity that each step upwards be placed on solid rock.

If we persist, nevertheless, in demanding that the I.C.O. be judged by its visible deeds, then it must be admitted that here too a work of great importance was begun which could hardly have been undertaken by any other existing international organization, with the possible exception of the Union of International Associations, had it been well supported. Despite its weaknesses and limitations, the I.C.O. could claim that it had created a great network of machinery for cultural cooperation and placed it at the service of the League and international understanding and peace. It could justly claim, too, that as a result of this network, international cooperation had been made a reality in many branches of the intellectual, scientific, and educational world; that this machinery was gradually creating the habit of concerted action for the solution of a great number of problems that
were and are of vital importance to all nations and all thinking individuals; and that, from its inception in 1922 until its demise in 1940, the scope of its influence was constantly increasing. In a phrase, the I.C.O. had initiated what was undeniably a large and beneficial scheme of international "public works" in the field of education, science, and culture in general. And, therefore, while its work was not sufficiently extended, developed or supported to provide a broad and popular base of cooperation between all the cultural elements of all nations, the efforts of the I.C.O. made a very important contribution to cultural interchange and provided valuable experience and guidance for shaping the plans for its successor.

The pioneer work that was done by the I.C.O. in the period between the Wars does not need to be re-done. The world can and should make use of the I.C.O.'s experience, its valuable contacts, the facilities which it built up with such care, and the research work which it undertook. Indeed, since it is unlikely that national and cultural differences, small as they are in many instances, will disappear in the academic, artistic, scientific, and educational fields in the near future, such arrangements as were evolved by the I.C.O. will have to be put into effect again, if there is to be a civitas academica in the world.

What, then, are the implications of the foregoing treatment of the I.C.O.'s experience for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization of the future? The lessons which may be drawn from that extensive experiment
are, to the mind of the writer, both numerous and important. To begin with, considering the I.C.O.'s limited but nevertheless definite success, the new Organization, if properly constituted, should present every likelihood of success. It would seem, too, that if a dynamic and universally respected United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is to be set up, and if it is to become the tremendous force for human progress and peace that is hoped for it, then all the dogged determination of its friends throughout the world, and all their ability to combine realism with vision, will be required in order to conquer the prejudice and suspicion, and above all, the inertia, that have so far been, and still are, at the time of writing, the worst obstacles in the way of its establishment.

As to the objects and functions of any projected international cultural Organization, here, too, the I.C.O.'s experience offers definite guidance. The new Organization should have its aims and duties clearly defined from the outset. While it is impossible to be too precise or specific as to what these functions should be, they should nevertheless encompass as broad a field as possible from the very beginning, in order that no constitutional barriers may later be placed in the path of the Organization's activities. At the same time, it would probably be advisable to restrict the initial activities of the Organization to those which showed every indication of giving visible and positive results within a few years time, for it would be easy to overload it with
an over-ambitious initial program and thus hamper its functioning. Accordingly, a preliminary period of muscular
growth and exercise should be permitted the Organization
before it is required to assume its full load of duties.

The general intent of the above functions should be
embodied in a suitable charter, which should also include a
positive indication that the new Organization will be em-
powered to deal with all the cultural aspects of internation-
al life. The initial error made by the I.C.O. in dealing with
education almost entirely from the standpoint of the univer-
sities and the upper reaches of science and the arts should
be avoided. The purpose of the new Organization should be
the advancement of human welfare through education and cul-
tural exchanges in all countries and at all intellectual
levels. And, with this purpose in view, it should furnish
the social machinery for the cooperation of all nations in
the study of cultural and educational problems of common con-
cern.

While the new Organization should not base its whole
program on the cooperation of savants and academicians, it is
evident, nevertheless, that there cannot be organized cultural
cooperation without the conscious participation of the intel-
lectuals, scientists and educators of the world. These indivi-
duals must be led to perceive that the Organization's work
should be done by them and for them, in their own interests
or for the common good, and with their full participation.
Hence the road of wisdom to be followed by the new Organiza-
tion, and its subsidiary organs if any, would be to win the interest of the teachers, scientists, artists and savants of all nations and to resist or evade the control of politicians, to do good work and to eschew display. Much in the manner of the I.C.O., then, the new Organization must be a genuinely cooperative enterprise which can and will draw together the leaders of thought of every nation, not for the purpose of securing a single uniform system of education or a single cultural pattern throughout the world, but rather, for the purpose of securing a readiness, on the part of all, to learn from the experience of each and then for each to follow its own pathway in the light of the wider knowledge of where other peoples find their intellectual satisfactions.

With such an institution in being, some of the recommendations and proposals which were considered too premature, too ambitious, or not sufficiently urgent to be undertaken by the I.C.O. could be carefully reconsidered and perhaps realized.

As regards the new Organization's more specific functions, it should, in general, endeavour to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace by promoting, and wherever and whenever possible, by implementing the democratic ideal of equality of educational opportunities for all, regardless of race, color, creed, sex or class. Accordingly, it should, eventually, engage in cooperative and comparative studies of the curricula of all types and levels of education in all countries. It should then proceed to define and set entative standards of education at the various levels of education,
in order that the various nations, in developing their respective school systems, might know the consensus of opinion as to how they might gauge their success or failure, how many years children and adults can and should be freely and profitably enabled to improve themselves by formal education, etc. In this connection the new Organization should publish data on tests and measurements, texts, building plans, teaching materials, and audio-visual aids. By means of such standards and aids the more backward countries (educationally) could be stimulated to overtake the more advanced, and the more advanced areas could be encouraged to make even more progress, to extend educational opportunities even more widely, and to eliminate illiteracy.

In addition, the new Organization should be empowered and prepared, on the request of any government, to give expert advice and leadership and to cooperate with that government in the revision of its educational system or program of education. Certainly the experience of the I.G.O.'s Educational Mission to China should not be ignored in this connection.

While the new Organization should be prepared to render the educational services outlined above, it must, at the same time, if it is to achieve its objective, accept the principle of its non-interference, except on request or in the case of a threat to the peace of the world, in the organization, administration or methods of instruction of any system of schools, whether operated by states, churches or individuals. Education is still too intimately a national or provincial
concern and too deeply rooted in national culture to be subjected to external regulation by an international agency. Indeed, freedom from such interference appears to be close to the hearts of all peoples and is believed to be the father of all intellectual and religious freedom.

Despite its strict adherence to the principle of normal non-interference in the internal affairs of any nation, the Organization must nevertheless carry out its duties in helping to maintain peace by promoting international understanding and goodwill. Accordingly, on the negative side of its activities, it must, whenever necessary, do its utmost to enforce a cessation of psychological and educational warfare. In order to safeguard education from being used as an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people of any nation, the Organization should identify and secure the elimination of those educational practices, and, more specifically, those teaching materials, which foster aggression, intolerance, prejudice, and theories of race superiority, and which thereby threaten peaceful relations among the nations of the world.

The new Organization's more positive functions as regards international understanding should, in general, lie in the formulation of a concept of the United Nations in educational ideology. Accordingly, it should study and propose means by which programs of education can contribute to the widespread understanding of the meaning and nature, the needs and tasks, of world peace, of the interdependence of nations, and of peaceful change. In its recommendations to member states in
In this connection the Organization should heed the lesson of the I.C.O.'s experience. It must carefully distinguish between attempts to achieve world peace by "pacifism" and a world peace policy based on "collective security." So long as the United Nations is made up of the representatives of states which maintain national armies, the educational and cultural arm of that Organization must deal with national states which have been and still are prepared to use force in international affairs. Hence the new Educational and Cultural Organization must not defend or promote a belief in "pacifism" or the status quo but must, instead, achieve the widespread inculcation of the idea of "collective security" and "peaceful change," and the development of mutual understanding and respect.

In order that an intellectual atmosphere founded upon the realization that cultural interdependence transcends national boundaries may be developed within every nation, the schools of all countries should be requested and given every inducement to inculcate the appropriate attitudes among their respective students, to demonstrate that there are cohesive as well as divisive elements in world-society. In addition, the international organization should examine school curricula with a view to determining how the development of world citizenship may be allowed to permeate the teaching of all subjects. It could then proceed to develop teaching materials that would be useful in all countries in the study of problems of common concern and courses of
instruction dealing with the history, psychology and problems of all peoples and of world organization. In so doing, however, the Organization will find it of the utmost importance to arrive at its recommended procedures through conferences of national and provincial educators and to secure prior agreements on the outlines of courses of study and textbooks. Insofar as possible, these model courses of study and textbooks should be sufficiently broad in scope as to permit of their having their roots in the cultural environments which they are to serve. Ultimately, the reconstruction of education for international ends must begin in the educational system of each nation; success cannot be achieved solely through the plans of any international agency, no matter how well laid.

While paying all due respect to national sensibilities, it is nevertheless imperative, in a world so interdependent for its security and welfare, that the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization eventually embark upon a search for a functional and a universal moral unity in the midst of cultural diversity.

Besides undertaking specific functions in the purely educational field the new Organization should observe, gather, coordinate, synthesize and then disseminate accurate information on culture, science and education. It should, for example, promote the free international exchange of ideas in these fields through the schools, the press, the radio, publications and international conferences. Together with
the Public Relations Section of the United Nations Secretariat, it should compile, edit, publish and distribute books, pamphlets, documents, synthetic and encyclopedic works and periodicals, in many different languages. This work would ensure the dissemination of accurate information concerning the United Nations' activities as well as all cultural relations questions, such as the records of progress of the various states as regards the aims set up by the Organization, reports of results of enquiries, and statements of international educational and cultural goals. Certainly the dissemination of such information would help to make the world more conscious of both the destructive elements which threaten its stability and the constructive elements which help create international understanding.

Then too, the new Organization should provide a translation service for old and new educational, scientific and artistic works for use in all countries. In addition, it might eventually aid the United Nations in selecting an international language and encourage the teaching of it whenever feasible in all school systems. The international language could also be employed by the Organization in certain reading materials, radio programs and motion pictures. Besides these programs for the dissemination of knowledge the Organization should adopt the I.C.O.'s policy of carrying on investigations on the terminology, classification, organization and methods used in science, education and the arts. And, in order to do so, it should make every effort to coordinate the activities
of such sources of information as libraries, archives, museums, reference and bibliographical centres, statistical bureaux, standards offices and translating centres.

The new Organization should, furthermore, be considerably more active than the I.C.O. in providing for a substantial increase in the international exchange of students, teachers, professors, scientists, men of letters and men with artistic talents. The Organization should, in addition, secure reduced travel rates for international youth movements, youth camps and summer camps. It should, moreover, copy and improve the I.C.O.'s endeavours to develop and use such methods as international correspondence among students in order to promote world citizenship.

The Organization could also recommend and supervise the distribution of funds to repair devastated school systems and universities and stimulate the organization of new ones. If granted the necessary funds, it might also undertake the provision of financial assistance to educationally backward countries.

To round out its functions as regards educational and informational matters, the new Organization should eventually found and endow one or more international universities. It would not be necessary for these institutions to be full universities, with all the special schools requiring complete laboratory facilities and equipment. The social sciences including international relations and the study of comparative cultures should, of course, receive the first and most serious
attention. The International University, or universities, could then train the personnel required for international administrative posts. It could also train educational leaders in the techniques and content of the teaching of world citizenship.

In the field of intellectual rights the new Organization should also be permitted to perform similar functions to those undertaken by the I.C.O. Accordingly, it should promote academic freedom and safeguard the financial status of intellectual workers of every type in all countries through such means as the elevation of licensing standards to a professional level and the establishment of security of tenure and retirement provisions in their terms of employment. In addition, it should engage in comparative studies in the question of the international recognition of certain academic degrees and university courses.

So much, then, for the requisite functions of the new Organization. We must turn next to a delineation of its proper relationship with the United Nations organization.

If the lesson of the I.C.O.'s experience is to be taken into consideration, then the following general relationships should pertain between the whole United Nations organization and its cultural relations auxiliary. In general they should be of a most tenuous nature— even more so than the relationship of the I.C.O. to the League of Nations. Certainly, in the interest of freedom from political control or interference, the United Nations Assembly, Security Council or Social
and Economic Council should have no administrative powers over the cultural Organization. And the latter body should operate under the aegis of only one branch of the United Nations structure, namely, the Social and Economic Council, instead of being responsible to two bodies, as the I.C.O. was. Then too, the new Organization should, on the whole, be a much stronger agency within the United Nations organization than was the I.C.O. within the League. It should, for example, be empowered to provide the United Nations organization and other international bodies with expert advice with respect to educational, scientific, and indeed all cultural matters.

Miracles, however, cannot be performed in the domain of cultural relations any more than elsewhere and hence the new cultural Organization must be much more adequately financed than the I.C.O. was, if it is to function effectively in relation to its terms of reference. In a similar manner to that contemplated under the International Act Concerning Intellectual Cooperation, whereby the various states were to subsidize the Paris Institute, the new United Nations organization should be financed by the states members of the United Nations, with each contributing an amount proportionate to its financial and economic resources. Perhaps the best index of their financial responsibility would be that adopted by the United Nations Assembly, or, if this was not acceptable, the contribution could comprise a fixed proportion of the national budget of each member nation, similar to the
method adopted in the financing of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. And, since the appropriations should come directly from the treasuries of the member countries, the new Organization should be permitted to communicate directly with any government or governmental department.

As to the new Organization's structure, two basic principles should be embodied in whatever plans are adopted in this connection. The Organization should be both flexible and decentralized. The need for flexibility of organization was undoubtedly one of the important lessons learned by the I.C.O.'s authorities and if this lesson is to be fully applied to the new Organization, then it will adopt a program of continuous evaluation and gradual reform, as opposed to the I.C.O.'s more drastic evaluations and changes after long periods of observation. Furthermore, since cultural matters are so intimately associated with the rights of small groups and individuals, provision should be made for the greatest degree of autonomy possible for each of the Organization's working parts. Thus while the headquarters of the Organization should preferably be located at the headquarters of the United Nations, branch offices should be set up to serve particular regions or individual countries if the resources and program of the Organization make such action desirable and possible. In addition, regional Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations should be permitted, by the central Organization, to come into being in countries
forming a geographical unit or area and having a desire to solve their cultural problems collectively. The conclusions and recommendations of the regional bodies could then be sent back to the member nations for national action or else forwarded to the central body for international action.

The experiences of the I.C.O. and the League as a whole should also be useful in the planning of the composition and duties of the legislative and major deliberative body of the international cultural Organization. This body should take the form of a General Assembly or Conference comprising the delegates of various governments, national educational, scientific, and cultural committees, and the representatives of officially recognized voluntary international cultural organizations. The total number of delegates at the General Assemblies ought not to be so great that they could not all meet together as a deliberative body. Experience at international gatherings has shown that even with the most modern translating and secretarial devices, a total of five hundred is the limit for all practical purposes. Thus if the number of nations to be represented at the Assemblies approximates that holding membership in the United Nations, it would probably be necessary to set a limit of ten delegates for each member state. Probably the ideal form of representation at the General Assembly, a form which would be contrary to the principle of the sovereign equality of states, would be to permit a minimum representation for each state of three and a maximum of eight, with a normal representation of one representa-
tive for each ten million literate persons in the population.

As regards the length and frequency of the Assembly's sessions, here too the I.C.O.'s experience offers valuable guidance. The Assembly should meet at least once annually, for a period from two to four weeks, and provision should be made for additional emergency sessions and extensions of the regular sessions.

The agenda of the Assembly should include both discussions on cultural, scientific, and educational issues of international importance, on the annual reports of the various National Committees, on reports of various surveys and investigations, and a consideration of the various measures to be taken by the Organization itself to serve education, science and culture generally throughout the world, together with suggested recommendations to member nations for the improvement of their respective cultural programs. In addition, the delegations of each country should be permitted to present briefs to the Assembly on behalf of their respective National Committees or governments.

The method of voting at the General Assembly should be similar to that adopted at all I.C.O. and I.L.O. meetings - each delegate should vote separately.

The new Organization should have an Executive Body or Board elected from and by the General Assembly, just as the I.C.O. had an Executive Committee for the C.I.C.I. and Governing Bodies for its Institutes. The members of the Executive Board should be elected on the basis of their ability as
administrators rather than according to any scheme of national representation and the Board should meet at least three or four times a year.

It should be the duty of the Board to determine all questions of policy arising between sessions of the Assembly, to prepare general programs acceptable to all or nearly all of its members, and to fix the agenda of the Assemblies. In addition, the Board should supervise the work of the Organization, control its budget and expenditures, appoint the Secretary-General or Director, and, on his advice, appoint the staff of the Organization's Secretariat.

The Secretary-General should have functions closely resembling those of the Director of the I.C.0.'s Paris Institute. He should be responsible for the carrying out of the program of work of the different sections and branches of the Organization, for the issuing of general and branch reports, and for the Organization's publications.

As for the remainder of the Organization's staff, like that of the I.C.0., it should be closely associated with the Secretariat of the general international Organization, that is, the United Nations Secretariat, and should enjoy the same privileges as that body as regards diplomatic rights and tenure of office. And, in the manner of the I.C.0.'s staff, the Secretariat of the new cultural Organization should be responsible to the Secretary-General and the Assembly and not to any nation.

The members of the Secretariat should be selected solely
on the basis of their competence and objectivity. Their number should not be permitted to grow too large as a result of political and diplomatic pressure, as was the case at the Paris Institute before its reorganization.

The Offices and Sections of the Organization's headquarters should direct their first attention to the establishment of a hierarchy or priority of activities. Every subject proposed for study and action should be subjected to a preliminary enquiry to discover whether any other institution is engaged in studying it or is well-fitted to undertake it, whether it will repay study and action, and how the necessary experts are to be assembled. The projects then agreed upon should be undertaken by bodies similar to the I.C.O.'s regular instruments of study, that is, Committees of Experts summoned ad hoc to pursue the particular study in question. These Expert Committees should meet at the headquarters of the Organization, or elsewhere if necessary, and should be provided with the necessary funds and secretarial help. A few of these Expert Committees might be more permanent in character and could thus provide a continuing survey and advisory service for the Assembly. For example, the Organization should set up commissions to stimulate bi-lateral and multi-lateral cultural agreements.

International conventions concerning cultural matters could thus be prepared by the Secretariat of the Organization, examined by the Executive Board, voted by the General Assembly and then submitted to member governments for ratification.
The writer's final recommendations concerning the Organization's structure relate to the National Committees on Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation. As in the case of the I.C.O., such Committees should be established in each country belonging to the new Organization. The National Committees should be democratically elected and should, as far as possible, represent the various national cultural interests in each state, that is, they should include representation from:

1. The universities and research institutes.
2. The state school system.
3. The teaching profession.
4. The academic associations.
5. The librarians and archivists.
6. The parent and parent-teacher organizations.
7. Student organizations.
8. Health and social welfare organizations.
9. The chief religious organizations.
10. The artistic organizations.
11. The labour organizations.
12. Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, etc.
13. Service clubs.
15. The press, radio and motion picture interests.

As to the functions of the National Committees, they should exercise leadership in their own countries in securing appropriate recognition for, and working out applications and adjustments of, the educational materials and recommendations proposed by the international cultural Organization. In addition, they should choose the delegates who are to represent them at the General Assemblies of that Organization. And finally, they should be deliberative bodies whose duties would include the consideration of ways and means of pooling the nation's intellectual resources, the defining of the
problems of research and investigation which transcend the specialist fields, and the promotion of interrelations between them.

The National Committees should, as far as possible, be free of governmental and political influence but should be prepared to act as advisory bodies to their respective governments and to consult freely with the governmental departments concerned with cultural matters.

The foregoing recommendations relating to the functions and machinery of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization constitute, in summary fashion, the writer's applications of the lessons drawn from the twenty years' experience of the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organization. The extent to which these lessons and their applications have been heeded by the founders of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization may be determined by the reader by comparing and contrasting them with the Charter of the latter Organization.

24 See Appendix LIX, vol. , pp. , of this study for the Charter of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
Appendix I

The Principles of the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation

FIRST PRINCIPLE: Our Organization has been established to serve intellectual life.

That is the principle from which we started. When, on August 1st, 1922, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation embarked upon its task, what the Council asked it to do was not to carry out propaganda in intellectual circles on behalf of the League of Nations, but to bring to those circles the League's help and support. The world was emerging from the war, and relations and exchanges, which had been so long and so violently interrupted, had to be renewed. The Council therefore asked us to study three questions - the renewal of exchanges between universities; the renewal of exchanges between libraries, and the international organization of scientific documentation; and, finally, the renewal and organization of scientific congresses. Anything that we have added to the original program - such as assistance to countries where intellectual life was specially endangered, and the whole question of intellectual rights - only represents a wider application of the same principles. To serve intellectual life is to show it the utility and efficiency of the League of Nations. Such indirect propaganda is, indeed, more convincing than the direct method, because its arguments are its achievements themselves.

True we have not disregarded the direct method; none the less, experience and the force of circumstances have turned us back to the indirect method.

(Two examples of the direct method used by the Committee were: the work of the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Cooperation and, the work toward the revision of school textbooks.)

SECOND PRINCIPLE: Establishment of our Organization on solid national bases.

Mental life does not immediately assume a universal character. Universality is only the result of selection. Actually, the primary characteristic of mental life is national. Its roots, like a tree's are in the soil. Such a comparison shows us that our
Organization would have remained an artificial one if, for the sake of some theoretical unity, it had tried to exist entirely cut off from the national roots of intellectual life.

The history of the National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation illustrates our second principle. It is not we who promoted them; they were created spontaneously from the end of 1922 onwards, to inform us of the most urgent requirements of intellectual life in war-ruined countries, at the time when so many cultural centers were threatened with extinction. But ever since 1923, and in all cases spontaneously, these Committees have manifested a desire to be associated with our work. In the end, and still without intervention on our part, they placed themselves at the basis of our Organization.

THIRD PRINCIPLE: To respect the diversity and originality of all forms of culture and all aspects of civilization.

Once again, we must not look for abstract theoretical unity, nor even what we might call a common denominator. It is not by purely artificial and brain-devised methods that this diversity can gradually be harmonized and a general civilization constructed from it. That can be achieved only by the extremely slow process of life, helped forward by its great collaborator, which is not organization, but creation; not the anonymous system, but personal genius. In this domain, let us repeat, our Organization can only act as a useful intermediary.

To this end, we must be brought to realize first of all that our Organization must keep in touch with all forms of culture; secondly, that these forms are of unequal value and are not interchangeable. And for that purpose we must endeavor to seek not primarily the like, but the unlike, so as gradually to be able to make nations and peoples understand, love and respect each other for their very differences.

FOURTH PRINCIPLE: The supreme aim - Universality.

Universality is something higher than internationality. By comparison with universality, internationality - or, if the term is preferred, internationalism - is merely a means to an end, and this end itself is universality. Internationalism means, etymologically, relations and exchanges between nations; universality means
a superior mental quality, a supreme form of culture. It is this culture and this spirit which must inspire the elite that has devoted itself to the service of intellectual cooperation and made that its life's work. The Organization for Intellectual Cooperation is international. The work of international cooperation demands universality.

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Appendix II

A Comparison of Questionnaires on Comparative Education: Marc-Antoine Jullien (1817) and the International Bureau of Education (1925-1944)

Some of the Questions put by Jullien in 1817.¹

Superior Councils of Education or Public Instruction.

Public servants and ministers of religion entrusted with the Inspection of Institutions and Methods of Education.

Is schooling free or not? Are parents invited, or compelled by law or by communal regulations, to send their children to school?

Some of the Enquiries carried out by the I.B.E. between 1933 and 1942.

Councils of Public Instruction (1935).

The Inspection of Education (1937).

Compulsory Education and the Raising of the School-leaving Age (1934).


Jullien's questionnaires occupy, in his Outline, 34 pages out of a total of 56. It is, of course, difficult to keep a sense of proportion when drawing up a set of questions and the temptation is strong to make it exhaustive. Jullien did not avoid this pitfall; his questionnaires err by being too complete - for example, his Series A concerning elementary schools comprises 120 questions. How far removed from the ideal of Dr. Abel, Chief of the Research Division of the U.S. Office of Education, who once said he considered that the best form of questionnaire would be one that could be printed on a postcard! The questions cited here are examples taken from Jullien's six great divisions: A. Elementary and General Education; B. Secondary and Classical Education; C. Higher and Scientific Education; D. Normal Schools; E. Education of Women; F. Education in its Relations with Legislation and Social Institutions. Each of these is sub-divided into nine sections.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some of the Questions put by Jullien in 1817.</th>
<th>Some of the Enquiries carried out by the I.B.E. between 1933 and 1942.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What measures are taken to form good elementary school teachers? What are the conditions of age, nationality, religion, morality and capability required? How and by what authority, corporation or individuals are teachers appointed?</td>
<td>The Formation of Elementary School Teachers (1935).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the length of subject-periods and of the school day? What is the duration of the school year? Time and duration of holidays.</td>
<td>Distribution of Work and Holidays in Schools (1933).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences between elementary schools in towns and in the country.</td>
<td>The Organisation of Rural Education (1936).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have children to sit an examination for entrance into secondary schools? If so, what knowledge is required of them?</td>
<td>Admission to the Secondary School (1934).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What subjects are taught in the lower forms of secondary schools? What level is reached in the upper forms, as regards ancient and modern languages, drawing, geography, history, physics, different branches of natural history?</td>
<td>The Teaching of Modern Languages (1937). The Teaching of Classical Languages (1938). The Teaching of Geography in the Secondary School (1939).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the text-books used by teachers and pupils?</td>
<td>The Elaboration, Use and Selection of Text-books (1938).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the Questions put by Jullien in 1817.</td>
<td>Some of the Enquiries carried out by the I.B.E. between 1933 and 1942.</td>
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<td>What are the exercises such as swimming, riding, dancing, fencing, etc., included in the education of youth? Military training in secondary schools. Books on gymnastics. Use of the dynamometer.</td>
<td>Physical Training in Secondary Schools (1942).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Rossello, op. cit., p. 18
This Appendix indicates how closely the International Bureau of Education followed Marc-Antoine Jullien's program of research, without having heard of it.
Appendix III

Statutes of the International Association of Académies
(Adopted at Wiesbaden in 1899, revised and amended at Paris in 1901 and at London in 1904)

Section 1

1. Les Académies et Sociétés savantes représentées à Wiesbaden ont décidé de fonder une union internationale des principaux corps savants du monde entier qui prendra le nom suivant: Association Internationale des Académies.

2. Les membres de cette Association sont les Académies suivantes (par l'ordre alphabétique):

   I. L'Académie royale des Sciences de Prusse, à Berlin.
   II La Société royale des Sciences à Goettingue.
   III La Société royale des Sciences de Saxe, à Leipzig.
   IV La Société royale à Londres.
   V L'Académie royale des Sciences de Bavière, à Munich.
   VI L'Académie des Sciences de l'Institut de France, à Paris.
   VII L'Académie royale des Lincei, à Rome.
   VIII L'Académie impériale des Sciences, à Saint-Petersbourg.
   IX L'Académie impériale des Sciences, à Vienne.
   X L'Académie nationale des Sciences, à Washington.

3. Seront invitées à en faire partie les Académies suivantes (par l'ordre alphabétique):

   I L'Académie royale des Sciences, à Amsterdam;
   II L'Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique à Bruxelles;
   III L'Académie hongroise des Sciences à Budapest;
   IV La Société des Sciences à Christiania;
   V La Société royale des Sciences à Copenhague;
   VI L'Académie royale de l'Histoire à Madrid;
   VII L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, à Paris;
   VIII L'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques de l'Institut de France, à Paris;
   IX L'Académie royale suédoise des Sciences à Stockholm.

4. L'adhésion de chacune de ces Académies résultera d'une déclaration envoyée à l'Académie de Berlin avant le ler mai 1900.

Section 2

1. L'admission d'une nouvelle Académie ne pourra se faire
qu'à une majorité des deux tiers des Académies associées.

2. Elle ne pourra être proposée que par l'une des Académies associées.

3. Chaque Académie peut, en tout temps, se retirer en faisant une déclaration, soit au Comité (Section 9), soit à l'Assemblée générale (Section 5).

Section 3

1. L'Association a pour but de préparer ou de promouvoir des travaux scientifiques d'intérêt général qui seront proposés par une des Académies associées et, d'une manière générale, de faciliter les rapports scientifiques entre les différents pays.

2. Chaque Académie se réserve, dans chaque cas particulier, le droit de prêter ou de refuser son concours, ainsi que le choix des voies à prendre et des moyens à employer.

Section 4

Les organes de l'Association sont:

a. L'Assemblée générale;

b. Le Comité.

Section 5

1. À l'Assemblée générale, chaque Académie envoie autant de délégués qu'elle le juge convenable.

2. L'Assemblée générale comprend deux Sections: la Section des Sciences et la Section des Lettres.

3. Chaque Académie peut, suivant sa composition, envoyer des délégués à l'une des Sections seulement, ou aux deux.

4. Dans les Assemblées générales, il y a des séances plénières et des séances de Sections.

5. Dans les séances de Sections, comme dans les séances générales, chaque Académie ne dépose que d'un vote, qui doit être émis par le membre de sa délégation qu'elle aura désigné.

6. Les décisions prises par une des Sections devront être simplement communiquées en assemblée plénière; elles n'ont besoin de confirmation que dans le cas où les intérêts des deux Sections sont engagés. Dans les cas d'urgence, le Comité peut provoquer par voie de correspondance la décision des Académies associées.
Section 6

1. L'Assemblée générale se tient tous les trois ans.

2. Sur la proposition du Comité ou d'une des Académies associées, sa réunion pourra être avancée ou retardée, si cette proposition est approuvée à la majorité des votes émis par les Académies.

3. Des réunions extraordinaires d'une seule Section peuvent, avec l'assentiment de la moitié au moins, des Académies représentées auprès de cette Section, être ordonnées par le Comité.

Section 7

La convocation d'une réunion est faite par le Président du Comité.

Section 8

Le lieu des réunions est fixé chaque fois, pour la réunion suivante, par l'Assemblée générale.

Section 9

1. Dans l'intervalle entre deux Assemblées générales l'Association est représentée par le Comité; chaque Académie y délègue un ou deux de ses membres, suivant qu'elle prend part à l'une des Sections ou aux deux.

2. Dans les réunions générales du Comité, les deux délégués d'une même Académie ne disposent que d'une voix.

3. Le Comité a un Président et un Vice-Président, qui doivent appartenir à des Sections différentes.


5. Le Vice-Président, qui devra appartenir à l'autre section, sera nommé de la même manière. Toute fois dans le cas où l'Académie directrice ne se composerait que d'une section, l'Association confierait la nomination du Vice-Président à une autre Académie.

6. Le Comité accomplit sa tâche, suivant les cas, soit dans des réunions, soit par de correspondance, et élu, dans son plenum ou dans chacune de ses Sections.

7. D'ailleurs, il fait lui-même son règlement.

9. L'Académie directrice est celle du lieu dans lequel doit
se tenir la plus prochaine réunion générale.

10. Le changement d'Académie directrice s'effectue cependant,
non pas exactement à la fin d'une Assemblée générale, mais
à la fin de l'année civile dans laquelle s'est tenue cette
Assemblée.

11. Les pouvoirs du Comité expirent et doivent entre re-
nouvelés au moment de ce changement.

Section 10

Pour la prise en considération l'étude ou la préparation
d'entreprises et des recherches scientifiques d'intérêt in-
ternational, des Commissions internationales spéciales peuvent,
sur la proposition d'une ou de plusieurs des Académies asso-
ciées, être instituées, soit par l'Assemblée générale ou
l'une de ses deux Sections; soit, dans l'intervalle entre
deux Assemblées générales, par le Comité ou l'une de ses
deux Sections.

Règlement. - 1. Ces Commissions spéciales seront com-
posées de savants que les Académies pourront choisir, même
en dehors d'elles, à raison de leur compétence relativement
aux questions à discuter.

2. La date de la première réunion de ces Commissions
sera fixée par le Président de l'Association ou par le Prés-
ident du Comité; et, dans cette première réunion, la Com-
mission fera elle-même son règlement.

3. Chaque Commission spéciale fera un rapport, conten-
ant telle ou telle recommandation qu'elle jugera utile, au
Président du Comité, qui le transmettra aux Académies con-
stituantes.

4. Le Président du Comité aura toutefois la faculté,
s'il le juge convenable, de soumettre le rapport au Comité
lui-même, avant de le transmettre aux Académies constituantes,
et le Comité pourra renvoyer le rapport, pour plus ample
informé, à la Commission qui l'aura présenté.

Section 11

1. L'assentiment des deux tiers des Académies associées est
nécessaire pour toute modification ou toute extension des
statuts.

1. This regulation was added in an amendment made at
Paris in 1901.
2. Toute proposition relative à la modification ou à l'extension des statuts doit être présentée par le cinquième au moins des Académies associées. Elle doit être transmise par écrit au Comité et contenir le libelle des décisions proposées.

3. Le Comité communique aussitôt que possible la proposition aux Académies associées. Entre cette communication et le vote sur la proposition, il doit s'écouler un intervalle d'au moins six mois.

4. Ce vote doit avoir lieu, soit en séance plénière de L'Assemblée générale, soit par une déclaration envoyée au Comité.

Règlement Financier
(Adopted by the General Assembly at its Session of April 16, 1901)

1. Chaque Académie aura à pouvoir aux frais de voyages de ses délégués.

2. Les mêmes frais d'écriture et de correspondance seront supportées par l'Académie directrice.

3. Chacune des Académies associées aura à pouvoir à l'impression des projets et des rapports qu'elle soumettra au Comité. Elle devra faire tirer ces communications à 300 exemplaires au moins, en envoyer, 10 exemplaires à chaque Académie associée et 100 à l'Académie directrice.

4. Les mêmes règles de distribution seront suivies en ce qui concerne les impressions et les traductions ordonnées directement par le Comité. Pour ces dépenses et toutes autres dépenses d'administration, les Académies verseront au Comité une somme annuelle dont le maximum sera de 200 francs et qui sera fixée au commencement de chaque période de trois ans par le Comité. Il sera rendu compte à l'Assemblée générale de l'emploi des sommes qui auront été ainsi versées.

Amendments brought forward by the Constitutional Committee in 1909

I

Dans ce but, le Comité nommera une Commission de trois membres, chargée d'examiner les comptes et de faire un rapport à l'Assemblée générale.

II

1. L'association des Académies se déclare disposée à accepter des dons et legs qui lui sont faits pour des objets rentrant
dans le circle de ses études et de ses travaux. Pour prévenir toute difficulté, il sera nécessaire que les dons et legs soient faits à une des Académies associées dans les formes juridiques qui sont prescrites dans le pays où elle siège, avec l'obligation, pour cette Académie, d'appliquer les ressources ainsi mises à sa disposition conformément aux décisions de l'Association, fixant le mode d'exécution des travaux.

2. Des dans sans condition, (c'est-à-dire des dans manuels), pourront être versés à la caisse de l'Association des Académies, tenue par l'Académie directrice.2

A BILL

To create an International Board of Education and a fund for international or world education.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

January 24, 1914.

Mr. Gillett (by request) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To create an International Board of Education and a fund for international or world education.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That an annual fund is hereby created, as below described, and equal in amount to one per centum of the appropriation of the United States for Army and Navy for nineteen hundred and fourteen, to be devoted to the following object, namely, international education or the education of the world.

SEC. 2. That said education shall be conducted by an international board of education, to consist of the chief educational officer of each nation cooperating and one other person appointed by the national legislative body as congress, parliament, reichstag, corps legislatif, douma,
or by whatever other name denominated.

SEC. 3. That said education shall proceed along the lines of the removal of illiteracy, industrial training, the applications of science and mechanics, instruction in civic duty, and such other lines tending to the improvement of society as the international board of education may determine, and as may accord with the needs of each nation, and each nation shall have veto power in its own territory.

SEC. 4. That in determining policy the vote of each cooperating nation, through its representatives, shall be equal to its rank in population and its rank in contribution to the fund, divided by two. The population rank shall be a multiple or decimal part of the population unit, namely, 10,000,000. The contribution rank shall be a multiple or decimal part of the contribution unit, namely, $100,000. Each nation, as above stated, shall have veto power in its own territory.

SEC. 5. That annual reports and plans of operation shall be submitted to the national legislative assembly of each cooperating nation.

SEC. 6. That the United States of America hereby appropriates on the above-named basis an amount equal to one per centum of its appropriation for Army and Navy for nineteen hundred and fourteen, and said appropriation shall continue annually for ten years beginning January first, nineteen hundred and sixteen: Provided, That any and every
cooperating nation on the above-named basis shall appropriate an amount equal to one per centum of its appropriation for Army and Navy for nineteen hundred and fourteen, which appropriation shall continue annually for ten years beginning January first, nineteen hundred and sixteen: Provided further, That any and every cooperating nation on the above-named basis shall appropriate an amount equal to one per centum of its appropriation for Army and Navy for nineteen hundred and fourteen, which appropriation shall continue annually for ten years beginning January first, nineteen hundred and sixteen.

SEC. 7. That this Act shall take effect on its passage, at which time in so far that the President of the United States is requested to communicate at once with all other nations inviting them to join in an effort for world education as provided for in this bill, to effect preliminary arrangements and to begin the work proposed on January first, nineteen hundred and sixteen.

SEC. 8. That an amount not to exceed $50,000 be appropriated to be expended subject to the approval of the President of the United States for expenses incident to the preliminary arrangements.
Proposed By-Laws of the International Bureau of Information in Matters of Education and Instruction
(The Hague, 1914)

Article 1 - There exists an International Bureau of Information in matters of Education and Instruction. The Bureau has its headquarters at The Hague.

Article 2 - The Bureau has for its object:
1. To publish a periodical. That periodical shall contain among other things:
   (a) A synopsis of the Laws, regulations and orders bearing on instruction generally;
   (b) A story of the said Laws and regulations;
   (c) An abstract of official documents concerning the interpretation and enforcement of said Laws;
   (d) A statement of education conditions;
   (e) An argumentative synopsis of literature dealing with instruction.
2. To create a library on education.
3. To foster the study of laws on education and educational conditions in the several countries and to supply data as to existing Laws and their enforcement in the several States.
4. To foster the study of educational questions by collecting data and issuing publications.
5. To organise international conferences on topics that have been studied.
6. To serve as an intermediary in the international relations between professors and students.
7. To get in touch with the international associations interested in education and to promote intercourse between such associations.

Article 3 - The Bureau is managed by a Committee of five. The said Committee is elected by a General Council consisting of the delegates of the contributory States.

Article 4 - On their request international associations concerned in instruction may be allowed to send a representative thereto on condition that they pay to the Bureau a quota whose amount is to be determined by the Committee in accordance with rules to be framed by the General Council. The Committee decides whether they shall be admitted.
Article 5 - The General Council meets at least once in four years. It is called by the Chairman of the Committee with the advice and consent of the other members; the call embodies the business of the session.

If in answer to the call there is no quorum of the contributory States, the Chairman of the Committee will adjourn the session to some later date.

The Chairman of the Committee may be President of the General Council.

Article 6 - Each contributory State casts one vote at the sessions of the General Council.

The right to vote may be conferred upon international associations that are admitted as provided in Article 4 under rules established by the General Council. Even if not given that right they nevertheless have that of participating in debates.

Article 7 - The General Council fixes the total amount of expenses and supervises the financial management.

It elects from among its members a Financial Committee consisting of three members. That Committee will meet every year.

Article 8 - The Committee elects from among its members a Chairman and a Treasurer; it appoints a Secretary.

The Secretary has charge of the correspondence, which is signed by him and the Chairman.

The Secretary discharges the duties of Secretary General of the General Council.

The Committee attends to current business in accordance with regulations drawn up by itself with the approval of the General Council.

These regulations will include rules concerning the estimates. The said estimates will show the amount to be covered by quotas from the contributory States.

Article 9 - The Committee has charge of financial affairs under the supervision of the General Council.

The Committee submits to the General Council an annual report on its financial management.

The Financial Committee referred to in Article 7,
paragraph 2, may approve the vouchers of disbursement and receipts on behalf of the General Council.

Article 10 - The Committee cannot without the General Council's authority:
(a) Buy, sell or mortgage real estate;
(b) Build edifices.

The authority of the Financial Committee referred to in Article 7 must be had:
(a) In order to sue or be sued;
(b) In order to accept or decline donations or legacies;
(c) For disbursements on repairs or furniture exceeding one thousand florins.

Article 11 - The Bureau's income is drawn from:
(a) The interest on the capital of the foundation;
(b) Donations or legacies;
(c) Annual quotas of contributory States;
(d) Annual quotas of international associations referred to in Article 4;
(e) Receipts from other sources.

Article 12 - As regards participation, the contributory States are divided into four classes:

The first class includes States whose population is less than 5 million inhabitants, which will pay one unit.

The second includes States whose population is more than 5 million but less than 10 million inhabitants, which will pay two units.

The third includes States whose population is more than 10 million but less than 20 million inhabitants, which will pay four units.

The fourth includes States with a population of more than 20 million inhabitants, which will pay eight units.

Article 13 - A motion to amend the by-laws may be made if not less than five of the contributory States deem such amendments desirable.

The General Council after a debate will by a majority vote adopt or reject the amendments at a session
that can be held not sooner than six months after that in which the motion was made. 1

Appendix VI

Topics upon which the International Bureau of Information in Matters of Education and Instruction Might Bear
(The Hague, 1914)

1. Education in a General Way

(a) Organisation of educational statistics;
(b) Method to observe in teaching foreign languages;
(c) Exchange of professors of the higher, intermediate and primary schools;
(d) Means of bringing about the equalisation of diplomas conferring the right to teach;
(e) Ratio between public and private initiative.

2. Higher Instruction

(a) International Associations and Clubs of University people;
(b) Manner in which students may keep informed of doings and institutions in respect of higher instruction in other countries.

3. Intermediate and Preparatory Higher Instruction

(a) Age at which choice is made of a preparation;
(b) Study of Greek and Latin.

4. Technical Instruction

(a) Organisation of apprenticeship;
(b) Education of industrial workers;
(c) Training of foremen and overseers for industry and agriculture, and of their instructors;
(d) Education for business.

5. Primary Instruction

(a) Length of school day at different ages;
(b) Curriculum and school premises;
(c) Training of teachers
(d) School hygiene
(e) Education of mentally deficient children.

6. Miscellaneous

(a) Physical education;
(b) Aesthetic and musical education;
(c) Education of girls;
(d) Attention to be given to those who, on leaving the primary school, get no further education. 1

Appendix VII

66th Congress,  H. R. 12994
2d Session.

A BILL

To provide for the world-wide extension of education by the cooperation of national governments.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

March 9, 1920.

Mr. Gillett (by request) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To provide for the world-wide extension of education by the cooperation of national governments.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission be, and is hereby, created to extend in cooperation with other nations, education to all mankind; that as an initial program subject to revision, the following is proposed, namely:

The removal of illiteracy from all mankind, instruction in the applications of science and mechanics to the work of the world and the physical welfare of mankind or world health, international or world ethics promotive of just and humane government the world over.

SEC. 2. That said commission consist of the United States Commissioner of Education and four other persons,
appointed by the President, to confer with the proper authorities of all nations to secure their cooperation in the same, to induce the League of Nations when and if formed to make world education a feature in world policy, to begin at once in the most practicable way the actual work outlined.

SEC. 3. That the salaries of said commission and expenses of same shall be arranged by the President, and that said commission shall present an annual report, printed in the languages of the Postal Union, to the Congress of the United States, to all cooperating governments, and to the governments of countries in which the work is conducted.

SEC. 4. That $10,000,000 be, and is hereby, appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 5. That the provisions of this Act shall become effective from the date of its passage.
Appendix VIII

Statutes of the International Academic Union

Préambule

Les corps savants ou groupes de corps savants appartenant aux nations dont les noms suivent et représentés par les délégués munis de pleins pouvoirs ou dûment qualifiés:

Belgique (Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique);
Danemark (Académie royale des Sciences et Lettres de Danemark);
Espagne (Académie royale d'histoire; Académie des Sciences morales et politiques);
États-Unis d'Amérique (American Philosophical Society; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Philosophical Association; American Oriental Society; Modern Language Association of America; Archaeological Institute of America; American Historical Association; American Antiquarian Society; American Economic Association);
France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; Académie des Sciences morales et politiques);
Grande-Bretagne (British Academy);
Grèce (Délégation du Gouvernement hellénique, suppléant l'Académie d'Athènes dont la création est prochaine);
Italie (Académie nationale des Lincei de Rome; Académie royale des Sciences de Turin; Académie de la Crusca, Florence);
Japon (Académie impériale);
Norvège (Académie des Sciences d'Oslo);
Pologne (Académie polonaise des Sciences de Cracovie);
Portugal (Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne);
Roumanie (Académie roumaine);
Russie (Académie des Sciences de Petrograd);
Yougo-Slavie (Académie Yougoslave de Zagreb; Académie royale serbe de Belgrade).

Estiment qu'il y a lieu de régler par un accord nouveau les relations corporatives des Académies et corps savants, en vue de la collaboration scientifique internationale. En conséquence, ils décident de créer une Union Académique Internationale.

Statuts

Article 1 - Les représentants des corps savants et groupes du corps savants énumérés au préambule, décident de créer une fédération scientifique qui portera le nom de:
Union Académique Internationale (U.A.I.).
Par le mot Union ils afferment les sentiments de confraternité amicale, confiants, égale et libre dont ils sont animés et dont s'inspire la fédération.

Le mot Académique s'entend d'abord en avant tout des corps savants proprement appelés académies et ayant un caractère national; il embrasse aussi, soit à défaut d'académies, soit à côté de celles-ci et d'entente avec elles, les institutions scientifiques, assimilables en raison de leur caractère national, de leur consécration scientifique, de la nature et de la méthode de leurs travaux, qui dans chacun des pays affiliés à l'Union, on décide ou décideront de se grouper et de se donner une représentation collective.


Article 3 - L'Union est formée de membres appartenant à différentes nations, le nombre minimum des membres nécessaire à l'existence de l'U.A.I. est fixé à six. Ces membres doivent appartenir au moins à trois nations différentes.

Article 4 - Peuvent faire partie de l'U.A.I. deux membres par nation, représentant les corps savants de cette nation "affiliés au titre scientifique à l'U.A.I."

Article 5 - La dénomination de corps affilié à l'U.A.I. est attribuée par l'U.A.I. de la façon indiquée à l'article 10. Elle comporte le droit pour les corps affiliés, de faire partie du groupe des corps savants qui, dans chaque nation, désigneront les deux membres de l'U.A.I. Cette désignation se fera par les corps savants en toute liberté: la composition de ces groupes de corps savants est réglée par chacune des nations, mais sera notifiées à l'U.A.I.

Article 6 - Chaque membre de l'U.A.I. devra être porteur d'une pièce attestant qu'il a été élu par les corps savants affiliés de la nation qu'il est chargé de représenter. Il ne sera admis comme membre qu'après présentation de cette pièce.

Le nom de toute membre de l'U.A.I. devra toujours être suivi du nom de la nation qu'il a délégué.

Article 7 - Les membres de l'U.A.I. ne restent associés que pour autant que les corps savants qui les ont délégués maintiennent le mandat dont ils les ont revêtus.
Si ce mandat leur est retiré, ils seront considérés d'office comme démissionnaires.

Article 8 - Les membres démissionnaires abandonnent tous droits sur l'avoir de l'U.A.I. Il ne leur est pas possible de réclamer les cotisations ou, autres contributions qu'ils pourraient avoir versées.

Article 9 - Si les membres démissionnaires sont remplacés au sein de l'U.A.I. par d'autres membres investis du mandat de représenter les corps savants de leur pays, tous les droits sociaux des membres démissionnaires leur seront transmis.

Article 10 - Les corps savants énumérés au préambule sont reconnus comme "corps affiliés à l'U.A.I." Les corps savants ou groupes de corps savants des nations qui ne sont pas comprises dans le préambule et qui désiraient recevoir le titre de corps affilié à l'U.A.I. feront connaître leur intention, soit directement, soit par l'entremise de membres délégués par les groupes affiliés de trois nations.

Il est statué au scrutin secret par le Comité ou Assemblée générale, à la majorité de trois quarts de la totalité des voix de l'U.A.I. exprimées directement ou par correspondance.

Article 11 - Les corps savants qui renonceraient à être affiliés à l'U.A.I. cesserent d'avoir le droit de participer à la nomination des délégués. Leurs mandataires n'auraient aucun droit à faire valoir sur l'avoir de l'U.A.I.

Si tous les corps savants d'une nation cessent d'être affiliés à l'U.A.I., soit qu'ils eussent volontairement renoncé à ce titre, soit que celui-ci leur eût été retiré, les délégués nommés par eux comme membres de l'U.A.I. seront considérés comme démissionnaires et par conséquent déchus de tous droits sur l'avoir de l'Union.

Article 12 - Le titre de corps affilié à l'U.A.I. pourra être retiré par l'Assemblée générale aux trois quarts des voix de la totalité des membres. Le vote pourra s'exprimer soit directement, soit par correspondance.

Cette décision devra être motivée.

Article 13 - Les personnes dont les noms suivant sont membres de l'U.A.I.:

J. Bidez et H. Pirenne, Belgique
Chr. Nyrop et Chr. Blinkenberg, Danemark
Son Excellence le marquis de Villalobos, Espagne
Article 14 - L'U.A.I. est pourvue d'un budget comprenant deux chapitres, dont le premier comporte les dépenses affectées au secrétariat et le second les dépenses affectées aux recherches et publications. L’excédent éventuel des ressources prévues pour couvrir les dépenses du premier chapitre pourra être affecté aux dépenses prévues au second chapitre.

Les dépenses prévues au premier chapitre sont couvertes par une cotisation égale pour tous les membres de l'U.A.I. Cette cotisation sera remise aux membres par les corps savants affiliés qu'ils sont chargés de représenter au sein de l'U.A.I.

Les dépenses prévues au second chapitre seront couvertes, au fur et à mesure des besoins, par les soins des membres de l’Union qui auront pris l'initiative et assumé la charge, au nom des corps savants qui les auront délégués ou de certains d'entre eux, de recherches ou des publications approuvées par l'Union, soit aux frais des Gouvernements ou des directeurs dont ils sont mandataires, soit du moyen des ressources dont l’U.A.I. disposera ou des fondations dont elle pourra bénéficier.

Article 15 - L'U.A.I. pourra recevoir des donations émanant de personnes, de corps constitués d'administrations, de Gouvernements, etc. de tous pays. Ces donations pourront être faites sous les conditions d'être affectées à certaines recherches ou publications spéciales, ou de subsides des travaux scientifiques.

Article 16 - Les membres réunis de l'U.A.I. constituent le Comité ou Assemblée générale.

L'Assemblée délibère et statue sur toutes les questions d'intérêt général, en particulier sur des admissions des membres nouveaux, sur la démission des membres, sur les projets de recherches ou de publications collectives, sur la gestion des finances de l'U.A.I., sur la révocation éventuelle du Bureau ou de certains de ces
membres; elle accorde ou retire le titre de corps affilié à l’U.A.I.

Les décisions de l’Assemblée sont prises à la majorité de voix, sauf en ce qui concerne l’admission ou la démission des membres, l’octroi ou le retrait du titre de corps affilié, la récovation de Bureau ou de certains de ses membres, la modification des Statuts, décisions pour lesquelles la majorité des trois quarts des voix est requise.

Article 17 - Chaque membre dispose d’une voix. En cas d’absence d’un membre, son vote passeur d’office au membre de la même nation qui disposerait ainsi deux voix et sera considéré comme son mandataire, sauf stipulation contraire de la part du membre absent.

L’Assemblée ne peut délibérer valablement que si plus de la moitié des membres participent à la délibération, soit directement, soit par mandataire.

Article 18 - Le vote pourra être exprimé par correspondance ou par mandataire, à condition que le mandataire soit choisi parmi les membres de l’U.A.I., ou qu’il ait été agréé par le Bureau du Comité.

Article 19 - Pour autant de nombre des membres le permet, le Bureau se compose d’un président, deux vice-présidents, un secrétaire et deux secrétaires-adjoints.

Il est élu pour une durée de trois ans, il se renouvelle par roulement, au tirage au sort, à raison d’un président ou vice-président et d’un secrétaire ou secrétaire-adjoint par année.

Les membres du Bureau sont rééligibles mais pas immédiatement après la fin de leur mandat.

Une membre nation ne peut être représenté dans le Bureau par plus d’un membre.


Article 20 - L’U.A.I. élit pour son siège permanent la ville de Bruxelles. Il y est établi par les soins des membres belges, un secrétariat administratif, chargé sous le contrôle du Bureau, de l’expédition des affaires courantes, de la correspondance, de la garde des archives, de la gestion des fonds faisant l’objet du chapitre premier du
budget (dépenses administratives); éventuellement il gérera les fonds qui pourraient advenir au secrétariat de Bruxelles par dons, legs ou fondations destinés aux oeuvres de l'U.A.I. La langue française est adoptée comme langue officielle de l'U.A.I. pour la correspondance et toutes les pièces administratives.

Article 21 - Les membres se réunissent au moins une fois l'an à Bruxelles, en session ordinaire. Ils fixent à chaque réunion la date de la réunion suivante. Ils peuvent être convoqués, hors session, par le Bureau, si celui-ci le juge nécessaire.

Article 22 - Des réunions extraordinaires, ayant le caractère de solemnités scientifiques ou de fêtes confraternelles, et aux quelles seraient convoquées en corps les académies ou institutions affiliées à l'U.A.I., peuvent avoir lieu sans périodicité régulière, sur l'initiative spontanée et par invitation spéciale d'un des membres de l'Union, dans l'un ou l'autre des pays qui ont des représentants à l'U.A.I.

Article 23 - Les membres de l'U.A.I. devront être saisis, au moins quatre mois avant la réunion de l'Assemblée, des projets de recherches ou de publications que l'on se proposerait de soumettre à celle-ci, afin qu'ils puissent recevoir du corps savant ou du groupe de corps savants dont ils sont les mandataires, des instructions et un mandat définis.

L'initiative des recherches ou publication peut être prise soit par chacun des membres de l'Union agissant comme mandataire d'un ou de plusieurs corps affiliés, soit par le Bureau de l'Union.

Dans tous les cas, les auteurs de la proposition doivent, outre la mention très précise du sujet, l'exposé des motifs, le plan du travail, l'estimation des dépenses indiquer la mesure dans laquelle ils comptent eux-mêmes contribuer à l'exécution, les collaborations ou concours qu'ils demandent ou dont ils se sont assurés. Ils peuvent désigner des commissaires spéciaux pour la discussion en comité.

Le corps savant ou les corps savants, affiliés à l'U.A.I., qui se seront engagés à assumer la charge d'une recherche ou publication avec l'assentiment de l'Assemblée en auront la direction sous son contrôle; ils organiseront le travail, en désigneront la siège, en choisiront les collaborateurs et les réuniront quand ils le jugeront nécessaire.

Si la proposition émane du Bureau, l'Assemblée,
après l'avoir examinée et approuvée de libéré sur les moyens d'exécution, elle constitue les commissions spéciales qui sont chargées, sous son contrôle, de diriger les recherches ou publications.

Article 24 - Le Bureau représenté par son Président ou son délégué, aura le droit d'ester en justice pour l'U.A.I. Le Bureau pourra gérer les biens appartenant à l'U.A.I. acceptera les legs et donations et aura pouvoir de faire tous actes juridiques quelconques, dans tous les cas où les Statuts ne prévoient pas l'intervention de l'Assemblée. Il est chargé de l'exécution des décisions prises par l'Assemblée.

Article 25 - Les propositions de modification aux Statuts doivent être présentées par les délégations de trois nations différentes quatre mois au moins avant la réunion de l'Assemblée.

Le vote sur ces propositions a lieu à la majorité des trois quarts des votes émis.

Article 26 - L'U.A.I. devra se déclarer dissoute si le nombre des membres descend en dessous de celui fixé par l'article 5. La dissolution pourra, en outre être proposée, par l'an, sur proposition signée par les trois quarts des membres. La décision portant dissolution de l'U.A.I. doit être prise à l'unanimité de ses membres.

Article 27 - En cas de dissolution, l'Assemblée nommera trois liquidateurs de nationalité différente.

Article 28 - Le patrimoine de l'U.A.I. sera remis, dans ce cas, à des associations scientifiques désignées par l'Assemblée. 1

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Appendix IX

Statutes of the International Council of Scientific Unions (Adopted by the General Assembly at Brussels, July 11, 1931)

Objets du Conseil International.

1. Le Conseil International a pour but:

(a) D'établir des liaisons d'une part entre les organisations nationales adhérentes, et d'autre part entre les diverses Unions internationales;

(b) D'orienter l'activité scientifique internationale dans les domaines où il n'existe pas d'associations compétentes;

(c) D'entrer, par l'intermédiaire des organisations nationales adhérentes, en relation avec les Gouvernements des pays adhérents pour recommander des mesures favorables au développement scientifique de ces pays.

Siège.

2. Le siège légal du Conseil International est fixé à Bruxelles, où se tiendront normalement les Assemblées générales, et où seront conservées les archives.

Les dons et legs seront reçus et gérés suivant la législation belge.

Constitution et Administration du Conseil.


4. Un pays peut adhérer au Conseil International, soit par son Académie nationale, soit par son Conseil national de recherches, soit par d'autres institutions ou groupement d'institutions nationales similaires, soit, à défaut de ceux-
ci, par son Gouvernement.

Dans le mot "pays" sont compris les Dominions, les protectorats diplomatiques, ainsi que les territoires ayant une activité scientifique indépendante.

5. Pour adhérer au Conseil International une Union doit communiquer ses Statuts au Conseil, et ces Statuts doivent:

(i) indiquer les buts de l'Union,
(ii) mentionner que le contrôle de l'activité de l'Union est exercé par une Assemblée générale de ses membres,
(iii) indiquer le barème des cotisations payées par les organisations nationales,
(iv) faire connaître les règles relatives aux votes.

6. Toute proposition de création d'une Union et toute demande d'adhésion d'une Union doivent être communiquées aux divers organismes adhérents six mois au moins avant la réunion de l'Assemblée générale.

L'approbation de deux tiers des voix des organismes adhérents représentés est nécessaire.

7. Les travaux du Conseil sont dirigés par l'Assemblée générale formée de l'ensemble des Délégués accrédités à cette fin par les organismes adhérents et des membres du Comité exécutif.

L'Assemblée désigne parmi les membres des organismes adhérents un Président, deux Vice-Présidents, et un Secrétaire général. Le Président conserve ses fonctions jusqu'à la fin de la réunion de l'Assemblée générale ordinaire suivante; il ne peut être réélu immédiatement.

8. Il est constitué un Comité exécutif qui gère les affaires du Conseil dans l'intervalle de deux Assemblées générales.

Ce Comité comprend:

(i) le Président,
(ii) les Vice-Présidents, le Secrétaire général et deux membres élus directement par l'Assemblée générale;
(iii) deux délégués de chacune des Unions interna-
tionales rattachées au Conseil et désignés par cette Union.

Le Président, les Vice-Présidents, et le Secrétaire général du Conseil exercent les mêmes fonctions dans le Comité exécutif. Les membres visés à la ligne (ii) conservent leurs fonctions de membres du Comité exécutif jusqu'à la fin de la seconde réunion de l'Assemblée générale ordinaire, mais ils ne peuvent être réélus immédiatement, sauf le Secrétaire général qui est de suite rééligible.

9. Le Comité exécutif peut pourvoir lui-même aux vacances qui surviennent dans son sein parmi les membres élus par l'Assemblée générale. Toute personne désignée dans ces conditions démeure en fonction jusqu'à la fin de l'Assemblée générale suivante.

Les vacances produites parmi les délégués des Unions sont comblées par les Unions elles-mêmes.

10. Le Secrétaire général expédie la correspondance et assure la gestion des ressources, ainsi que la préparation et la distribution des publications décidées par l'Assemblée générale du Conseil.

Attributions du Comité exécutif.

11. Dans l'intervalle de deux Assemblées générales du Conseil, le Comité exécutif peut soumettre des propositions à l'approbation des organismes adhérents; il est tenu de le faire lorsqu'il en est requis par un tiers des voix des organismes adhérents.

12. Le Comité exécutif accepte les Statuts des Unions remplissant les conditions indiquées au paragraphe 5, avec possibilité d'appel à la prochaine Assemblée générale.

13. Le Comité exécutif peut nommer des Commissions spéciales pour l'étude question de la compétence du Conseil International; leurs membres ne sont pas nécessairement choisis parmi les délégués prés le Conseil. Ces Commissions spéciales peuvent, à leur tour, s'adjoindre, par cooptation, de nouveaux membres à la majorité des deux tiers des voix de ceux qui les composent.

14. Le Comité exécutif doit présenter un rapport annuel aux organismes adhérents au Conseil.

Ces rapports sont aussi envoyés aux délégués à l'Assemblée générale précédente.
Assemblées Générales.

15. Le Conseil International se réunit en principe tous les trois ans en Assemblée générale ordinaire. Si le lieu de ces réunions n'a pas été arrêté par l'Assemblée générale précédente elles se tiendront comme il a été indiqué au paragraphe 2, à moins que l'Assemblée n'ait délégué au Comité Exécutif le soin de le fixer. Dans ce cas le Comité exécutif donnera communication du lieu et de l'époque six mois à l'avance aux divers organismes adhérents.

16. Dans des cas spéciaux, le Président peut, avec le consentement du Comité exécutif, convoquer une Assemblée générale extraordinaire; il est tenu de le faire à la demande d'un tiers des voix des organismes adhérents.

17. Les délégués prés de l'Assemblée générale sont nommés par les organismes adhérents au Conseil.

18. Le Président peut, de sa propre initiative, inviter tout homme de science à assister, à titre consultatif, aux séances de l'Assemblée générale ordinaire.

Les membres des Commissions spéciales mentionnées au paragraphe 13, ont le droit d'assister, dans les mêmes conditions, aux séances de l'Assemblée générale où sont traitées les questions rentrant dans leurs attributions.

19. L'ordre du jour d'une session est fixé par le Comité exécutif et communiqué aux organismes adhérents au moins six mois avant l'ouverture de cette session. Toute question ne figurant pas à l'ordre du jour n'est prise en considération qu'avec l'assentiment préalable des deux tiers au moins des voix des organismes adhérents représentés à l'Assemblée générale du Conseil.

Budget et Droit de Vote.

20. Dans les Assemblées générales du Conseil les résolutions concernant les questions d'ordre scientifique sont prises à la majorité des voix de tous les délégués présents, et des membres du Comité exécutif.

21. Pour les questions d'ordre administratif et pour les questions mixtes, le vote a lieu par organisation nationale adhérente, à raison d'une voix pour chacune, et par Union scientifique internationale à raison de trois voix pour chacune. Les résolutions sont prises à la majorité des voix.

S'il y a doute sur la catégorie dans laquelle doit être rangée une question à discuter, le Président décide.
Dans les Commissions, les décisions sont prises à la majorité des voix des membres qui les composent.

En toute circonstance, s'il y a égalité de voix, celle du Président est prépondérante.

Pour les questions administratives figurant à l'ordre du jour, un organisme adhérant qui n'est pas représenté peut envoyer par écrit son vote au Président. Pour être valable, ce vote doit être reçu avant le dépouillement du scrutin.


La cotisation annuelle de chaque pays adhérent est de 100 francs or.

Dans chaque pays, l'autorité qui adhère au Conseil est responsable du paiement de la cotisation de ce pays.

La part de chaque Union est fixée à 1.5% de son revenu au maximum.

23. Le Comité exécutif prépare un budget de prévision pour chaque année de la période comprise entre deux sessions. Une Commission financière, nommée par l'Assemblée générale du Conseil, est chargée de l'étude de ce budget et de la vérification des comptes de l'exercice précédent. Elle établit sur ces deux questions des rapports distincts qui sont soumis à l'Assemblée générale.

À la suite de cet examen financier, le Conseil fixe la part de chaque Union pour les trois ans suivants.

24. Les ressources provenant de dons sont utilisées par le Conseil International en tenant compte des désirs exprimés par les donateurs.

Tout organisme qui se retire du Conseil abandonne de ce fait ses droits à l'actif de l'Association.


26. Le présent texte français servira exclusivement pour l'interprétation à donner aux Statuts.

Appendix X

Draft Convention for the Setting up of a Permanent Organization for the Promotion of International Understanding and Collaboration in Educational Questions and in Science, Literature and Art

Preamble - Whereas universal peace, the ultimate object of the League of Nations, can only be permanently established if national education is, by each of the members, directed towards an ever more intimate appreciation of all its fellow members, and if educational organizations and suitable bodies for the spreading of international ideas render possible a freer and more extensive circulation of their knowledge and ideas;

Whereas peace depends on the progress of science, which, by alleviating distress, will remove one of the permanent causes of discontent and conflict, and whereas the most serious obstacle which retards the progress of science is insufficient co-ordination of the efforts of scientists and philosophers of the various nations;

Whereas, also, peace might be endangered and the understanding between nations weakened, if the legitimate desire of each nation to spread abroad its systems of thought and its works of art and science became infected with the spirit of egoism and conquest through not being regulated with a view to the common advantage;

Whereas intellectual activity is man's highest privilege, and its free expansion should be everywhere assured;

Whereas, moreover, the right of association for all intellectual purposes should be recognized in all countries;

Whereas, moreover, the weekly rest and limitation of hours spent in professional work provided by Article 427 of the Labour Charter should be understood not only in a regulative sense, as implying a cessation of professional activity, but also positively as affording opportunities for intellectual culture amongst all civilized peoples:

The High Contracting Parties, in the desire to find a basis for a rational organization of the intellectual work of the world agree to the following:—
Article 1 - There shall be founded a Permanent Organization for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be members of this organization, and henceforth membership of the League shall carry with it membership of the organization.

Article 2 - The Permanent Organization shall consist of:-
(1) A General Conference of Representatives of the members; and
(2) An International Office for Education and Science, Literature and Art, controlled by the Governing Body described in Article 7.

Article 3 - The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the members shall be held from time to time as the occasion may require, and at least once every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the members, of whom two shall be Government Delegates, and the two others delegates representing respectively the independent bodies and associations of a scientific or literary character and the teaching profession.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. Advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorization of the President of the Conference, and they may not vote.

A delegate may, by notice in writing, addressed to the President, appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser while so acting shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The credentials of the delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this Article.

Article 4 - Each delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference.

1. This provision of the Convention would have necessitated an amendment to the Covenant of the League of Nations.
Article 5 - The meetings of the Conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations or at such other place as may be decided by the Conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present.

The procedure of the Conference shall be regulated according to the principles adopted by the International Labour Conference and set out in Articles 14 and 21 of the Convention setting up a permanent organization for the international control of Labour.

Article 6 - The International Bureau for Education and Science, Letters and Art shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations; but, in the event of other organizations under the League of Nations, such as the International Labour Office, having their seat on the territory of one of the other countries members of the League, the International Office for Education, Science, Letters and Art shall be established in Paris.2

Article 7 - The International Office for Education and Science, Literature and Art shall be placed under the control of a Governing Body, consisting of as many persons as there are nations members of the League. These persons shall be nominated by each Government concerned.

The period of office of members of the Governing Body will be three years. The Governing Body shall elect one of its members to act as its chairman, shall regulate its own procedure and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a request is made to that effect by at least one-half of the members, plus one member of the Governing Body.

Article 8 - There shall be a director of the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art, who shall be appointed by the Governing Body and subject to the instructions of the Governing Body, and who shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the work of the Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him.

He shall be appointed for four years, and may remain in office for further periods of four years.

2. This was a manifestation of the French conviction that they represented the acme of European culture and that it was therefore most suitable that the seat of the organization should be at Paris.
The Director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the Governing Body.

Article 9 - The staff of the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art shall be appointed by the Director who shall, as far as possible, with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities and both sexes.

Article 10 - The functions of the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art shall include:

- The collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the intellectual work of the various nations;
- The organization and supervision of the organization and institutions mentioned in Article 11, and of such others as may at a later date be connected with the Office;
- The study of all 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;
- The conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference.

It will be further charged with preparing the agenda for the Sessions of the Conference.

In addition to the duties described in this Article, it shall be invested with such other powers and duties as the Conference may see fit to confer upon it.

Article 11 - The International Bureau of Education and Science, Literature and Art shall include the following departments:-
- Office for Educational Questions.
- Office for Scientific Research.
- Office for Literature and Works of Art.

Article 12 - The object of the Office for Educational questions is:-

To facilitate the exchange of teachers and students by preparing international agreements on standards
of scholarship, on the granting of diplomas, on educational legislation, and school tuition;

To collect all information obtainable on the educational life of nations by the creation of an International Institute of Education; to assist the intellectual development of backward populations, or of those who possess insufficient financial resources, by the establishment of an International Education Fund; to ensure as far as possible, simultaneous important reforms on public education in all countries, more especially such as imply a diminution of working hours for adults and young people;

To develop by international agreement national educational institutions in foreign countries;

By the development of existing systems of tuition to assist in the wider distribution of knowledge which modern nations should mutually possess;

To assist specially in the development of the teaching of modern languages, literature and civilization by the co-ordination of institutions, methods, programmes and facilities for tuition;

To ensure that all tuition shall conform with the principles of the League of Nations and shall never be employed to excite mistrust and hatred between peoples;

To control and eliminate errors or offensive expressions concerning other countries from the handbooks and educational works of every nation;

To encourage the international publication of popular editions, especially of numerous well-known translations;

To encourage exhibitions, conferences, and other meetings and gatherings, also the work of the Associations and in general all enterprise tending to develop goodwill between nations by means of any system of education;

To supervise, in collaboration with the Labour Section, the practical application of the 48-hour week and reductions of work, in order to promote instruction for those who have left school, and more generally to provide intellectual recreation.

Article 13 - The object of the Office of Scientific Research is:-
To protect the liberty of scientific research;

To assist in the avoidance of loss of time and energy in research work undertaken separately and in ignorance by men of science in every country;

To create a Bureau of International Science, which shall form a statistical and documentary centre of information on scientific research work in course of completion;

To organize on uniform international lines collaboration in the prosecution of particularly important, difficult or expensive research work by scientists of all countries;

To establish, administer, and utilize an International Fund for Scientific Research;

To encourage or undertake important scientific publications of general interest;

To organize, regulate or encourage in every way, international conferences or congresses of a scientific character, the activities of similar International Associations and the relations between scientific bodies in all countries;

To study and examine regulations on questions relating to the ownership of scientific discoveries;

To encourage specially investigations and work on the sciences relating to international dealings and international phenomena (history, law, sociology, philology, etc.).

Article 14 - The object of the office for Literature and Works of Art is:-

The study and conclusions of an international agreement for facilitating the circulation of Books, Reviews and Art Publications between all countries;

The ensuring of a fair and just distribution of raw materials necessary for the printing and allied industries;

The study and examination of problems and legal disputes of an international character concerning literary or artistic ownership;

The centralization of all information relating to
the book business in all countries by the creation of an International Bibliographic Institute.3

The safeguarding of an improved method of custody and use of books, and of all printed or engraved publications and manuscripts by the indexing of international libraries and archives and by the establishment of an International Library;

The safeguarding and protection of International Works of Art and precious objects of importance in the history of the human race;

The establishment of an understanding between specialists of all countries in order to decide definitely on the texts of great writers.

Article 15 - The ministries of members dealing with questions of Education, Literature, Science and Art may communicate direct with the Director through the intermediary of their Government representatives on the Administrative Council of the International Office.

Article 16 - The International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art shall be entitled to the assistance of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

Article 17 - Each of the members will pay the travelling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers, and of its representatives attending the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art, and of the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and out of the general funds of the League. An exception may be made for the international bodies attached to the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art; these bodies may have their own budget administered by a special council, under the supervision of the Director of the International Office.

3. It is impossible to judge whether or not the originators of this scheme intended to ignore and duplicate the work of the already existing International Institute of Bibliography at Brussels or whether their intention was to collaborate with and perhaps absorb the Brussels Institute.
The Director should be responsible to the Secretary-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article.

Article 18 - Each of the members agrees to make an annual report to the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of the Conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Governing Body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before each session of the Conference.

Article 19 - Each of the members shall furnish the International Office for Education, Science, Literature and Art with all such information and documents as the latter may require for its administration, and shall set up such organizations as may be necessary to meet the needs of the office promptly and regularly.

Article 20 - Should one of the members fail to observe either the present Convention or any Convention adopted at a later date by the Conference and ratified by the member in question, the procedure adopted by the International Labour Conference under Article 23 to 34 of the Labour Conventions shall be applied.

Article 21 - The general regulations contained in Articles 35 to 37 of the Labour Convention shall also be applicable.

## Appendix XI

### List of the Sessions of the Council of the League of Nations

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Appendix XII

Administrative Regulations of the C.I.G.I.
(Adopted at its First Session on August 1, 1921)

Article 1er.- La Commission est constituée et fonctionne conformément aux dispositions de la résolution de l'Assemblée en date du 21 septembre 1921.

Article 2 (réserve) - La Commission se réunit suivant les instructions de son président ou bien à la demande d'un de ses membres approuvée par la majorité des autres membres.
Les convocations sont adressées par le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations.

Article 3 - La Commission élit parmi ses membres un président et un vice-président.
Le président reste en fonction au cours d'une session de la Commission et pendant la période qui s'écoule jusqu'à la session suivante.

Article 4 - Des experts représentant des organisations internationales ou invités à titre individuel peuvent être entendus, si la Commission le décide à la majorité.
Le Bureau international du Travail peut déléguer un expert choisi par ce Bureau, qui siègera à la Commission à titre consultatif lorsque des questions rentrant dans la compétence du Bureau international du Travail seront discutées.

Article 5 - Le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations pourvoit au secrétariat de la Commission.

Article 6 - L'ordre du jour provisoire de chaque session est préparé par le Secrétariat et transmis aux membres de la Commission aussitôt que possible. Si, après communication de l'ordre du jour, un membre propose de discuter une nouvelle question, la Commission décide si cette discussion aura lieu.

Article 7 - Dans toute discussion, tout membre de la Commission peut poser la question préalable ou demander l'adjournement. Il doit être statué sur sa demande avant tout autre débat.

Article 8 - Le quorum est atteint aux séances de la Commission lorsque la majorité des membres de la Commission sont présents.
Toutes les décisions de la Commission sont prises à la majorité des voix des membres présents à la séance. En cas de partage égal des voix, celle du président est prépondérante.

Lorsque l'unanimité ne pourra être obtenue, les minorités auront le droit de joindre à la résolution une note résumant leur motif d'opposition.


Article 10 - La Commission peut décider à la majorité des voix qu'une ou plusieurs de ces séances seront publiques.

Article 11 - Le présent règlement peut être modifié à la majorité des voix des membres présents.

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### Appendix XIII

#### List of the Sessions of the C.I.C.I.

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</thead>
</table>
The Activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organization, As Defined by the Committee of Enquiry

**Definition:** The activity of the League of Nations in the form of intellectual co-operation aims at the promotion of collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort, in order to promote a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of Action</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Working Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Development of exchanges of ideas and personal relations between intellectual workers in all countries.</td>
<td>Interchanges of students and teaching staff.</td>
<td>Each meeting of the Committee and each meeting held under its auspices is regarded as one of the most effective means of developing interchanges of ideas and personal relations between intellectual workers in all countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect means: publication of year-books (List of Exchange Centres, Holiday Courses, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Encouragement and promotion of co-operation between institutions doing work of an intellectual character.</td>
<td>(a) Staff interchanges between institutions of an intellectual character.</td>
<td>(b) Assistance in developing international school correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphere of Action</td>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>Working Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Encouragement and promotion of co-operation between Institutions doing work of an intellectual character.</td>
<td>(c) Meetings of representatives of intellectual institutions.</td>
<td>Continuance of meetings, such as those of directors of university offices, directors of libraries, representatives of institutions for the scientific study of international questions, representatives of students' international associations, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) International Museums Office.</td>
<td>Continued development of the International Museums Office with a view to intellectual autonomy, publication of Mouseion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f) Co-operation with the International Committee for Popular Arts.</td>
<td>Keeping in touch with the Committee's work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promotion of a knowledge of the literary, artistic and scientific effort of different nations.</td>
<td>(a) International exchanges and loans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Translations.</td>
<td>Laying stress on the question of translations; publication of a year-book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) General bibliographical questions.</td>
<td>Encouragement of the formation of the bibliographers' group; publication of the Index Bibliographicus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Joint study of certain problems of international bearing.</td>
<td>(a) Resumption of the enquiry into the state of intellectual life.</td>
<td>Resumption of this enquiry in the form of comparative studies. One series will deal with the intention, methods and principles of higher education in different countries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sphere of Action | Programme | Working Plan
--- | --- | ---
4. Joint study of certain problems of international bearing. | (b) The effects of specialisation on general education. | Institution of this enquiry.

(c) Enquiry regarding official and private resources put at the disposal of research workers in all departments of science. | Institution of this enquiry.

(d) Intellectual problems arising outside Europe owing to the co-existence in the same territory of populations belonging to different civilisations. | Another series of studies will be devoted to the efforts made officially and unofficially to solve the educational and racial problems referred to under (d). |

Method of work: A committee of experts should be summoned to draw up a programme of these various enquiries. When the programme was drawn up and approved, a new committee would be entrusted with the investigations arising out of it; this second committee would be authorised to delegate each part of the work either to its own members or to any other qualified person.

5. Contribution to international protection of intellectual rights. | (a) Protection of literary and artistic property. | The Committee is recommended to summon a meeting at which the following would be represented:

(b) Scientific property. | (a) The Legal Section of the Secretariat; |

The Committee is recommended to summon a meeting at which the following would be represented:

(b) The International Labour Office;

(c) The International Institute of Private Law at Rome:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of Action</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Working Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Contribution towards international protection of intellectual rights.</td>
<td>(b) Scientific property.</td>
<td>(d) The International Bureau at Berne, with the assistance of a qualified member of the Committee, an official of the Institute being also present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Obstacles in order to reach an agreement for the allocation and continuation of the work undertaken up to the present.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Making known by educational means the principles of the League of Nations.

The Committee will continue to direct the work of the Committee of Experts.

Appendix XV

List of Organizations Represented on the Liaison (or Joint) Committee of Major International Associations (Comité d'Entente des Grands Associations)

Boy Scouts' International Bureau
Carnegie Foundation for International Peace
Catholic Union for International Study
International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equality of Citizenship
International Bureau of Education
International Catholic Union for Social Service
International Confederation of Associations of Disabled Soldiers and Ex-Servicemen
International Confederation of Students
International Council of Women
International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers
International Federation of Home and School
International Federation of League of Nations Societies
International Federation of Teachers Associations
International Federation of University Women
International Labour Office
International Student Service
International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues
International University Federation for the League of Nations
League of Red Cross Societies
"Pax Romana"
Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations
"Save the Children" International Union
Society of Friends
World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches
World Association for Adult Education
World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
World Federation of Education Associations
World Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s
World Alliance of Y.W.C.A.'s
World Student Christian Federation
Appendix XVI

Principal International Organisations Concerned With Educational Problems From the International Standpoint

I. Institutions Dealing With Problems Concerning The Aims Of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution</th>
<th>Date of Foundation, Headquarters, and Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation</td>
<td>Arising out of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Information Centre</td>
<td>Established at the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Committee of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies</td>
<td>Brussels (later, Geneva), 1921. Founded mainly to deal with the teaching of the Principles of the League of Nations to young people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Committee of the Major International Associations</td>
<td>Paris, 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Congregation of Seminaries and Universities</td>
<td>Vatican City.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Moral Education Congress</td>
<td>Geneva, 1908.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Institutions Dealing With Problems Concerning The Personnel Of Education

(a) Teachers

<p>| International Federation of Teachers' Associations | Paris, 1926. |
| International Federation of Secondary School Teachers | 1912. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution.</th>
<th>Date of Foundation, Headquarters, and Observations.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Student Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Pax Romana&quot; (International Secretariat of National Federations of Catholic Students)</td>
<td>Fribourg, 1921.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Student Christian Federation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Union of Jewish Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association of Blind Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Young People</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations</td>
<td>1855.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Young Women's Christian Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation of Home and School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Institute of Family Pedagogics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Intern.</td>
<td>New York, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*International Society for the Exchange of Children and Young People for the Study of Foreign Languages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Youth Hostels' Association</td>
<td>Amsterdam, 1932.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*International University Sanatorium</td>
<td>Leysin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name of Institution. | Date of Foundation, Headquarters, and Observations.
--- | ---

III. Institutions Dealing With Problems Concerning The Process of Education

(a) Curriculum and Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Date of Foundation, Headquarters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Federation for Art Education, Drawing and Arts Applied to Industry</td>
<td>Zurich, 1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation for the Teaching of Home Economics</td>
<td>Fribourg, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation of Modern Language Teachers</td>
<td>Vienna, 1931.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Conference for the Teaching of History</td>
<td>The Hague, 1932.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureau international des Ecoles nouvelles</td>
<td>1899.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Federation of Education Associations</td>
<td>Washington, 1923.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Universal Pedagogical Union International Paidological Congress</td>
<td>Lausanne, 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Montessori Association</td>
<td>Antwerp, 1909.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association for the Education of Exceptional Children</td>
<td>Lausanne, 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zurich, 1937.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Aids to Teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Date of Foundation, Headquarters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Chamber of the Educational Film</td>
<td>Basle, 1927.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Catholic Film Bureau</td>
<td>Brussels, 1928.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Centre of International School Correspondence</td>
<td>Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Pedagogical Museum</td>
<td>Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Red Cross Society</td>
<td>Geneva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Institution</td>
<td>Date of Foundation, Headquarters, and Observations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association for Business Education</td>
<td>Zurich, 1926.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Association for Adult Education</td>
<td>London, 1918.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*International Bureau of University Information</td>
<td>Havana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Co-operation Section of the Pan-American Union</td>
<td>Washington.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates institutions for which no official name in English could be found.

Appendix XVII

Text of the Agreement Concluded Between the International Council of Scientific Unions and the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation

"The International Council of Scientific Unions, represented by its President, and the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations, represented by the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

"Recognising the close connection which exists between their respective activities;

"Noting that experience has demonstrated the necessity of establishing the fullest possible co-ordination between these activities:

"Agree to regulate their mutual relations on the following principles:

"1. The International Council of Scientific Unions shall act as an advisory organ of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations. In this capacity, it shall be consulted by the said Organisation regarding the scientific problems referred to the latter.

"2. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations shall be consulted by the International Council of Scientific Unions on all international questions affecting the organisation of scientific work. Should the examination of such questions entail practical work for the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations, the manner of carrying out this work shall be determined in each case by a special agreement. Should the Organisation not feel able to undertake the work proposed, it shall be the duty of the International Council of Scientific Unions to take such measures as it may consider appropriate.

"3. Committees may be set up by the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions in accordance with Article XIII of its Statutes to study the questions forming the subject of collaboration between the said Council and the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations.

"4. The Committees referred to in paragraph 3 shall perform their work on their own responsibility. They shall appoint their own bureau and in the organisation of their secretariat make use of the executive organs of the
Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations. Meetings shall be held when convened by the Chairman of each Committee in agreement with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations, which shall bear the cost of such meetings within the limits of the credits voted for such purpose and subject to the financial regulations applying to the said Organisation. As an exception, the first meeting of each Committee shall be convened by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations.

"5. In order to ensure permanent contact between the two institutions, the President of the International Council of Scientific Unions or his deputy shall be entitled to attend the plenary meetings of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

"Similarly, a representative of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

"6. The proceedings of the Committees and the proposals adopted by them shall be embodied in a written report which shall be sent by the respective Chairmen to the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

"7. The present agreement is concluded for an unlimited period. Each party reserves the right to denounce it any year by notifying the other party accordingly before July 1st.

"In such case, an agreement between the two institutions shall determine the conditions for the completion of the work jointly undertaken.

"For the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations:
Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

For the International Council of Scientific Unions:
Professor Fabry, President of the International Council of Scientific Unions."
Paris, le 8 décembre 1924.

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations ayant accepté en principe, le 9 septembre 1924, l'offre du Gouvernement français relative à la fondation et à l'entretien d'un Institut international de coopération intellectuelle renvoyant à l'Assemblée l'examen de certains points, et la cinquième Assemblée ayant pris acte, le 23 septembre 1924 de l'acceptation du Conseil en répondant aux questions posées et en formulant un voeu destiné à souligner le caractère international que l'Institut devra avoir, j'ai l'honneur de vous confirmer que le Gouvernement de la République, en conformité de l'offre ci-dessus visée, s'engage à fonder et à entretenir un Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, mis à la disposition de la Société des Nations et dont le siège social sera à Paris, aux conditions ci-après, étant entendu que seront conservés à l'Institut le caractère et l'organisation générale résultant du rapport de la Commission de coopération intellectuelle du 29 juillet 1924, approuvé par le Conseil, de la résolution du Conseil du 8 septembre 1924 et de la dite décision de l'Assemblée:

1. L'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle sera administré par un Conseil d'administration composé des membres en fonction de la Commission de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations. Les règles générales de l'organisation de l'Institut sont déterminées par les statuts organiques annexes à la présente communication.

2. Le Gouvernement de la République française prendra les dispositions nécessaires pour faire reconnaître l'Institut international, comme fondation autonome jouissant de la personnalité civile.

3. Les locaux nécessaires au fonctionnement des services de l'Institut international seront mis à la disposition du Conseil d'administration par le Gouvernement de la République française. Le Conseil d'administration, dans la mesure où il le permettront les locaux dont il disposerà, pourra concéder la jouissance de bureaux et salles de réunions aux institutions et associations tendant à développer les relations intellectuelles internationales qui en feront la demande et lui paraîtront présenter les garanties suffisantes.
4. Les dépenses d'installation de l'Institut international seront intégralement couvertes par le Gouvernement de la République française, sans que la Société des Nations puisse avoir aucune somme à débourser pour ces objets, cette Société n'assumant, du fait de cette installation, aucune responsabilité ou charge, financière ou autre, quelle qu'elle soit. Les dépenses annuelles de fonctionnement et d'entretien de l'Institut seront couvertes au moyen d'une subvention globale annuelle que le Gouvernement français, sous réserve de l'approbation parlementaire déclare fixer à la somme de deux millions de francs français. Le Gouvernement français se réserve, au cas ou le développement de l'Institut l'exigérait, de demander aux Chambres françaises une augmentation de la subvention.

Ni l'État français ni la Société des Nations n'assumeront aucune responsabilité financière ou autre, quelle soit, du fait de la gestion de l'Institut international. Le Conseil d'administration déterminera ultérieurement les règles suivant lesquelles sera établie la responsabilité financière du directeur à l'égard de ce Conseil.

L'État français n'encourra aucune responsabilité civile du fait du fonctionnement des services de l'Institut international dont il assure les frais conformément aux alinéas précédents et notamment à l'égard du personnel de l'Institut lequel sera exclusivement soumis aux règles fixées, tant par les statuts organiques que par les règlements approuvés et les décisions prises par la Commission de coopération intellectuelle, conformément aux dispositions ci-après.

5. Des dons, legs et subventions provenant d'autres gouvernements que celui de la République, d'institutions publiques ou privées, d'associations ou de particuliers, pourront être recueillis par l'Institut international en vertu des décisions du Conseil d'administration.

6. Les sommes destinées à assurer les frais annuels de fonctionnement et d'entretien de l'Institut seront versées, chaque année, semestriellement et par anticipation, le 1er janvier et le 1er juillet de chaque année, à une banque désignée d'un commun accord par le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations et le Gouvernement de la République française. Elles seront retirées de cette banque au fur et à mesure des besoins, sur mandat de personnes qualifiées à cet effet, par le Conseil d'administration.

7. En cas de suppression de l'Institut international ci-dessus, visé, les terrains, bâtiments, et objets mobiliers mis à la disposition de cet Institut par le Gouvernement de la République française feront retour à l'État français. Les objets et notamment les archives et collections
de documents installés dans les locaux par le Conseil d'administra-
istration, ainsi que toute propriété acquise par l'Institut
au cours de son fonctionnement, resteront la propriété de la
Société des Nations. Les institutions et associations à qui
la jouissance de locaux aura été concédée par le Conseil
d'administration reprendront chacune leurs meubles et
collections propres.

"8. Le Gouvernement de la République française se ré-
serve le droit de proposer à l'acceptation du Conseil de la
Société des Nations et se déclare prêt à examiner, le cas
échéant, à la demande dudit Conseil, toutes modifications
aux présentes conditions dont l'expérience démontrerait
l'utilité.

"9. Le Gouvernement de la République prend le présent
engagement pour une durée de sept années; il continuera à
demeurer en vigueur pour de nouvelles périodes de sept ans,
si le Gouvernement de la République française ou la Société
des Nations n'ont pas modifié, deux ans au moins avant la
fin de chaque période, leur intention d'en faire cesser les
effets.

"10. Le présent engagement est pris par le Gouverne-
ment de la République française sous réserve d'approbation
législative et ne deviendra définitif qu'après notification
de cette approbation au Secrétaire général de la Société
des Nations.

(Signe) Ed. HERRIOT" 1

1. L. of N., "Creation of the I.I.C.I. (Letter from the
French Government to the President of the Council of the
League of Nations; Submitted to the Committee on May 11, 1924),"
Appendix XIX

Statutes of the I.I.C.I.
(Approved by the Thirty-Second Session of the Council of the League of Nations, at Rome, December 13, 1924)

Article 1er - Un Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, mis à la disposition de la Société des Nations, est fondé à Paris, par le Gouvernement de la République française, conformément aux termes de sa lettre au Président du Conseil de la Société des Nations en date du 8 décembre 1924.

Article 2 - L'Institut a pour objet principal de préparer les délibérations de la Commission de coopération intellectuelle, de poursuivre dans tous les pays l'exécution des décisions et recommandations de cette Commission et de travailler, sous la direction de cette Commission et par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, aux progrès de l'organisation du travail intellectuel dans le monde par la collaboration internationale.

Article 3 - L'Institut international est indépendant des autorités du pays dans lequel il est établi.
Il correspond directement avec les autorités gouvernementales et administratives chargées, dans les différents pays, de l'examen et de la solution des questions se rattachant à son objet.

Article 4 - Le Conseil d'administration déterminera, dans chaque cas, après avoir consulté les parties intéressées, et d'accord avec elles, les rapports des institutions mentionnées dans la résolution du Conseil du 9 septembre 1924, ou de toute autre institution de caractère intellectuel avec l'Institut international.
Le Conseil d'administration sera prêt à collaborer avec ces institutions, en vue de résoudre des questions particulières, sans cependant porter en aucune manière atteinte à leur autonomie.

Article 5 - Le Conseil d'administration de l'Institut international est composé des membres en fonction de la Commission de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations.

Article 6 - Le Conseil d'administration déléguera, avec l'approbation du Conseil de la Société des Nations, cinq personnes de nationalité différente, qui fermeront un Comité de direction. Les fonctions du Comité de direction, qui se réunira à Paris à, moins tous les
deux mois, de même que la durée du mandat de ses membres et le système de roulement selon lequel ils seront remués, seront déterminés par le Conseil d'administration.

Article 7 - Le fonctionnement de l'Institut est assuré par un personnel rétribué comprenant:
- Un directeur et des chefs de service nommés par le Conseil d'administration;
- Des fonctionnaires nommés par le Comité de direction;
- Des agents subalternes et gens de service nommés par le Directeur sur la présentation des chefs de service.

Article 8 - Le Directeur assiste aux séances du Conseil d'administration et du Comité directeur avec voix consultative.

Article 9 - L'Institut est représenté en justice et dans les actes de la vie civile par le Président, ou, en cas d'empêchement de celui-ci, par le vice-président du Conseil d'administration.
Toutefois, ce Conseil peut déléguer au Directeur tout ou partie des pouvoirs appartenant, aux termes de cet article, à son Président.

Article 10 - La gestion financière de l'Institut sera indépendante de celle de la Société des Nations.
Le Conseil d'administration arrête le budget annuel de l'Institut, dans la limite de la subvention accordée par le Gouvernement français, éventuellement augmentée des ressources provenant d'une autre origine, et approuve le compte rendu des dépenses.

Article 11 - Toutes dispositions nécessaires à l'administration de l'Institut sont arrêtées par le Conseil d'administration, sauf dans le cas où il a délégué ses pouvoirs à cet égard au Comité directeur.
Le Conseil d'administration détermine, par décision approuvée par le Conseil de la Société des Nations, les catégories du personnel de l'Institut devant bénéficier des privilèges et immunités diplomatiques, tels qu'ils sont prévus par l'article 7 du Pacte.

Article 12 - Le règlement relatif au régime financier de l'Institut est arrêté par le Conseil d'administration, après avis conforme du service financier de la Société des Nations.
Le Conseil d'administration établira un règlement financier concernant la gestion des finances de l'Institut,
notamment le budget, l'affectation et l'emploi des fonds, le placement des capitaux, la comptabilité et le contrôle. Ce règlement sera soumis à l'approbation du Conseil de la Société des Nations.


(Signé) Ed. Herriot.¹

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Appendix XX

Regulations for the Founding of the I.I.C.I. in Paris

1. Decree of December 31, 1924

Article 1er. - Il est créé, à Paris, un établissement public appelé "Institut international de coopération intellectuelle," ayant pour objet de prêter son concours à toutes les œuvres de caractère international qui tendent au progrès des sciences, des lettres, des arts et au développement intellectuel de l'humanité par la collaboration des peuples.

Sont approuvés les termes de la lettre adressée, en date du 8 décembre 1924, par le président du conseil, ministre des affaires étrangères, au président du conseil de la Société des Nations, ainsi que le statut annexe, par lesquels sont établies les conditions du fonctionnement de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle.

Article 2 - L'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle est une fondation autonome, investie de la personnalité morale. Il est déclaré d'utilité publique.

Article 3 - Le ministre de l'instruction publique est autorisé à engager à titre de subvention à l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle une dépense de 3 millions de francs. Cette somme sera versée à un compte qui sera ouvert à l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle par une banque agréée par le ministre des finances.

Article 4 - Il est ouvert au ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, en addition aux crédits ouverts au titre de l'exercice 1924, un crédit de 2 millions, qui sera inscrit à un chapitre nouveau, no. 102 bis et intitulé: "Subvention à l'institut international de coopération intellectuelle."

Il sera pourvu au crédit ci-dessus au moyen des ressources du budget général de l'exercice 1924.

Article 5 - Conformément aux résolutions de la 5e assemblée de la Société des Nations, l'institut international de coopération intellectuelle sera organisé et administré par la commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations.
Article 6 - Le bénéfice de l'extraterritorialité est accordé au personnel de l'Institut international au même titre qu'aux fonctionnaires de la Société des Nations.

2. Final Draft

Le Sénat et la Chambre des députés ont adopté,
Le Président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit:

Article 1er - Il est créé à Paris, un Institut international de coopération intellectuelle ayant pour objet principal de travailler, sous la direction de la Commission de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations et par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, aux progrès de l'organisation du travail intellectuel dans le monde par la collaboration internationale.

Sont approuvés les accords intervenus au sujet de cette création entre le Gouvernement français et le conseil de la Société des Nations.

Article 2 - L'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle est une fondation autonome, investie de la personnalité civile.

Article 3 - Il est ouvert au ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, en addition aux crédits provisoires accordés sur l'exercice 1925 par les lois des 31 décembre 1924, 28 février, 30 avril et 30 juin 1925, un crédit s'élevant à la somme d'un million de francs (1000000 de francs) et applicable au chapitre ci-après de la 1re section du budget de son département:
Chap. 102 bis - Subvention annuelle à l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle: 1 million de francs.

Ce crédit se confondra avec ceux qui seront ouverts pour l'année entière par la loi de finances de l'exercice 1925.

Article 4 - La subvention annuelle de 2 millions de francs accordée à l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, en vertu du paragraphe 4 de la lettre adressée, le 8 décembre 1924 par le Gouvernement français, à M. le Président du Conseil de la Société des Nations, sera versée en deux termes semestriels, à un compte qui sera ouvert à l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle par une banque agréée par M. le Ministre des finances.

Article 5 - Le budget et les comptes de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle visés par l'article 13 du statut organique annexé à la présente loi portant fixation du budget général de l'État.

Le rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut visé par l'article 14 du statut organique devra, dès qu'il aura été reçu par le Gouvernement français, être communiqué aux commissions des finances de la Chambre et du Sénat.

La présente loi, délibérée et adoptée par le Sénat et par la Chambre des députés, sera exécutée comme loi de l'État.

Fait à Rambouillet, le 6 août 1925.

Signé: Gaston DOUMERGUE.

Par le Président de la République:
Le ministre des affaires étrangères: Signé Aristide BRIAND.
Le Ministre des finances: Signé J. CAILLAUX.
Le ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Signé de MONZIE.

Appendix XXI

Internal Organization of the I.I.C.I.  
(Reglement intérieur, Part I; not including the Statute relating to Personnel and the Financial Statute)

Article 1 - L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle a pour but, conformément au Pacte de la Société des Nations, de développer la coopération intellectuelle entre les Nations du monde entier.

Article 2 - L'Institut est mis à la disposition de la Société des Nations pour la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle, dont il sera l'instrument de travail.
Il est un organe de liaison et d'information pour tout ce qui a trait aux rapports internationaux d'ordre intellectuel.

Article 3 - L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle a son but, son programme, son fonctionnement déterminés dans leurs grandes lignes:
   a) Par le Rapport de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle du 29 juillet 1924, approuvé par le Conseil de la Société des Nations;
   b) Par la résolution du Conseil du 9 septembre 1924;
   c) Par la résolution de l'Assemblée du 23 septembre 1924;
   d) Par la lettre en date du 8 décembre 1924 adressée par le Gouvernement de la République Française au Président du Conseil de la Société des Nations;
   e) Par le statut organique annexe à la dite lettre.

Article 4 - L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle a son siège à Paris.

Article 5 - L'Institut est dirigé:
   a) Par un Conseil d'Administration composé des membres en fonctions de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle et présidé par un membre de nationalité française de cette Commission;
   b) Par le Comité de Direction désigné par le Conseil d'Administration, avec l'approbation du Conseil de la Société des Nations.

Article 6 - Le Conseil d'Administration établit le budget et détermine le programme d'activité de l'institut. Il approuve le rapport du Comité de Direction. Il présente le rapport prévu à l'article 14 du Statut organique.
Il nomme le Comité de Direction, le Directeur et, le Directeur entendu, les chefs de section et de service. Il approuve les nominations faites par le Comité de Direction.
Article 7 - Le Comité de Direction se compose de cinq membres, de nationalité différente, outre le Président du Conseil d'Administration qui, comme tel, prend part et vote dans ses réunions.

Le Conseil d'Administration peut désigner un, deux ou trois membres adjoints.

Le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations peut, soit par lui-même, soit par un représentant, prendre part, à titre consultatif, aux séances du Comité de Direction. Il en est de même du Directeur de l'Institut.

Le Secrétaire de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle sera appelé à remplir les fonctions de Secrétaire du Comité de Direction.

Article 8 - Les membres du Comité de Direction sont désignés pour cinq ans.

Toutefois, le Comité sera renouvelé par unité dès la première année. À la fin cette année et pendant les quatre années suivantes, le sort désignera celui des membres qui sera soumis à réélection pour une nouvelle période de cinq années. Aucun membre ne pourra être réélu plus d'une fois.

En cas de démission ou de décès, il est pourvu à la vacance à la prochaine réunion du Conseil d'Administration, pour la période du mandat restant à courir. En attendant, le Comité continue à fonctionner valablement.

Article 9 - Le Comité de Direction se réunit tous les deux mois au siège de l'Institut, excepté durant les mois d'août et de septembre. En outre, il peut être convoqué en tout temps par le Conseil d'Administration. En cas d'urgence, sur la proposition motivée du Directeur de l'Institut ou sur la demande de deux de ses membres, le Comité de Direction sera convoqué par son Président.

Article 10 - Chaque année, le Conseil d'Administration fixe au Comité de Direction le programme général dont l'exécution doit être surveillée. Il lui déléguera à cet effet les pouvoirs nécessaires.

Le Comité de Direction propose au Conseil d'Administration et réalise, dans les limites de ses pouvoirs, ce qu'il juge utile pour l'activité de l'Institut.

Le Comité de Direction nomme, le Directeur entendu, les adjoints et les fonctionnaires autres que ceux que dont la nomination est réservée au Conseil d'Administration et au Directeur (conformément à l'article 7 du statut organique).

Article 11 - Les fonctions des membres du Comité de Direction sont gratuites. Ils ne doivent pas, pendant la durée de leurs fonctions exécuter, comme experts ou
collaborateurs, de travail rémunéré pour l'Institut. Ils sont seulement indemnisés par l'Institut de leurs frais de déplacement, voyage, etc. selon le barème en usage pour les membres des Commissions de la Société des Nations.

Article 12 - Les membres empêchés peuvent se faire remplacer par une personne de leur choix, à condition qu'ils aient fait agréer ce choix par le Conseil d'Administration.

Article 13 - Le Comité délibère valablement sur les questions portées à l'ordre du jour ainsi que sur les questions urgentes, quel soit le nombre des membres présents.

Article 14 - Le Directeur de l'Institut est nommé par le Conseil d'Administration. Son mandat est de sept ans. Il est rééligible une fois.

Pour assurer l'internationalité de l'Institut, il est désiré que le successeur d'un directeur décédé, démissionnaire ou non réélu, n'appartienne pas à la même nationalité que celui-ci.

Le Directeur prend l'engagement des son entrée en charge, de consacrer tout son temps à l'Institut, de diriger celui-ci en toute impartialité, dans l'esprit qui anime la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle elle-même, et d'en assurer la stricte internationalité.

Article 15 - Le Directeur assure l'unité du travail et la coordination des efforts. Son autorité s'étend à toutes les sections et à tous les services, entre lesquels il répartit le travail, de manière à éviter les pertes de temps et les doubles emplois.

Il a seul le droit, qu'il peut toutefois déléguer, de signer la correspondance de l'Institut. Le Directeur assure l'exécution du programme établi par le Conseil d'Administration et précisé par le Comité de Direction.

Le Directeur propose au Comité de Direction et réalise dans les limites de ses pouvoirs, ce qu'il juge utile pour l'activité de l'Institut.


Article 16 - En cas d'empêchement, le directeur désigne, avec l'approbation du Comité de Direction, celui des chefs de Section qui le remplacera.

Article 17 - Le Directeur réunit, chaque fois qu'il le juge utile, ses divers collaborateurs, pour procéder à des échanges de vues sur toutes les questions qui intéressent
Article 18 - L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle est divisé en sections et services. Les Sections correspondent aux principaux champs d'action de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle.
Les services représentent des activités techniques et auxiliaires pouvant être utiles à toutes les sections, ou ayant un caractère temporaire.

Article 19 - Les Sections de l'Institut sont:
1. La Section des Affaires Générales;
2. La Section des Relations Universitaires;
3. La Section de la Bibliographie et des Relations scientifiques;
4. La Section des Relations artistiques et littéraires;
5. La Section Juridique;
6. La Section d'Information.

Article 20 - La Section des Affaires Générales étudie les questions d'ordre général et celles qui ne rentrent pas dans le cadre des autres sections.

Article 21 - La Section des Relations Universitaires étudie les questions relatives aux rapports et échanges entre les universités et autres établissements d'enseignement supérieur.
Elle continue l'activité de l'Office International de Renseignements universitaires et la publication de son bulletin.

Article 22 - La Section de Bibliographie et des Relations Scientifiques a pour but de faciliter les rapports intellectuels en développant l'organisation internationale de la bibliographie et en étudiant les questions qui ont trait à la collaboration internationale dans le domaine des sciences.

Article 23 - La Section des Relations artistiques et littéraires étudie les questions qui ont trait à la collaboration internationale dans le domaine des lettres et des arts.
La Section des Lettres et des Arts pourra être divisée en deux sections dont l'une s'occupera spécialement des questions littéraires et l'autre des questions artistiques. Ces deux sections poursuivent leurs travaux en liaison avec la Sous-Commission des lettres et des arts.

Article 24 - La Section Juridique étudie les problèmes de droit que soulève l'activité de l'Institut ou qui se
rattachent aux relations intellectuelles internationales. Elle s'occupe de la protection des droits des travailleurs intellectuels, à l'exception des points qui concernent le contrat de travail proprement dit, lesquels restent de la compétence du Bureau International du Travail.

La Section se tient en étroites relations avec le Bureau International du Travail.

Article 25 - La Section d'Information renseigne le public sur l'activité de l'Institut.
Elle étudie les questions techniques relatives à la diffusion internationale des connaissances et des idées (problème du livre, de la circulation des imprimés etc).

Le Chef de la Section assiste avec voix consultative aux séances de la Sous-Commission.
Les frais de séance des sous-commissions restent, comme par le passé, à la charge de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle; ceux du chef de section sont seuls à la charge de l'Institut.
Le Sous-Commission peut designer, chaque année, un de ses membres, chargé de suivre avec une attention particulière, les travaux de la Section. Les indemnités qui peuvent lui être dues sont à la charge du budget de l'Institut.

Article 27 - Les chefs de Section proposent au Directeur et réalisent avec son approbation, dans les limites de leurs attributions, tout ce qu'ils jugent utile pour l'activité de leur Section.

Appendix XXII

Statutes of the International Museums Office
(Approved by the C.I.C.I. and by the First Session of the Executive Committee - with minor amendments - in 1930)

Article 1 - L'Office international des Musées (O.I.M.) a été créé en 1926, dans le cadre de l'Institut international de Coopération Intel lectuelle à Paris, par décision de la Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations. Il a pour but de faciliter, par l'organisation d'une activité collective et d'études à poursuivre en commun, la vie des Musées et des Collections publiques de tous les pays.

Article 2 - L'Office international des Musées s'occupe des Musées, Collections et Monuments d'art, d'histoire, d'archéologie et d'art populaire.

Article 3 - Il a son siège à l'Institut international de Coopération Intel lectuelle.

Article 4 - La Direction de l'Office international des Musées appartient à un Comité composé de six membres au moins, désignés par la Commission internationale de Coopération Intel lectuelle suivant la procédure habituelle. Un de ses membres sera choisi dans le sein de la Commission internationale de Coopération Intel lectuelle. Il assumera la présidence du Comité. Le Directeur ou son délégué assistera aux séances du Comité.

Les membres de ce Comité sont nommés pour cinq ans. Leur mandat est indéfiniment renouvelable.

Article 5 - Le budget de l'Office international des Musées constitue un chapitre spécial du budget de l'Institut international de Coopération Intel lectuelle. Il est établi sur rapport du Comité de direction de l'Office international des Musées.

Ce budget pourra s'accroître de dons et legs de particuliers et de subventions des Gouvernements et des pouvoirs publics, que l'Institut international de Coopération Intel lectuelle a qualifié pour recevoir au profit de l'Office international des Musées.

Article 6 - Le Comité se réunit au moins trois fois par an à des dates et lieux fixés par son président.

Il délibère valablement, quel que soit le nombre des membres présents. Les décisions peuvent être prises par correspondance, quand le président l'estime nécessaire, à la majorité simple.
Article 7 - Le Comité a délégation pour surveiller l'exécution du programme établi chaque année par la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle. Il rédige, en fin d'exercice, un rapport présenté par son président.

Article 8 - Il peut avoir recours à des commissions consultatives d'experts désignées par la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle et convoquées à la demande du président du Comité.

Article 9 - L'Office international des Musées est administré par un secrétaire général fonctionnaire de l'Institut. Il est responsable envers le Comité. Le Secrétaire général est assisté d'un personnel nommé sur proposition du Comité, d'accord avec le Directeur de l'Institut.

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Appendix XXIII

Statutes of the International Commission on Folk Arts
(Adopted at Rome in 1929)

Section I
But de la CIAP
(Commission internationale des arts populaires)

Article 1er - Il est constitué une Commission internationale des Arts populaires (CIAP) qui a pour l'objet l'étude, l'encouragement et la défense des arts populaires de tous les pays. - Constituée dans un but scientifique et artistique, la CIAP poursuivra également son action en cherchant dans ce domaine à favoriser la compréhension mutuelle des peuples par la coopération intellectuelle internationale.

Article 2 - Elle restera en liaison étroite avec l'Organisation de Coopération intellectuelle de la S.D.N.
Le Bureau de la CIAP est chargé de l'application de ce principe.

Article 3 - Le siège de la CIAP est fixé à l'Institut de Coopération intellectuelle de Paris.

Section II
(Composition de la CIAP)

Article 4 - La CIAP est composée de représentants des Comités nationaux des Arts populaires des différents pays et des délégués des Gouvernements qui y ont adhéré, délégués choisis autant que possible parmi les savants spécialisés dans l'étude des arts populaires.
Chaque Comité national a droit à un seul représentant aux Assemblées plénières de la CIAP. - Ce représentant pourra se faire assister d'adjoints ou d'experts.
Les représentants, les adjoints et les experts sont désignés par leurs Comités nationaux.
Aux séances plénières de la CIAP seuls les représentants et délégués ont droit de vote, à raison d'une voix par Comité et par Gouvernement représentés.
La CIAP réunie en séance plénière, pourra admettre, sur la proposition de son Bureau, en qualité des membres correspondants, des associations ou des personnalités spécialisées dans l'étude des arts populaires.
Les membres correspondants pourront être invités par le Bureau, d'accord avec leur Comité national respectif, pour participer aux séances plénières de la CIAP. Ils n'y auront que voix consultative.
Article 5 - La qualité de représentant d'un Comité National à la CIAP se perd:
1. Par décision du Comité National dont il fait partie;
2. Par démission notifiée au secrétariat par lettre recommandée;
3. Par radiation prononcée par la CIAP aux deux tiers des voix, sur la proposition du Bureau, ou à la demande d'un tiers des membres de la CIAP. Dans ce dernier cas, la demande doit formulée au Secrétariat par lettre recommandée deux mois avant l'Assemblée plénière, le Bureau sera appelé à donner son avis à l'Assemblée.

Article 6 - Les membres recevront le service régulier des bulletins de la CIAP. Ils participeront de plein droit à toutes les manifestations publiques d'activité de la CIAP.

Section III
(Les Comités nationaux)

Article 7 - Un Comité national sera constitué dans chaque pays. Il sera formé de personnalités représentatives des études spécialement consacrées aux différentes branches des arts populaires, et, d'une façon générale, de personnalités qui ont montré par leurs travaux et leur action, l'intérêt qu'elles portent aux arts populaires.
Pour être admis dans la CIAP chaque Comité national devra adresser une demande au Bureau. Celui-ci en fera rapport à la CIAP dans la plus prochaine Assemblée plénière. L'admission d'un Comité national devra réunir les deux tiers des voix.

Section IV
(Administration de la CIAP)

Article 8 - La CIAP procède à l'élection dans son sein d'un Bureau composé du Président et de huit membres.
Le Bureau procède à l'élection de deux de ses membres, en qualité de vice-président. Il pourvoit à la constitution de son secrétariat. Le mandat du Président et de la moitié des membres du bureau vient à expiration tous les deux ans. Tous les membres sortants sont rééligibles.

Article 9 - Le Bureau se réunit deux fois par an, à des dates et lieux fixés par son Président.
En dehors des séances du Bureau et des réunions plénières de la CIAP, le Président a le droit de recourir,
pour le règlement des questions urgentes, au vote par
correspondance.

**Article 10** - La CIAP se réunit en séance plénière tous les
deux ans. Une session extraordinaire pourra être convoquée lorsque le Bureau le juge nécessaire ou lorsque la
majorité des membres le demandent.

Le Bureau fixe le lieu, la date et l'ordre du jour
des séances plénières de la CIAP. Les propositions relatives aux points à inscrire dans l'ordre du jour
doivent parvenir au Secrétariat six semaines au moins
avant la réunion de la CIAP.

La CIAP fixe en séance plénière, le lieu, la date
et le règlement des Congrès, qui auront exclusivement
un caractère scientifique et artistique. Le Bureau fera
appel à l'étude des questions inscrites à l'Ordre du
jour des Congrès.

**Article 11** - Un membre empêché de prendre part à une
réunion du Bureau de la CIAP a le droit de désigner un
suppléant qui lui sera substitué dans l'exercice de son
mandat.

En cas de décès, de démission ou de radiation, la
Commission nationale intéressée désignera le membre
chargé du remplacement jusqu'à la prochaine session
plénière de la CIAP.

**Section V**

(Modification aux Statuts)

**Article 12** - Les propositions de modifications aux statuts
doivent être contresignées par un tiers des membres au
moins. Toute modification pour être adoptée devra
réunir les voix des deux tiers des membres de la CIAP.

**Ammendments adopted at the Second Session of the Executive**

**Committees**

1. La CIAP sera considérée comme un organisme travaillant à une oeuvre de Coopération Intellectuelle dans
l'esprit de la C.I.C.I.

2. Elle aura son siège officiel à l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle.

3. Elle désignera son bureau, suivant les termes de son
Statut, tel qu'il a été adopté à Rome en octobre 1929.

4. Un délégué de la C.I.C.I. fera de droit partie de son
bureau.

5. La CIAP désignera elle-même son Secrétaire général.

6. Le Directeur de l'Institut désignera un fonctionnaire
chargé de suivre les travaux de la CIAP et de préparer
les réunions de Bureau de la CIAP prévues au para-
graphe 8 ci-après.

1. Rothbarth, Margarete Johanna, Geistige Zusammenarbeit
Im Rahmen des Völkerbundes, Münter in Westfalen, Aschendorff'sche
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931, Appendix 12, pp. 174-177.
Appendix XXIV

Statutes of the International Institute of Educational Cinematography
(Adopted at Geneva, December 17, 1929)

Article 1er - L'Institut international du Cinémographe éducatif a son siège à Rome.

Article 2 - L'Institut a pour but de favoriser la production, la diffusion et l'échange entre les divers pays des films éducatifs concernant l'instruction, l'art, l'industrie, l'agriculture, le commerce, l'hygiène, l'éducation sociale, etc. en se servant de tous les moyens que le Conseil d'Administration jugera nécessaire.

Article 3 - L'activité de l'Institut international du Cinémographe éducatif se poursuivra sous la direction du Conseil de la Société des Nations, qui consultera à cet égard la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle.

Article 4 - Les organes de l'Institut sont:
1. Le Conseil d'Administration;
2. Le Comité exécutif permanent;
3. Le Directeur.

Article 5 - Le Conseil d'Administration se compose d'un président et de quatorze membres, autant que possible de nationalités différentes, nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations.
Il doit comprendre, siégeant à titre personnel, trois membres de la Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle, dont le président et le membre italien; un membre de chacune des quatre sous-commissions de la même Commission choisis parmi ceux qui ne font pas partie de la Commission plénière et deux membres du Comité pour la protection de l'enfance de la Société des Nations. L'édit membre italien est, le droit, président du Conseil d'Administration.

Article 6 - Le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations pourra, soit personnellement, soit en se faisant représenter, participer à titre consultatif aux séances du Conseil d'Administration. Il en sera de même pour le Directeur de l'Institut International de Coopération intellectuelle; le Directeur du Bureau International du Travail et le Président de l'Institut International d'Agriculture pourront participer aux séances dans les mêmes conditions.
Article 7 - Les membres du Conseil d'Administration resteront en fonction pendant cinq ans et seront rééligibles une fois, sous réserve d'un système de roulement à déterminer par le Conseil de la Société des Nations.

Article 8 - Le Conseil d'Administration nommé parmi ses membres un Comité exécutif permanent, composé de son président, de cinq membres, appartenant à cinq nationalités différentes et, à titre consultatif, du Directeur de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle ou de son remplaçant.

Les membres de ce Comité resteront en fonction pendant deux ans et seront rééligibles.

Le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations, le Directeur du Bureau International du Travail et le Président de l'Institut International d'Agriculture peuvent participer aux séances dans les conditions prévues par l'article 6, en ce qui concerne les réunions du Conseil d'Administration.

Le secrétaire du Conseil d'Administration et du Comité exécutif permanent sera nommé par le Secrétaire général de la Société des Nations après consultation du président du Conseil d'Administration.

Article 9 - Le Directeur de l'Institut est désigné pour sept ans par le Conseil d'Administration; il sera rééligible une fois. La première nomination du Directeur se fera sur proposition du président du Conseil d'Administration.

Article 10 - Le Conseil d'Administration se réunit au moins une fois par an.

Il a toute autorité sur l'activité de l'Institut dont il détermine périodiquement le programme, en tenant compte de la compétence des institutions internationales (notamment de l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle et de l'Organisation International du Travail) et de l'activité de tout autre organisme international qualifié, notamment du Comité pour la protection de l'Enfance.

Article 11 - Les gouvernements de même que les organismes de la Société des Nations, peuvent, par l'intermédiaire du Conseil de la Société, formuler des propositions spécialles qui seront examinées par l'Institut.

Les institutions et groupements, de caractère national et autre, ne rentrant pas dans la catégorie ci-dessus, peuvent soumettre des suggestions au Conseil d'Administration de l'Institut.

Article 12 - Le Conseil d'Administration peut déléguer l'examen et l'étude des questions spécialles à des commissions d'experts.
Article 13 - Le Conseil d'Administration peut également prendre l'initiative d'attirer l'attention du Conseil de la Société des Nations sur l'opportunité de convoquer des conférences internationales en vue d'aboutir à des accords internationaux.

Article 14 - L'Institut constituera une cinémathèque internationale. Il dressera et tiendra à jour le catalogue général des films éducatifs.

Article 15 - Le Conseil d'Administration, dès sa première session, établira:
   1. Le règlement financier;
   2. Le règlement administratif, qui devra comprendre, notamment: le statut du personnel, le règlement du Conseil d'Administration lui-même, du Comité exécutif et des Commission d'experts, les grandes lignes de l'organisation des services et, en général, toutes les normes nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de l'Institut.


Article 16 - Les dépenses relatives aux sessions du Conseil d'Administration et du Comité exécutif permanent sont à la charge du budget de l'Institut.

Article 17 - Les langues officielles de l'Institut sont l'allemand, l'anglais, l'espagnol, le français et l'italien.


Appendix XXV

Statutes of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law

Article 1 - L’Institut international pour l’unification du droit privé à son siège à Rome.


Article 3 - Les organes de l’Institut sont:
1. Le Conseil de direction;
2. Le Comité permanent;
3. Le Secrétariat.

Article 4 - Le Conseil de direction comprend un président et quatorze membres, autant que possible de nationalités différentes. Ils sont nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations; le membre italien est de droit président du Conseil de direction.

Le secrétaire général sera nommé par le Conseil de direction. La première nomination du secrétaire général se fera sur présentation du président du Conseil de direction.

Les membres élus resteront en fonction pendant cinq ans et seront rééligibles une fois. Le secrétaire est nommé pour une période de sept ans et sera rééligible également une fois.

Article 5 - Le Conseil de direction nomme parmi ses membres un Comité permanent, composé du président du Conseil de direction et de cinq membres appartenant à cinq nationalités différentes.

Article 6 - Le Secrétariat se compose d’un secrétaire général, nommé comme il a été dit à l’article 4, et de deux adjoints, appartenant à des nationalités différentes, nommés également par le Conseil de direction.

Article 7 - Le Conseil de direction établit les arguments qui doivent faire l’objet des travaux. Tout État, de même que les organismes de la Société des Nations, par

Le Conseil de direction décide de la suite à donner aux propositions ainsi formulées.

Article 8 - Le Conseil de direction peut déléguer l'examen des questions spéciales à des commissions de juristes particulièrement versés dans l'étude de dites questions.

Article 9 - Le Conseil de direction approuve les propositions qui ont fait l'objet de ses études.

Les propositions et les projets approuvés par le Conseil de direction sont transmis au Secrétariat de la Société des Nations.

Article 10 - Le Conseil de direction peut également prendre l'initiative d'attirer l'attention du Conseil de la Société des Nations sur l'opportunité de convoquer des conférences internationales pour l'étude de certaines questions.

Article 11 - L'Institut possèdera une bibliothèque placée sous la direction du secrétaire général.

L'Institut organisera des conférences, il publiera les actes concernant ses travaux et pourra faire paraitre les études qu'il juge dignes d'une large diffusion.

Article 12 - Les indemnités des membres du Conseil de direction et les émoluments du personnel du Secrétariat, ainsi que les dépenses administratives, seront à la charge du budget de l'Institut.

Article 13 - Les langues officielles de l'Institut sont l'italien, le français, l'anglais, l'espagnol et l'allemand.

Article 14 - (Règlement intérieur) Les règles relatives à l'administration de l'Institut et à son fonctionnement intérieur, seront établies par le Conseil de direction de l'Institut, et devront être approuvées par le Conseil de la Société des Nations, et communiquées à l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations et au Gouvernement italien.

Article 15 - Le présent statut pourra être modifié par le Conseil de la Société des Nations, d'accord avec le Gouvernement italien.

On devra introduire d'autres articles concernant l'obligation, pour le Gouvernement italien, de faire
donner à l'Institut la personnalité juridique, les locaux et les frais d'installation.¹

Appendix XXVI

Projects of the International Intellectual Cooperation Organization in which the Education Branch of the Dominion (of Canada) Bureau of Statistics Participated

International Catalogue of Educational or Cultural Films - The Institute at Paris is establishing a catalogue of films essentially non-commercial in character, such as may move duty-free between countries under the International Convention for the Exchange of Films of any character. The Education Branch and the National Film Society in collaboration provided a basic list of films for Canada, and the Secretary of the Society will keep it up-to-date by submitting a record of new films.

International Catalogue of Films Made for the Purpose of Scientific Observation - To aid the Institute in establishing a list of technical films, a standard questionnaire was circulated to university departments, scientific societies, government departments, research laboratories, etc., and a record of the films that were located was forwarded to Paris.

University Statistics and Employment of Intellectuals - A branch of the Institute is the International Bureau of University Statistics. The Education Branch has collaborated with this Bureau for several years in trying to make Canadian university statistics conform with practice recommended by it, so that records will be comprehensible and reasonably comparable as between countries. A particular interest of the Bureau is the employment market for intellectual workers. A "pioneer" study in this field was undertaken by the Education Branch and published under the title "Supply and Demand in the Professions in Canada," and a further article contributed to the monthly magazine, "Co-operation Intellectuelle."

Bibliographie pedagogique internationale - This is an annual volume listing the most important publications and review articles on the subject of education which appear in the 25 or 30 contributing countries. The Education Branch has provided the Canadian entries for several years, also the information on the education press, etc., appearing in the Handbook of National Centres of Educational Information.

School and University Curricula and Teaching Practice - A continuous series of studies in this general field is carried on. The Education branch has provided Canadian
information for these studies since the beginning of 1939, viz., (1) The teaching of civics; (2) The teaching of economic co-operation; (3) The co-ordination of subjects at the early post-elementary level.

Social Sciences - The Institute has been trying to persuade its collaborators in various countries to take stock of the situation in regard to teaching and research in the social sciences (as distinct from the natural or exact sciences). Surveys have been completed for France and Britain and are in progress in certain other countries. With the aid of the Joint Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, established by several national organizations in 1938, the Education Branch has been able to provide a good deal of information concerning the situation in Canada.

Supply of Publications - Obviously the collaboration of the Education Branch has been mainly in work that is essentially documentary in character. Its assistance has been limited to what an "information bureau" can do. Apart from the special studies undertaken on behalf of the Institute, its reports on Canadian libraries, museums, universities and schools have reportedly met a definite need, and publications from other sources have on several occasions been forwarded. But the more active and direct forms of intellectual co-operation; e.g., those looking to legislative action, await the attention of a Committee.¹

¹. Cited in a typewritten communication to the present writer from the Secretary of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Dr. John E. Robbins.
Appendix XXVII

Table Showing the Number of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation In Existence during Each Year of the Period 1922-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Committees in Existence</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
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<td>1924</td>
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<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix XXVIII

Table Showing the Date of Foundation of the Various National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Committee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1934</td>
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<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>1932</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A comparison of the data in this table with the information found in the previous Appendix and with the material on this subject in the text of this study will show a number of discrepancies. For example, if the number of National Committees which were founded up to 1930 is computed from this table, it will be found to be less than the number shown as being in existence in the same year in the previous Appendix and in the text of this study. The writer can only partially account for such discrepancies by stating the following possible explanations: the numerous sources from which the data in these Appendices were compiled, though they were all of apparently equal reliability, were not so in fact; the sources from which the data were gathered may, in some instances, have included the special committees on intellectual cooperation, such as the International Catholic Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, in their calculations without having made note of this fact; and, there were some National Committees which were in existence for only a few years and were then dissolved, only to be revived again at a later date.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Committee</th>
<th>Year of Inception</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
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<td>1931</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>1937</td>
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<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1938</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1937</td>
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<td>Mexico</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Committee</td>
<td>Year of Inception</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>Netherlands Indies</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
<td>1934</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>1937</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix XXIX

Extracts From a Communication From the Secretary of the
Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to the
Present Writer

Ottawa, Ontario,
October 14, 1944.

Mr. A. Goodman
Vancouver.

Dear Mr. Goodman,

I was interested to see a letter you had written to Dr. Keith
of the League of Nations Society when I was in their office
some days ago, and to learn of the thesis subject you are
working on.

It has since occurred to me that you may like to know some­
thing of the movement that resulted in the establishment of
the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and I am
accordingly sending you under separate cover a copy of
"Collective Action", which is, in effect, the report of the
annual meeting of the League of Nations Society in 1937.
At page 110 you will find printed a paper which I presented
to that meeting, and at page 117 the resolution adopted by
the conference as a result of it. The Chairman of the Com­
mittee established was Dr. H.M. Tory, and I was the Secre­
tary. We met a few times during that winter and at the
annual meeting of the League of Nations Society in 1938 in
Ottawa there was a session under the chairmanship of
Dr. R.C. Wallace of Queen's University, as a result of which
our Committee was asked to continue work with a view to the
establishment of a Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co­
operation.

The following spring we made arrangements for a representa­
tive group of people to meet in Montreal independently of the
League of Nations Society, and constitute the Canadian Com­
mittee. I am enclosing a copy of the report of this meeting.

The spring of 1939 was, of course, as it turned out, with
the out-break of war later in the year -- a most inopportune
time to get started, with the result that although the
Committee has held annual meetings since, it has not been able to develop an effective programme.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) John E. Robbins
Secretary
Appendix XXX

Charter Members of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1939)

* Prof. H.F. Angus, Head of the Social Science Department, University of British Columbia, Vancouver;

Hon. A.E. Arsenault, Judge of the Supreme Court, Charlottetown;

Dr. M. Barbeau, Ethnologist, National Museum, Ottawa;

* Prof. J. Bruchesi, Deputy Provincial Secretary, Quebec;

* Mr. D.W. Buchanan, Director of Talks, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Toronto;

Mr. L.J. Burpee, Secretary, International Joint Commission, Ottawa;

Madame P. Casgrain, Lawyer, Lecturer, Feminist, Westmount, P.Q.

Dr. E.A. Corbett, Director, Canadian Association for Adult Education, Toronto;

* Most Rev. P.M. Gaudrault, Prior, Dominican College, Ottawa;

* Lt.-Col. G.L.P. Grant-Suttie, Chairman, Canadian Committee of the International Geographical Union, George St., Toronto;

Dr. C.W. Hendel, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, McGill University, Montreal;

* Dr. H.A. Innis, Professor of Economics, University of Toronto, Toronto;

Mr. F.I. Ker, Editor, The Spectator, Hamilton;
Mrs. M.M. Kirkwood, Dean of Women, Trinity College, Toronto;

Dr. G. Lanctot, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa;

Miss E.P. MacCallum, Director, International Affairs Literature Service, League of Nations Society, Ottawa;

* Dr. R.A. McKay, Professor of Political Science, Dalhousie University, Halifax;

Prof. N.A.M. MacKenzie, Professor of International Law, University of Toronto, Toronto;

Mr. H.O. McCurry, Assistant Director, National Gallery, Ottawa;

Dr. E. Montpetit, General Secretary, University of Montreal, Montreal;

* Dr. J.E. Robbins, Chief, Education Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa;

* The Rev. H. St. Denis, Professor of Philosophy, University of Ottawa, Ottawa;

Mr. B.K. Sandwell, Editor, Saturday Night, Toronto;

Dr. S.E. Smith, President, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg;

* Dr. H.M. Tory, President, Royal Society of Canada, Rockcliffe Park, Ottawa;

* Dr. R.G. Trotter, Professor of History, Queen's University, Kingston;

Dr. G.J. Trueman, President, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B.;

Mgr. A. Vachon, Rector, Laval University, Quebec;

* Dr. R.C. Wallace, Principal, Queen's University, Kingston;
Mr. W.S. Wallace, Librarian, University of Toronto, Toronto.

* Indicates those in attendance at the first meeting held at the Faculty Club of McGill University, May 24, 1939.

1. Cited in a typewritten communication to the present writer from the Secretary of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Dr. John E. Robbins.
Appendix XXXI

Extracts From a Communication From the Secretary of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to the Present Writer

Ottawa, Ontario,
May 16, 1945.

Mr. A. Goodman,
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Mr. Goodman,-

... the enclosed memorandum of the activities of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ... was prepared last month by way of documentation for the members of the Canadian delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

From the resolution which is quoted in this memorandum and the reply of the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, copy of which is attached, you will see that the Committee has been attempting to stimulate Canadian participation in the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. The Committee encouraged a number of other national education bodies to memorialize the Department of External Affairs on the same subject.

In the United States we have had more contact with the Liaison Committee for International Education and the International Education Assembly than with the American Association for an International Office of Education. ...

Little change in the membership of the Canadian Committee has taken place since it was set up in 1939. ... We have never actually adopted a plan regarding terms of membership.

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

We are hopeful that definite provision for an international office will come out of the San Francisco meeting and the immediate future of the Canadian Committee will depend, in some part, on what happens there. There will be the same question of change of name and purpose, with which you
are familiar in the case of the League of Nations Society.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) John E. Robbins, Secretary
Appendix XXXII

Memorandum on Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

Canada was one of the last countries to establish a national committee to collaborate with the Intellectual Co-operation Organization of the League of Nations. After discussions of the subject at the annual meetings of the League of Nations Society in Canada in 1937 and 1938 a committee of the Society was established to investigate details involved in the setting up of a Canadian Committee, as a result of which such a body was established at a meeting held in the Faculty Club, McGill University, May 24, 1938.1 As Chairman of the organizing group I was able to report that some thirty representative Canadians had agreed to act on a Canadian Committee. About half of them were actually in attendance. I was asked to act as Chairman, and Dr. John E. Robbins of the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics as Secretary in view of the collaboration of his Branch, over a period of years, with the International Institute on Intellectual Co-operation.

The outbreak of war within a few months of the establishment of the Committee precluded the possibility of developing a program such as had been envisaged. With the invasion of France and the fall of Paris in the spring of 1940 we were cut off from the Institute, the executive office of the

1. This date should be 1939.
International Organization. Contacts were maintained, however, with certain of the Latin-American national committees and with the U.S. Committee.

Two meetings of the Canadian Committee were held in 1942, one of which was attended by Mr. Henri Bonnet, now French ambassador to the United States, who had been the Director of the Institute at Paris until it was closed in 1940.

The Committee undertook to keep itself informed of steps being taken to promote educational and cultural relations between Canada and other countries, and interested itself particularly in the preparation of two publications. One of these entitled "Educational Institutions in Canada" was published by the Department of Trade and Commerce in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, and distributed widely in 1944. The other, entitled, "International Planning for Education" reviewed the development of interest in international co-operation in educational matters during the war years, and was published by the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship. The text of both publications was prepared by the Canadian Committee's Secretary, and a foreword was added by myself as Chairman.

A meeting of the Committee was held in May 1944 at which international developments described in the second pamphlet were reviewed, and the following resolution drafted for transmission to the Prime Minister of Canada:
WHEREAS the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education meeting in London, with the full collaboration of a delegation from the United States Department of State, has undertaken to ascertain the most urgent educational needs of the countries or areas that have been occupied by the Axis powers, and to draft a plan for a United Nations agency for educational and cultural reconstruc-
tion in these areas;

This Committee would like to urge upon the Government of Canada the desirability of making provision for official Canadian participation in this Conference in the way that it has done in the United Nations Food Conference and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-
tion.

With the more recent liberation of Paris activity at the Institute has been resumed in a small way and the Canadian Committee has in recent weeks again been in communication with the Paris office of the Institute.

(Signed) H. M. Tory.

Ottawa, April 10, 1945.
Dear Dr. Tory:

The Prime Minister has asked me to reply to your letter of June 2nd conveying the views of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with regard to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. The deliberations of this Conference have been followed in London by a representative of the High Commissioner's Office, and the Canadian Government has been fully informed of the plans which are being made for the rehabilitation of education in Europe. At the present moment proposals are being considered for the re-organization of the Conference under the title of The United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. The draft Constitution for this new body has been submitted for comment to the Governments of the United Nations. This Constitution will subsequently be revised and formal steps will then be taken to bring the new organization into existence.

We are grateful to receive the views of the Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in regard to the activities of the Conference and to the part which Canada might play in the work of educational reconstruction. As you will see, the plans for the re-organization of the Conference are still in the formative stage, but it is expected that definite proposals in regard to the United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction will be made in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

N. A. Robertson
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Dr. H. M. Tory, Chairman,
Canadian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

Rockcliffe Park,
Ottawa.
Appendix XXXIV

Statutes of the German National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

Section I

Zur Vertretung der deutschen kulturellen Interessen bei der Internationalen Kommission für geistige Zusammenarbeit in Genf wird eine "Deutsche Kommission für geistige Zusammenarbeit" gebildet.

Section II


Section III

Die Kommission tritt auf Einladung des Reichsministers des Innern und des Reichsministers des Auswartigen zusammen.

Section IV

Die Kommission wählt aus ihrer Mitte einen Ersten Vorsitzenden, einen Zweiten Vorsitzenden, zwei Stellvertretende Vorsitzende und fünf Mitglieder, die zusammen das Präsidium der Kommission bilden.

Section V

Die Wahl der Vorsitzenden unterliegt der Bestätigung des Reichsministers des Innern und des Reichsministers des Auswartigen.

Section VI

Der Vorsitzende führt mit Unterstützung des Präsidiums die laufenden Geschäfte; er leitet die Tagungen, erstattet Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Arbeiten der Kommission während der verflossenen Zeit und macht Vorschläge für neue Arbeiten.

Section VII


Section VIII

Die Kommission prüft den Bericht des Vorsitzenden und macht Vorschläge für neue Aufgaben.

Section IX

Die Beschlüsse der Kommission werden mit einfacher Stimmenmehrheit gefasst; bei Stimmengleichheit entscheidet die Stimme des Vorsitzenden.

Section X

Beschlüsse der Kommission, die finanzielle Auswirkungen zur Folge haben, bedürfen der Zustimmung des Reichsministers des Innern und des Reichsministers des Auswartigen.

Section XI

Die Aktivität der Kommission ist ehrenamtlich. Bei Dienstgeschäften ausserhalb ihres Wohnsitzes erhalten die Mitglieder Fahrkosten und Tagegelder nach den Sätzen für die Ministerialrate.

Section XII


Der Reichspräsident gez. v. Hindenburg.
Der Reichsminister des Auswartigen gez. Dr. Stresemann.
Für den Reichsminister des Innern; Der Reichsminister des Auswartigen gez. Dr. Stresemann.

Appendix XXXV

Rules of Procedure of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, adopted by the Committee (1937)

Article 1 - The Committee shall elect a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen from among its members.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen shall be appointed for a period of one year. They shall remain in office during one session of the Committee and throughout the following period until the next annual session.

Article 2 - The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall be convened by its Chairman and shall meet at least once each year. The provisional agenda for each session shall be prepared by the Secretariat, in agreement with the Chairman of the Committee and the Director of the Institute, and approved by the Executive Committee. As a general rule, the agenda shall provide for the examination of the reports of the Secretariat, the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Director of the International Cinematographic Institute and of the report on the work of the Advisory Committee of Intellectual Workers by the Committee's representatives on that body.

The Committee may further be summoned to meet in extraordinary session at the request of the Council of the League of Nations, on the proposal of its Chairman, or at the request of two-thirds of its members, provided always that the budgetary credits permit.

Article 3 - The letters summoning members to a session of the Committee shall in each case be accompanied by a copy of the agenda.

Any member of the Committee may notify the Chairman that he proposes to request the addition of a particular question to the agenda for the session.

Article 4 - (1) During the discussion of any question any member may move the previous question, or the adjournment. Such a motion shall have priority over all other business.

(2) The quorum at the meetings of the Committee shall be constituted by a majority of the members.

All the Committee's decisions may be taken by a majority vote of the members present at the meeting.
Should the votes be equally divided, the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

Failing unanimity, the minority shall be entitled to attach to the resolution a note explaining their reasons for opposing it.

Article 5 - Minutes shall be taken of all meetings of the Committee and shall be submitted to the members present at the session for their approval.

Article 6 - In the interval between two sessions of the Committee, the continuity of the work in progress shall be ensured by the Executive Committee, whose powers are defined in the Committee's resolutions, as approved by the Council.

In such intervals the progress of the work of the Committee and its subsidiary Committees shall further be ensured by the general supervision of the Chairman, who shall also carry out any tasks confided to him by the Committee or the Executive Committee.

In case of emergency, he may consult the Executive Committee by correspondence, or take any necessary action, subject to its subsequent approval.

In accordance with Article 7, paragraph I, of the General Regulations on Committees of the League of Nations, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation may, on its own initiative, set up committees appointed exclusively from among its own members. Furthermore, for the purpose of the examination of a group of related questions, or any particular question, the Committee may, subject to the approval of the Council, set up committees consisting, in whole or in part, of outside experts, and particularly of representatives of technical institutions or learned societies. The present provision shall not apply to the temporary committees set up by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation for the study of special questions, in accordance with the Committee's proposals.

Article 7 - The Committee may have recourse to experts, technical institutions or learned societies for inquiries, consultations or information, in accordance with Article V of the General Regulations on Committees. The provisions of that Article do not, however, apply to consultations of experts carried out at the Committee's by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at its own expense.

Article 8 - The present rules of procedure shall apply,
mutatis mutandis, to the permanent advisory committees subsidiary to the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation.

Nevertheless, the provisions approved by the Council as regards the constitution, practice and procedure of the permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, the Advisory Committee on the Teaching, of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation and the Advisory Committee on Scientific Questions shall remain in force pending their ratification or amendment through the revised Statute of the Organisation. ¹

Appendix XXXVI

Draft International Act Concerning Intellectual Cooperation

The High Contracting Parties,

Conscious of their common interest in preserving mankind’s heritage of culture and in promoting the further development of the sciences, arts and letters;

Mindful of the extent to which this development depends upon international cooperation;

Having noted the value of the efforts that have been made in this regard by the Intellectual Cooperation Organization and its various constituent bodies;

Believing that the cause of peace would be served by the promotion of cultural relations between peoples through an intellectual body having a threefold character of universality, permanence and independence;

Recognising that membership of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization of the League of Nations constitutes for the High Contracting Parties a free association, devoid of any political character and the sole purpose of which is the furtherance of intellectual cooperation;

Considering that the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation constitute one of the essential bases of the International Intellectual Cooperation Organization and that their number and means of action should be increased;

Taking into consideration the services already rendered by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation;

Being desirous of giving increased effect to the action taken by the Government of the French Republic in pursuance of an agreement dated December 8th, 1924, by which that Government placed the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at the disposal of the League of Nations to act as the executive organ of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and to carry out enquiries on its behalf;

Being resolved to increase the financial means of which the Institute disposes, thanks to the contribution of the Government of the French Republic, and to widen the bases of support for it;
Have agreed on the following provisions:

Article 1 - National Committees on International Intellectual Cooperation, established in each of the States Parties to the present Act, shall act as centres for the development of such activities on both the national and international planes.

The participation of these National Committees in the General Conference of delegates of such Committees to be held periodically shall be encouraged and facilitated, and appropriate measures taken to this end.

Article 2 - Each of the Contracting Parties shall grant the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation a financial contribution to be fixed in accordance with the scale annexed to the present Act, the total amount of such contributions being additional to the contribution granted by the Government of the French Republic under the Agreement of December 8th, 1924.

Article 3 - The High Contracting Parties hereby invest the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation with general powers to establish the Institute's budget on the basis of the basis of the contributions provided for in the present Act.

The Governing Body of the Institute shall address to each of the Contracting States an annual report on the use of the funds received and on the administration of the Institute.

The High Contracting Parties may at any time submit to the Governing Body observations or suggestions regarding the administration of the Institute, either through Government delegates accredited to the Institute, or directly.

Article 4 - The High Contracting Parties recognise the legal personality of the Institute.

Article 5 - The present Act, of which the English and French texts shall be authentic, shall be dated ...

Article 6 - The present Act shall be open to the accession of all Heads of States or other competent authorities of the Members of the League of Nations or the non-member States, to whom the text shall have been communicated.

Article 7 - The present Act shall enter into force upon the ninetieth day after the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall have received the accession of at least eight Contracting Parties.

Each accession which takes place after the present Act shall have entered into force, in accordance with the
preceding paragraph, shall come into effect as from the ninetieth day following the date of its reception by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Article 8 - The present Act shall be valid for a period of seven years from the date on which it shall enter into force.

It shall remain in force for a further period of seven years, and may be subsequently renewed for similar periods, between States which shall not have denounced it two years before it is due to expire.

Denunciation shall be made by means of a written notification to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and shall inform all Members of the League and the non-member States mentioned in Article 6 above.

Article 9 - A copy of the present Act, bearing the signature of the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat; a certified copy of the text shall be communicated to all Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States designated by the Council of the League.

Article 10 - The present Act shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations upon the date on which it enters into force.

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Appendix XXXVII

The International Act

Instruments of the Conference for the Conclusion of an International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation,

The Governments of 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, Iraq, Iran, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Monaco, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia (45 in number),

Conscious of the mission incumbent upon them in preserving the cultural heritage of mankind and of promoting the development of science, arts and letters;

Mindful that this development depends in a large measure upon intellectual cooperation;

Having noted the importance of the efforts made to this end by the International Intellectual Cooperation Organization and its various constituent bodies;

Believing that the cause of peace would be served by the promotion of cultural relations between peoples through the action of an intellectual organization possessing the three-fold character of universality, permanence, and independence;

Recognizing that the Intellectual Cooperation Organization constitutes for the High Contracting Parties a free association, devoid of any political character and with no purpose except the furtherance of intellectual cooperation;

Considering that the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation form one of the essential bases of the International Intellectual Cooperation Organization and that their number, and means of action ought to be increased;

Taking into consideration the services rendered by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation;

Being desirous of giving increased effect to the initiative of the Government of the French Republic realized in the agreement concluded with the League of Nations on December 8th, 1924;
Being resolved to increase the financial means already at the disposal of the Institute, through the contributions of the Government of the French Republic and of other Governments;

Have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries;

(Here were listed the delegate or delegates of the 45 nations included above.)

Who, having communicated their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1 - The High Contracting Parties note that the work of intellectual cooperation is independent of politics and based entirely on the principle of universality.

Article 2 - National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, established in each of the States Parties to the present Act, shall act as centers for the development of this work on both the national and international planes, due account being taken of the conditions peculiar to each country.

All appropriate measures shall be taken to facilitate the participation of these National Committees in the General Conference which they will hold from time to time.

Article 3 - The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation shall by its effective collaboration assist the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

Article 4 - Each of the High Contracting Parties recognizes the legal personality of the Institute.

Article 5 - Each of the Contracting Parties shall grant the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation an annual financial contribution in units of 750 gold francs. The minimum contribution shall be one unit.

At the time of signing, ratifying or acceding to the present Act, each Contracting Party shall indicate the number of units constituting its contribution; the total contributions thus paid to the Institute are in addition to the grant made by the Government of the French Republic in virtue of the agreement of December 8, 1924.

Article 6 - The High Contracting Parties recognize that the means of associating them all in the administrative and financial management of the Institute is assured by the functions entrusted to the Government Delegate accredited to the Institute.
The Government Delegates of the High Contracting Parties which have agreed to put the present Act into force shall hold an annual meeting to examine in common all questions relating to the financial and administrative working of the Institute and the use of the funds placed at its disposal.

Article 7 - The present Act, of which the French and English texts shall be equally authentic, will be open to signature of the Governments represented at the Conference for the conclusion of an International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation until April 30th, 1939. It shall be ratified. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, which shall notify their reception to all the Governments invited to the Conference.

Article 8 - From May 1st, 1939, the present Act shall be open to the accession of the States to which the text will have been communicated by the Government of the French Republic, which shall notify their reception to all the Governments invited to the Conference for the conclusion of an International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation.

Article 9 - The present Act shall enter into force as from the date of the reception by the Government of the French Republic of the eighth ratification or accession. Each accession which takes place after the present Act shall have entered into force, in accordance with the preceding paragraph, shall take effect from the date of its reception by the Government of the French Republic.

Article 10 - The present Act may be denounced at any time by any of the High Contracting Parties subject to two years' notice. Denunciation shall be by means of a written notification to the Government of the French Republic, which shall inform all the other High Contracting Parties. Should the number of High Contracting Parties become, as a result of denunciations, less than eight, the present Act would no longer remain in force.

Article 11 - The present Act, in a single copy, bearing the signature of the President and that of the Secretary-General of the Conference for the conclusion of an International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic. A certified true copy shall be delivered to all the States which participated in the Conference.
The same text shall be communicated by the Government of the French Republic to the Governments of all other States.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Act.

Done at Paris, the third day of December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-eight.

The President of the Conference
E. Herriot

The Secretary-General
H. Bonnet

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Appendix XXXVIII

Draft Convention for Scientific Rights

Les Hautes Parties contractantes,

Convaincues qu'il est équitable et conforme à l'intérêt général d'associer les auteurs de découvertes scientifiques au profit matériel résultant de l'exploitation industrielle desdites découvertes;

Considérant, d'autre part, qu'un tel but ne saurait être pleinement atteint qu'au moyen d'une entente internationale;

S'engagent à appliquer par une législation appropriée les dispositions suivantes:

Section I
(Principe du droit)

Article 1er - Toute découverte scientifique susceptible d'une utilisation matérielle ouvre à son auteur à l'égard des usagers un droit à rémunération dans les conditions et sous les réserves ci-après.

Article 2 - Ne sera considérée comme utilisation matérielle, au sens de l'article précédent, qu'une utilisation contribuant à une production destinée au commerce.

Article 3 - Ne seront admises au bénéfice de l'article 2 que les découvertes ayant pour conséquence des moyens nouveaux de production ou une mise en œuvre nouvelle de moyens déjà connus. Sont exclues du bénéfice du dit articles les démonstrations, explications ou commentaires de découvertes antérieures.

Section II
(Droits et obligations des auteurs)

Article 4 - Le droit de l'auteur d'une découverte scientifique prend naissance par sa publication non équivoque. L'exercice de ce droit n'aura effet, à l'égard des usagers de la découverte, qu'à dater du dépôt, enregistré par un organisme international, d'une note revendiquant au profit de l'auteur de la découverte le droit prévu à l'article 1er, sur toutes applications matérielles qui pourraient en être faites.

Article 5 - La durée de la protection accordée par la présente Convention aux auteurs de découvertes ou à leurs ayants cause est de trente ans, à dater du jour de l'enregistrement prévu à l'article 4.
Article 6 - Les auteurs de découvertes ressortissant à chacun des États contractants et leurs ayants cause jouiront, dans tous les autres États, de droits et avantages égaux à ceux que les lois respectives accordent actuellement ou accorderont ultérieurement aux nationaux.

Article 7 - La publication antérieure de la découverte par son auteur n'entrainera au détriment de celui-ci aucune déchéance.

Section III
(Droits et obligations des usagers)

Article 8 - Toute entreprise pourra utiliser l'objet de la découverte scientifique revendiquée par le dépôt sous la condition d'une prestation due à l'auteur et fixée soit par l'accord des parties soit, à défaut d'accord, par la voie judiciaire.

Article 9 - Toute entreprise saisie d'une demande émanant de l'auteur d'une découverte, déposée conformément à l'article 4 de la présente Convention, sera tenue d'entrer en négociations pour la fixation amiable de la prestation stipulée à l'article précédent.

Article 10 - À défaut d'entente amiable, la partie la plus diligente se pourvoira par les voies de droit.

Article 11 - Si, après une période de cinq ans, il apparaît à l'une des parties que la prestation fixée ne répond plus à la valeur du service, celle-ci sera recevable à demander la révision judiciaire du règlement précédemment adopté. Cette révision pourra se renouveler à l'expiration de chaque période quinquennale.

Article 12 - Quiconque prétendra qu'un contrat passe entre un auteur d'une découverte et une entreprise a été conclu à son préjudice, ou qu'un jugement a été rendu contre son droit, sera recevable à interter une action en revendication contre l'auteur injustement investi.

Tout jugement rendu et restituant le véritable auteur dans ses droits entraînera transport de la créance sur l'entreprise au profit de celui-ci, sans préjudice d'une juste indemnité pour le dommage passé, dû par l'auteur injustement investi.

Article 13 - Seront considérées comme nulles et non avenues, en tant que contraires à l'ordre public, toutes stipulations particulières faisant échec aux dispositions de la présente Convention.
Section IV
(Règles de compétence)

Article 14 - Au cas où les parties ne ressortiraient pas au même pays et à défaut d'entente sur le choix d'une juridiction commune ou d'arbitres, la solution du litige incombera à une Commission internationale d'arbitrage dont les membres pourront être choisis par les parties elles-mêmes sur une liste établie par le Secrétariat de la Société des Nations et contenant les noms de savants, d'industriels et de juristes.

Chaque partie nommera un ou deux arbitres de nationalités différentes. Les arbitres ainsi choisis désigneront ensemble, s'il y a lieu, un surarbitre. À défaut d'entente, la partie la plus diligente saisira par voie de simple requête le président de la Cour permanente de justice internationale, qui choisira l'arbitre ou le surarbitre.

Article 15 - Les décisions rendues par les arbitres ou des Commissions arbitrales seront exécutoires entre les pays contractants dans les conditions prévues par la Convention pour l'exécution des sentences arbitrales étrangères à protocole, ouvert à Genève, le 23 septembre 1927.

Article 16 - Les parties seront admises, dans toutes instances ou procédures, à se faire représenter par des groupements professionnels investis de la personnalité morale qui pourront agir en leur nom.

Article 17 - Tous différends qui surgiraient entre les États contractants, au sujet de l'interprétation ou de l'application de la présente Convention, seront portés, à défaut d'entente directe entre ces États, devant la Cour permanente de Justice internationale dont les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à accepter la juridiction.

Section V
(Dispositions diverses)

Article 18 - Un règlement spécial sera établi entre les signataires de la présente Convention pour fixer les modalités suivant lesquelles sera effectué l'enregistrement des découvertes et pour déterminer toutes les mesures d'exécution.

Article 19 - La présente Convention n'aura d'effet qu'en ce qui concerne les découvertes enregistrées postérieurement à son entrée en vigueur ou à l'adhésion de chacun des gouvernements intéressés.
À titre transitoire, la protection pourra être acquise aux auteurs et ayants cause d'auteurs de découvertes ayant pris naissance au cours d'une période de dix années avant l'entrée en vigueur de la Convention ou l'adhésion des gouvernements intéressés, sous réserve de tous les droits acquis. Les auteurs et ayants cause d'auteurs de découvertes disposeront d'un délai de six mois, à dater de l'entrée en vigueur ou de l'adhésion des gouvernements, pour adresser au bureau d'enregistrement la notification exigée en vertu de l'article 4.

Article 20 - La présente Convention doit être ratifiée.
Elle entrera entre les États qui l'auront ratifiée un mois après la date de la ratification.

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Appendix XXXIX

Resume of Document A.26.1927.XII

How to Make the League of Nations Known and to Develop the Spirit of International Cooperation Among Children, Young People, and Their Teachers

Recommendations

Section I. - How to Make the League of Nations Known to Children and Young People

Introductory: Instruction concerning the League of Nations, its creation, aims, and activities, including the International Labor Organization and the Permanent Court of International Justice and other supplementary organizations will in the vast majority of cases necessarily be of an abstract character and far removed from the experiences of the ordinary child or young person. It is therefore especially desirable that the teachers in charge of this instruction be provided with all possible concrete aids to teaching.

Schools

1. All children, boys and girls, should receive instruction before completing their formal education.

2. Instruction to be begun in the primary schools and continue as long as possible in the general education program.

3. Place and time for instruction left to local authorities; suggested correlation with geography, history or civics, or moral instruction.

4. Instruction should take place in all types of schools as well as ordinary schools, - agricultural, technical, commercial, et cetera.

5. Teacher training colleges should give training in instruction. Special provision should be made to inform teachers in service.

6. Teachers should be provided with literature, visual aids, and reading materials for children of various ages.
7. Authorities should encourage study of this subject by:

a. Providing facilities for teachers to attend courses of instruction at Geneva and elsewhere.
b. Setting aside a special half-day or day each year as a League of Nations' Day.
c. Instituting essay contests on the subject.
d. Building up teachers' and childrens' library materials on the subject.
e. Encouraging private young peoples' associations to study.
g. Providing a League of Nations Section in all exhibits and collections.
h. Keeping in mind and utilizing, as they develop, the educational possibilities of wireless telephony.

8. Non-State controlled educational institutions should carry out these suggestions.

Other Education

9. Universities and similar institutions should definitely teach this subject.

10. "Universities of the People", trade unions, associations, cooperative societies, study circles, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, et cetera, should study this subject.

11. Voluntary associations can help by:

a. Supplementing the school program.
b. Providing lecturers.
c. Organizing lectures and lessons for junior branches of their societies.
d. Utilizing foreign personalities.
e. Organization competitions.
f. Providing literature, visual aids, et cetera.
g. Encouraging educational institutions (not under state control) to study.
h. Encouraging among members of the university faculties the study of the League of Nations.
i. Stimulating interest among adult education organizations.
j. Accustoming young people to cooperate in the steps taken to,
   Assist nations stricken by disaster
   Improve the health conditions of a country.
Books

12. A special reference book giving an account of the work of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization for the use of teachers should be prepared. All teachers should be provided, in addition, with a copy of the Covenant and the "International Charter of Labor" with short explanations and concise bibliography.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations might issue information for teaching purposes to be published in leading educational journals.

13. Scientific and learned societies as well as authors and publishers of school books might be asked to give the League of Nations its due place. History and work of the League should be treated in all relevant texts.

Textbooks should be written in accordance with the Casares proposal.

14. All libraries should contain League publications and principal works concerning it.

Section II. - How to Develop the Spirit of International Cooperation Among Children, Young People and Their Teachers

Introductory: "To regard international cooperation as the normal method of conducting world affairs" implies far more than mere instruction in the history and work of the League of Nations.

Civilization in all its principal manifestations is a record of cooperative effort from the family, the village and the workshop to the vastly more complex institutions of today. To imbue the child with a deep and lasting affection for its family and country remains today, as in former times, the first principle of sound education. But a true patriotism understands the patriotism of others; and a recognition of the necessity and omnipresence of cooperation, both within and without the State, must be emphasized in any education that is to fit young people for modern life.

Such instruction cannot be carried out merely as a subject or part of a subject in the school curriculum. It must permeate all the child's surroundings. The influence of the home and the church is here of enormous importance; but this subject lies beyond the competence of this Committee. Our chief appeal, however, is to the teacher and to those responsible for his training.
15. The following methods of promoting indirect contact, mainly during school terms, should be employed where circumstances and the age of the young persons, children or students concerned render them suitable.

a. Children's games, the exhibition of suitable pictures and films, lectures, displays of foreign handicrafts, visits to historical and artistic museums.

b. Fetes and pageants - especially those that encourage a mutual knowledge of different civilizations and peoples.

c. Inter-school correspondence, including exchange of pictures, photographs, postage stamps, examples of work, et cetera.

d. Association of this inter-school correspondence where possible with the work in school and the exhibition of material thus collected.

e. Translation of suitable foreign masterpieces, including national folk-tales and their publication in juvenile periodicals.

f. Juvenile periodicals.

g. Studies of different civilizations and the scientific and comparative study of present-day events.

h. Any other methods suitable to encourage international solidarity.

16. The following methods of promoting direct contact.

a. Interchange of individual children between families.

b. International camps for children and international holiday colonies.

c. Group excursions under competent leaders.

d. Congresses and other gatherings.

e. Interchange of pupils between schools of different countries. Some coordination of the standards of school work in different countries might greatly facilitate these exchanges. Governments should be urged to examine this question without delay.

f. Vacation courses.

17. Governments and voluntary associations should facilitate direct contacts for the student, young teacher, and professor. Travel abroad, vacation courses, residence at foreign universities designed to provide training for international careers or actual teaching work in other countries.

18. Governments should make traveling facilities easy, passports, visas, reduced fares, et cetera.
Section III. - Administrative Machinery

19. These above recommendations should be put into practice by the National Committees.

20. Reports of all national conferences should be sent to the Secretary-General.

21. An official center for collecting information on progress should be established. Suggest two sections, one at Geneva and one at Paris.

22. A corps of international lecturers should be made available.

23. The work of the Sub-Committee of Experts should be continued so that progress may be reviewed and possibilities of further action considered.

24. National Committees should provide wide publicity for the suggestions made in this Document.

Commentary of the Rapporteur

(M. Jules Destree, Belgium - Rapporteur)

1. Title (of the report) - a shortened and more adequately expressed title would be desirable.

2. There is a need for concordance between school instruction and home and religious instruction. All three phases must contribute to teaching but the Sub-Committee felt competent to suggest only the school program.

3. Vital importance of instruction in the primary schools felt. The Sub-Committee unanimously decided that instruction was indispensable for boys and girls beginning in the primary school. The study not to be taught along with reading, writing, and arithmetic but as soon as an elementary knowledge is possessed in geography, history, civics, et cetera should the child be made conscious of the League with its ideals of peace and fraternity among nations. The importance of the primary school was emphasized because children are extremely impressionable at this early age and because the primary school is the only kind which the great mass of children have. It is important to reach the cultivated classes but none-the-less important to create among the population as a whole a current of favorable opinion to the League.
The League will never be really strong until it has the support not only of Governments but of the people.

4. General observation - it is assumed that those in authority will adapt the program to the ages of children or youth or adults.

5. Since many children have to earn their living after primary school it is important that not only ordinary schools but trade schools, agricultural institutions, et cetera teach the ideas about the League.

6. The principles of such teaching should add to the deep and lasting affection for natural environment, home and family, an appreciation of modern civilization rooted in the common work of all peoples.

7. Methods should be such as to make the child an active factor in society.

8. A fuller program of instruction is desirable on the secondary school level.

9. After instruction in the secondary schools opportunity should be given to keep up by lectures, reading and discussion for those who do not go to university.

10. On the university level extensive study should be developed plus travel, exchange students, et cetera.

11. Very important to this program is the training of teachers. If each of the student teachers could be imbued at the training college with the conviction that international cooperation is the normal method of conducting world affairs, the fire of idealistic enthusiasm thus kindled would enlighten and inspire generations of children and thousands of citizens. The important part played in this respect by international teachers' associations should be emphasized.

12. School books should be revised, especially historical texts. These are often written in such a way as to exalt the writer's native country, which is most praiseworthy, but at the same time inculcates hatred of foreigners. The Sub-Committee heartily recommends that the National Committees make use of the Casares plan.

14. A permanent center of information seems essential to helping build methods of training the younger generation to regard international cooperation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.

15. Those who train teachers must be selected for enthusiasm for the settlement of the affairs of the world by free agreement among nations.

16. Conclusions: The Sub-Committee's recommendations are of value only if they are approved by Governments and put into practice.

Three needs are apparent: The creation of a League of Nations' Educational Information Center; to continue the work of the Sub-Committee to examine and report progress; and the appointment of a permanent lecturer and adviser for each of the great languages of the world to be available to teaching staffs where most needed.
Appendix XL

Declaration Regarding the Revision of History Text-books

The Governments of . . . . . .

Desirous of strengthening and developing the good relations uniting them with other countries;

Convinced that those relations will be further strengthened if the younger generation in every country is given a wider knowledge of the history of other nations;

Realising the necessity for obviating the dangers that may arise through the tendentious presentation of certain historical events in school text-books:

Declare that they agree, each for its own part, upon the following principles:

1. It is desirable that the attention of the competent authorities in every country, and of authors of school text-books, should be drawn to the expediency:

   (a) Of assigning as large a place as possible to the history of other nations;

   (b) Of giving prominence, in the teaching of world history, to facts calculated to bring about a realisation of the interdependence of nations.

2. It is desirable that every Government should endeavour to ascertain by what means, more especially in connection with the choice of school-books, school-children may be put on their guard against all such allegations and interpretations as might arouse unjust prejudices against other nations.

3. It is desirable that in every country a committee composed of members of the teaching profession, including history teachers, should be set up by the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, where such exists, in collaboration with other qualified bodies.

The committees so constituted would be empowered to cooperate among themselves, and it would in any case be their function to study the questions contemplated in the present declaration and to suggest solutions to the competent national authorities or organisations. They would, in particular, be empowered, should they think the revision of school text-books necessary, to follow the procedure
provided for in the resolution adopted on July 29th, 1925, by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, on the proposal of M. Casares, the recommendations of which were confirmed and amplified in 1932 and 1933 by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

4. The present Declaration, the French and English texts of which are equally authentic, shall bear this day's date and shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the League of Nations or of any non-member State to which a draft of the said Declaration has been communicated.

5. The present Declaration shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations when it has received two signatures, on which date it shall come into force.

6. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall notify the Members of the League of Nations and the non-member States mentioned in paragraph 4 of the signatures received.

Done at Geneva on . . . . . in a single copy, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and of which certified true copies shall be delivered to all the Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States mentioned in paragraph 4.1

Appendix XLI

Rules For the Application of the International Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace

(Preamble)

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Considering that Article 7 of the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, concluded at Geneva on September 23rd, 1936, invests it with certain powers for the friendly settlement of disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the aforesaid Convention;

Considering that, by its decision of October 10th, 1936, the Council of the League of Nations authorised the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to undertake the task allotted to it by Article 7 aforesaid;

In view of the recommendations contained in the Final Protocol accompanying the Convention, for the guidance of the Committee in the fulfilment of its task;

Being of opinion that the High Contracting Parties ought to be informed of the manner in which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation proposes to perform its functions, should the occasion arise, and of the procedure which it proposes to follow to ensure, as far as it is concerned, that the Convention is applied:

Lays down, as Rules of Application, the following provisions, while reserving the right to make, in exceptional cases, derogations compatible with the spirit of the said Rules.

Article 1

(Appeal to the Committee)

1. Appeals to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation under Article 7 of the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace shall be lodged in the form of a written request addressed to the Chairman of the Committee through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, by the parties in question acting, either jointly or separately, by common consent.

2. The request, after giving a brief account of the
dispute, shall contain an invitation to the Committee to take all appropriate steps to bring about an agreement.

3. Should there have arisen between the parties more than one distinct dispute, which they shall have resolved to submit to the Committee with a view to a common solution, each dispute shall form the subject of a separate request.

**Article 2**
(Consideration of the Appeal)

1. On receipt of a request, the Chairman shall submit it to the Committee if the latter is in session or if its next session is to open in the immediate future.

2. In all other cases, he shall submit the request to the Executive Committee, summoned, if necessary, for an extraordinary session, or shall himself make a decision, with the assistance, if he thinks fit, of two members of the Executive Committee specially appointed by the latter to act in that capacity during the current year.

3. Within one week from the date on which the request shall have reached the Chairman, the Committee, or the authority making a decision in its place, shall consider whether the request is in good and due form and receivable under the Convention, and whether the action requested of the Committee falls within the scope of the functions vested in that body by the Convention.

4. For this purpose, the Chairman shall obtain suitable legal advice such as that provided by the competent technical services of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

**Article 3**
(Constitution of the Special Committee)

1. Within the period stated in Article 2, the authority by which the request shall have been declared receivable shall form a Special Committee for the purpose of examining the dispute.

2. This Committee shall include five members and five substitutes. Nationals of the countries which are parties to the dispute, and persons resident in their territory or who are employed in their service in any capacity, shall be excluded from the Committee. The Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall be a member of the Special Committee and shall preside over it. He shall be able to delegate these functions to another member of the Executive Committee. Such delegation shall
always take place if the Chairman is a national of one of the parties.

3. Two members and two substitutes shall be chosen from the lists drawn up by the International Broadcasting Union and the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, respectively. The other members and substitutes shall be chosen, either from the members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, or from the Committees of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, or from lists drawn up by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and the International Federation of Journalists respectively or from other specially qualified persons.

4. The International Broadcasting Union, the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and the International Federation of Journalists shall each be invited to send to the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, within two months of the publication of the present Rules and, thereafter, in the first fortnight in January of each year, lists of persons suitable to be members and substitutes on any Special Committees which may be formed. These lists shall be printed as an annex to the annual report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

5. Should a member of the Special Committee be prevented from attending, the Chairman shall appoint one of the substitutes to take his place.

Article 4

(Place of Meeting of the Special Committee)

The Committee shall hold its first meetings in the place appointed by its Chairman, regard being had, as far as possible, to any suggestions made by the parties.

Article 5

(Publicity of the Discussions)

The discussions of the Committee shall be public only if a decision to that effect is made by the Committee in agreement with the parties.

Article 6

(Procedure)

1. Subject to any provisions which may be agreed upon between the parties, the Committee shall itself decide on its procedure which, in every case, must provide for the hearing of both parties.
2. The representatives of the parties may obtain the
assistance of counsel and experts appointed by them for the
purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence they
consider material be given a hearing.

3. The Committee shall be empowered to ask for verbal
explanations from the representatives, counsel and experts
of the parties, and from all persons whom it may think
desirable to summon, subject to the agreement of their
Governments.

Article 7
(Assistance from the Parties)

The parties shall be requested to facilitate the work
of the Committee and, in particular, to provide it, in so
far as possible, with all relevant documents and information,
and to use the means at their disposal to enable it to pro-
cceed, in their territory and according to their laws, to the
summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts, and to visit
the localities in question.

Article 8
(Voting)

The decisions of the Committee shall be taken by a
majority; the Committee may not decide on the substance of
the dispute unless all its members are present.

Article 9
(Duties and Powers of the Committee)

1. It shall be the Committee's duty to elucidate the
questions in dispute, to collect for this purpose all rele-
vant information either by enquiry or otherwise, and to
endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. After it
has examined the matter, it may inform the parties of the
terms of settlement which seem suitable to it and lay down a
period in which they are to make this decision.

2. On the completion of its proceedings, the Committee
shall draw up a minute stating, as the case may be, either
that the parties have come to an agreement and, if necessary,
the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible
to effect a settlement. This minute shall be sent to the
International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation along
with a report. It shall also be communicated to the parties;
the latter alone shall decide whether it is to be published.

3. Unless the parties agree otherwise, the proceedings
of the Committee shall be concluded within a period of six
weeks from the date on which the request was declared
receivable.
Article 10
(Administrative Provisions)

1. The Secretariat of the Committee shall be provided, by mutual agreement, by the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

2. The Committee shall decide, with the consent of the parties, on the language or languages to be used during the proceedings. The original text of the minute mentioned in Article 9, paragraph 2, of the present Rules shall be drawn up in French and English, or at any rate in one of those languages.

3. During the work of the Committee, each member shall receive an allowance calculated according to the scales in force for the League of Nations. These expenses, together with all other costs arising out of the work of the Committee, shall be borne by the parties, who shall pay equal shares.

4. Before the first meeting of the Committee, the Chairman shall fix the sum to be paid by each of the parties as an advance towards the amount of the costs which it will incur. These payments shall be made to the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

5. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation shall preserve in its archives the various documents relating to the proceedings of the Special Committees in virtue of Article 7, paragraph 3, of the Convention.

Article 11
(Annual Report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation)

Each year, at the close of its ordinary session, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall issue a report on the discharge of its functions under the Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. Such reports shall be communicated to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, and to the States parties to the Convention which are not members of the League.

Article 12
(Publications of the Present Rules)

The present Rules shall be communicated, through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, to the Governments of the States parties to the Convention, and

A Provisional Plan for the Establishment of an International Education Research Council and World Bureau of Education
(Preliminary Constitution, drawn up in Washington, 1925, to be recast, revised and amended within the first five years of the establishment of the organization by the first delegated council and submitted to the co-operating nations for approval before its final adoption by the council in permanent form.)

Article 1 - Name: The International Education Research Council and World Bureau of Education.

Article 2 - Membership: The Council shall consist of at least five representative specialists (delegates) with the necessary assistants and aides from each co-operating nation. These specialists shall be chosen with reference to their fitness to cover in a suitable way the three important divisions of education: primary; secondary; higher; including the two more controversial fields of education, vocational and humanistic. (The proper correlation and adjustment of all these divisions into a suitable whole or plan of education is a desirable function.) The membership of the council may be increased from time to time, new subjects covered and special investigations undertaken on consent and approval of the respective supporting nations.

Article 3 - Appointments: The specialists composing the International Education Research Council shall be appointed by the respective supporting governments, each nation assuming responsibility for its own membership. The governments shall be guided in their appointments to the council from a selective list of eligibles nominated by national bodies of educationists representing kindred interests. The term of office, unless otherwise provided, shall be for five years, and members may be eligible to re-appointment.

Article 4 - Compensation and Revenue: Since the plan of organization is that of a confederacy rather than that of a union, the salaries and necessary expenses of the research council and bureau of (information) education shall be met by the co-operative nations, each nation providing for the salaries and contingent expenses of its own delegates and its proportional share of other necessary expenses. For the present, unless otherwise provided, the salary of specialists, members of the council, shall be fixed at a minimum of five thousand dollars and
a maximum of seven thousand five hundred dollars per annum, with the necessary traveling and subsistence expenses when called from the bureau in the performance of the duties of the office. The number and pay of assistants and helpers will be provided for as needed and approved by supporting nations, by the research council when once organized.

Article 5 - Organization and Meeting Place of the Council:
It is suggested that the first (temporary) meeting place of the International Education Research Council and World Bureau of Education be at Geneva, Switzerland; and that a permanent meeting place be determined by the fully organized council in connection with the preparation of the permanent constitution.

One of the first duties of the delegates will be to perfect the working organization of the council in conformity to the permanent constitution and to plan for the depository of the literature, manuscripts, statistics, publications, records, files, etc., of the World Bureau of Education. At first the organization will be grouped under the five indicated divisions, according to the main interests of the specialists, as follows: primary (elementary) education; secondary education; higher education; vocational education; humanistic education.

The members of each division of the council will plan and perfect its own organization, electing such officers and appointing such committees as will enable it to perform the most efficient service within its province. The council shall also be organized as a whole, electing such officers and appointing such combined committees as will strengthen the working efficiency and usefulness of the council. Under the working plan there shall be provided opportunity for frequent meetings and conferences of the members: as individuals, committees, divisions and the whole staff.

Article 6 - Purpose: The International Education Research Council is established as a central, co-operating, advisory, informing, investigating and enlightening body, fundamental to the World Federation of Education Associations; the International Congress of Secondary Teachers and Educationists; the Imperial Education Conferences of the British Empire; The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; the Institute of International Education; the American University Union in Europe; the International Research Council and similar organizations, to collect, digest, preserve and disseminate useful information on the status, nature and progress of education among all organized peoples of the world;
to discover ways and means through which the essentials of the theory and practice of education, child welfare, home and parental efficiency in all countries can be strengthened and advanced; to study the methods and products of education in order to discover those that make for war and those that make for peace, sympathetically advising the elimination of the former and the strengthening of the latter; to prepare plans for gathering uniform and comparable education statistics; to formulate reliable tests for accurately measuring the scholarship and ability of students who pass from country to country in pursuit of education, i.e. the evaluation of school credits of one country in terms of the corresponding credits of another; to collect data covering the opportunities offered for studying and teaching in foreign countries, also for commercial students in traveling and studying foreign business relations, the openings for the interchange of students and teachers, etc.; to stimulate the best ideals of education, and in a large way to become the world clearing-house of the best and most accurate information available on all phases of national and international education and human welfare.

Article 7 - Duties of Membership: It shall be the duty of all delegated members of the council in conformity to instruction of Article 6, to give undivided attention to the immediate interests of the special field of education for which they were appointed, in the following order:

1. To gather from their home education system: its nature, essential conditions and vital school statistics, putting the material in a form to be easily utilized by their colleagues and the nations represented;

2. To organize this combined product, gathered first hand from all education systems, culling the essentials for the use of the educationists in the home countries;

3. Through this study to work out and formulate a plan of education which will be a decided improvement on the present education systems now in use, but sufficiently plastic and adaptable to local conditions to be made suitable for varying state and national school systems.

(Owing to the variety of interests, degrees of advancement, individual needs, etc., a uniform system of education is possible and advisable only when worked out in a large way covering the common essentials of all education. The promotion steps, leaving certificates,
entrance requirements, nature of students' and teachers' examinations leading to the highest credentials and degrees of every education system should be formulated into clearly comparable terms. Opportunities for studying and teaching abroad, including the interchange of students and teachers, should be listed; accurate information concerning school budgets, the relative amounts of school revenue and expenses should be obtained and published for the guidance of school legislation in all countries. All information, the tendency of which would be to advance education and elevate social conditions, is pertinent to the duties of the council.)

Article 8 - Quorum: For the transaction of business and constructive legislation of the council or any organized division thereof, two-thirds of the membership of the body, as at the time constituted, shall form a quorum; but to pass legislation, at least two-thirds of the entire membership must be present and vote in the affirmative. No specific act of the council, however, shall be binding on the respective governments supporting it without their assent and approval. The chief function of the council is informational and advisory, an effort to bring the common elements of education into clearer light for the lasting benefit of all peoples.

Article 9 - Adoption: If thought feasible and of sufficient merit by educationists and the directing officers of education organizations mentioned in Article 6, the plan of organization of an International Education Research Council and World Bureau of Education with the necessary instruction will be submitted to the proper authorities of all governments for their approval and adoption. When ratified by the governments of at least twenty nations, it will be considered of sufficient interest and have progressed far enough to be put into operation and to call for the appointment of the necessary delegates.

Article 10 - Member Nations: Joining or withdrawing from the proposed International Education Research Council and World Bureau of Education shall, on invitation, be left to the judgment and initiative of the individual nations. In withdrawing, however, the only requirement made is that the nation on withdrawing fulfill its financial obligations to its colleagues as presented in the budget for the year or years for which it was intended and naturally anticipated. The organization is to be in no sense political, but strictly and in the truest sense educational. It is to be a voluntary association of mutually co-operating nations in an effort to stimulate universal education and to better the condition of humanity throughout the world.
(The greatest good and efficiency of such an association can only be reached when all nations shall have become active in its support. Though planned to become the most vital and important centralized body of education in the world, it does not aim to take the place of other state, national and international associations of education, nor the biennial and quadrennial meetings of the World Federation of Education Associations, but rather to aid and strengthen them by giving to them and all educationists a central source of truth and accurate information on education not now available.)

Article 11 - Amendments: As stated in the beginning, this preliminary draft of the constitution is offered and intended to be used simply as a guide in forming the organization. A permanent constitution is made the duty of the council when once organized. But the permanent constitution should make provision for frequent amendments which are often the soul of any progressive body.

(under such a group of educational experts working in sympathetic co-operation, the growth and progress of education would be distinctly marked. Education demands of the learner a free and open mind. Force allows no place for true initiative, the quintessence of worthwhile education. As one grows in intelligence he desires to remove the bands and regulations which limited his action in a former age.)

G.W.A. Luckey.

Washington, D.C.

Appendix XLIII

Constitution and By-Laws of the International Bureau of Education
(The present Constitution was adopted at Geneva on July 25th, 1929)

Preamble - Being convinced that the development of education is an essential factor in the establishment of peace and in the moral and material progress of humanity,

That, with a view to promoting this development, it is important to collect educational data through investigation and research, and to facilitate the exchange of such information for the purpose of encouraging each country to profit by the experience of others,

Article 1 - An institution of universal interest, to be known as the "International Bureau of Education," is hereby created.

Article 2 - The object of the International Bureau of Education is to act as an information centre for all matters relating to education.

The Bureau, which aims to promote international cooperation, maintains a completely neutral position with regard to national, political and religious questions. As an organ of information and investigation, its work is carried on in a strictly scientific and objective spirit. Its activities are of two kinds:

(1) The collection of information relating to public and private education;

(2) The initiation of scientific investigations within its sphere and the undertaking of statistical enquiries or those relating to experimental projects.

The results of these efforts are made available to educators.

Article 3 - The seat of the International Bureau of Education is at Geneva.

Article 4 - The above-mentioned bodies\(^1\) are recognised as

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1. These were the first four signatories of the constitution, i.e. three countries and the University Institute of Educational Sciences, of Geneva.
members of the International Bureau of Education; and, subject to the approval of the Council, a Government, a public institution or an international organisation, paying a minimum annual contribution of 10,000 Swiss francs, may become members of the International Bureau of Education.

Article 5 - The rights of membership in the International Bureau of Education are limited to the period for which members have paid their subscriptions.

Article 6 - A member may withdraw from the Bureau by submitting its resignation. This, however, becomes effective only after a year's notice, beginning at the end of the current fiscal year.

Article 7 - The organs of the International Bureau of Education are: the Council, the Executive Committee, Commissions and a Secretariat Staff.

Article 8 - The Council is the controlling power of the International Bureau of Education. It is composed of three representatives from each of the members and meets once a year. A plenary meeting, however, is held whenever a request for the same is made by not less than one-third of the members.

Article 9 - The functions of the Council are:
(a) To determine the general policy and to outline the work undertaken by the International Bureau of Education.
(b) To hear the report of the Executive Committee and the reports of the Commissions on matters dealt with between Council meetings.
(c) To appoint the members of the Executive Committee and of the various Commissions on which there shall be an equitable representation of members and of countries.
(d) To approve the expenditure and to examine the accounts.
(e) To consider amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws.

Article 10 - The Council is duly constituted whatever be the number of members present at a meeting.

Article 11 - The Council delegates its powers to the Executive Committee, which acts between the sessions of the Council. The Executive Committee meets at the call of the Chairman. It consists of the Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen and as many other members as the Council may decide. The Council elects the Executive Committee every two years. The members of the Executive Committee
Article 12 - The Council appoints a Standing Advisory Committee, consisting of from fifteen to thirty members, whose function it is to report on questions submitted to it by the Council and to bring to the latter's notice the most pressing needs of the educational world. It also appoints a Financial Committee.

Article 13 - The Council appoints Commissions to deal with special questions, whenever this seems advisable.

Article 14 - At the head of the Bureau, there is a Director, who with the secretariat staff, conducts the technical and administrative work. He is appointed, as others of the personnel, by the Executive Committee.

Article 15 - The resources of the International Bureau of Education consist of: the regular subscriptions of its members; gifts and bequests, subject to acceptance by the Executive Committee; the proceeds from the sale of its publications; donations allocated for special work in the field of its activity, which in each case shall be approved by the Executive Committee.

Article 16 - The Council may, by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting, amend this Constitution at any time, provided the proposals for amendments have been placed on the agenda three months before the Council meeting.

Article 17 - The International Bureau of Education may be dissolved by a two-thirds majority of the Council convened for this special purpose. In case of dissolution, the Council shall transfer the property of the Bureau to such agency or agencies which can most effectively continue the work undertaken by the Bureau.

Draft Convention for an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

Preamble - The Rectors, Deans and Educators, official representatives of the American Republics invited to this Congress, held in Havana, Republic of Cuba; after having exchanged their respective full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, and following the explanatory addresses and discussion which took place at the Plenary Session of February 23, 1930, submit a referendum to their respective Governments the Convention entitled "Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," which appears in the final act.

Article 1 - Organic Act of the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

With a view to assisting and systematizing the activities that tend to establish intellectual cooperation in the branches of science, arts and letters between the Nations of the American Continent and "Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation" is established in close relationship with the Governing Board of the Pan American Union.

The Institute shall be composed of a National Council for Intellectual Cooperation in each of the American Republics and an Inter-American Central Council of Intellectual Cooperation. The program of work of the Institute and a report on its activities shall be presented annually to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, and a special report shall be presented to the International Conference of American States.

Article 2 - The National Councils

(a) Organization. The Pan American Union shall request the Secretary or Department of Public Instruction of each of the American Republics to invite the Universities and other institutions of Higher Education, as well as the Academies, Associations, - especially those of professors and students, - Institutes, Museums, Libraries and other similar organizations devoted to the furtherance of arts and letters, sciences or professions, to appoint delegates to integrate the Inter-American National Council of Intellectual Cooperation, with the purpose of collaborating with the Inter-American Central Council and with the other National Councils in the study and solution of the problems of intellectual life in the Americas.
In those countries in which there is already a Committee of International Intellectual Cooperation, this Committee may be utilized as the agency for cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

Each concurring country shall determine the form of organization of its own Council and the bodies that are to have a representative in it. This Council shall have a General Secretary for the transaction of the business, of which the former is to take cognizance.

Each Government will be requested to furnish for its National Council unless otherwise provided for, a headquarters office with at least one paid clerk and necessary supplies, and as much further assistance as may be found possible, in order that the Council may carry on its work efficiently.

The National Councils shall keep the Inter-American Central Council constantly informed as their work proceeds and shall send it annually a report summarizing the result of their work.

(b) Functions. The functions of the National Councils shall be:

1. a) To formulate proposals as to problems of intellectual life that need study, or projects that may be undertaken cooperatively, and transmit these to the Inter-American Central Council; b) To ascertain the opinion of national elements on such problems or projects as may be submitted to them by the Inter-American Central Council, forming for the purpose any necessary committees.

2. a) To collect information relative to the institutions of education, science, arts and letters of their respective countries and the facilities afforded to foreign professors, students and research workers, and furnish it to the Inter-American Central Council; b) to receive and disseminate similar information regarding other countries; c) to actively promote the interchange of professors, students, research workers, special investigators and cultural missions between the American republics.

3. To promote in their respective countries the study of such subjects as shall give an understanding of the development of culture of the other nations of America.

4. To endeavor to secure the adherence of their respective countries to international agreements and programs of intellectual cooperation.

5. To encourage national institutions and associations to enter into close relations with similar
organizations in other American republics, especially in accordance with any program of international action that may be worked out by the Inter-American Institute.

6. To cooperate in carrying out such projects as may be committed to the Inter-American Institute by future International Conferences of American States.

7. In general, to act as a liaison between the intellectual elements of their respective countries and those of the other American republics.

Article 3 - The Inter-American Central Council

(a) Organization. The Inter-American Central Council shall be composed of the delegates designated by the National Councils, on the basis of one delegate for each National Council. It shall also have such technical and clerical staff as may be necessary. In order to utilize the connections that have already been formed by the Pan American Union along the lines of intellectual cooperation, and its library, postal and other important facilities, the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Union shall cooperate with the Inter-American Central Council as long as the growth of the Institute may require it.

The Inter-American Central Council shall transmit annually to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union the program of work proposed for the following year and a statement of the work accomplished during the previous year. The report and program shall also be transmitted annually to the National Councils.

(b) Functions: The functions of the Inter-American Central Council shall be:

1. a) To study proposals received from the National Councils as to problems of intellectual life that need consideration or projects that may be undertaken cooperatively, and communicate these to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union with recommendations; b) to transmit to the National Councils any project that may be approved by the Governing Board.

2. To obtain and disseminate information relative to institutions of education, science, arts and letters in the American republics, in order to encourage closer relations between them.

3. To appoint, in cooperation with the National Councils, inter-American committees for the purpose of conducting special investigations, and to keep in touch with inter-American institutions or commissions of a cultural or scientific character, and with the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.
Draft Convention for an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (continued)

4. To collaborate, by the aid of the National Councils, with the organizing committees of the Pan American Scientific Congresses in the preparation of their programs, in order that these may serve as a forum for the discussion of intellectual problems, and to organize, in connection with the scientific or other Congresses special meetings of accredited delegates of the National Councils for the discussion of the work of the Inter-American Institute.

5. In general, to serve as a coordinating center for the work of the National Councils for Intellectual Cooperation.

Supplementary Provisions

A. The Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation shall edit a quarterly or semiannual Pan American Bibliographic Bulletin, which shall contain a list of all publications appearing in the Americas, particularly studies on Geology, Geography, Mining, Cartography, History, Economics, Legislation and Education, in the Nations of this Continent. The bibliographic notes shall be printed in Spanish, Portuguese, English and Esperanto.

B. The period during which the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation shall function shall be indeterminate.

C. If any of the signatory nations should deem it advisable to withdraw from this convention or should desire to introduce modifications in it, it shall signify its desire to the others, but shall not be absolved from any of its obligations until two years after the notification of withdrawal, during which time an attempt shall be made to reach an agreement.

D. For the purpose of enforcing this agreement, it is not indispensable to obtain its simultaneous ratification by all the separate nations. Any nation approving it shall communicate this fact to the contracting powers and also to the Pan American Union which in turn shall inform the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. This article is made applicable to the other nations of America which, although not having been represented at this Congress, should desire to adhere to this convention. This procedure will take place through diplomatic channels.

Note - The city of Havana was unanimously elected as seat of the Inter-American Institute, as a tribute to her rapidly advancing culture and in recognition of her
Draft Convention for an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (continued)

favoured geographical position and her privileged situation as the meeting place of Latin and Anglo-Saxon, where these different but not opposing cultures are working out a harmonious coordination.

It was voted that future Inter-American Congresses of Rectors, Deans and Educators shall be held in turn in each of the capital cities of the American Republics, beginning with the city of Lima in 1932.

It is recommended that the central council keep in close touch with the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris, in order to keep the national councils informed as to its activities, to facilitate the appointment of commissions for the study of European museums, laboratories, or libraries, to promote attendance at European scientific and artistic congresses and to arrange for lectures by teachers of technical and specialized subjects.¹

Appendix XLV

Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments

Tenth Meeting - 19th April, 1944

United Nations Educational Reconstruction Plans

A tentative draft constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction was accepted by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education yesterday, 19th April. It will be forwarded to the Allied and Associated Governments, and if adopted by them it will permit joint efforts in this field in line with parallel work already being developed by the Food Conference and UNRRA. General acceptance of the creation of an international organization to undertake cooperatively the vitally important work of restoring the educational and cultural heritages of war-torn countries, would carry the United Nations past another important station on the road towards lasting peace.

The wisdom of building an international structure piece by piece on sound foundations is recognized clearly today. The projected Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction would direct its activities at first to the emergency work of restoring the educational systems and the cultural institutions destroyed by the Axis powers. It is believed that the projected organization would gain experience in performing these emergency tasks which would create a basis for lasting international cooperation in educational and cultural fields.

The proposed constitution was drafted at two Open Meetings convened by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the American Education Delegation, headed by Congressman Fulbright, which came to London early this month to work out plans for American collaboration with the Conference. The meetings were attended by representatives of all member and observer states currently interested in the Conference and were presided over by Congressman Fulbright. The device of holding Open Meetings enabled all representatives present to participate fully, equally and without prejudice to their positions in the Conference. The Constitution is both broad enough and flexible enough to enable the projected organization to deal vigorously and successfully with the problems of educational and cultural reconstruction.

The need for the proposed organization is stated in
the Preamble of the proposed Constitution which says in part - "The cold blooded and considered destruction by the Fascist Governments of the cultural resources of great parts of the continents of Europe and Asia; the murder of teachers, artists, scientists, and intellectual leaders; the burning of books; the pillaging and mutilation of works of art; the rifling of archives and the theft of scientific apparatus, have created conditions dangerous to civilization, and therefore to peace, not only in the countries and continents ravaged by the Fascist powers but throughout the entire world."

To deprive any part of the inter-dependent modern world of the cultural resources, human and material, through which its children are trained and its people informed, is to destroy to that extent the common knowledge and the mutual understanding upon which the peace of the world and its security must rest.

The text of the tentative draft Constitution consists of seven sections. The first contains a statement of the underlying reasons why international cooperation in educational reconstruction should be attempted.

The second defines the functions of the projected organization in terms which should permit it to work effectively in the fields of educational and cultural rehabilitation and reconstruction and to develop ultimately into a permanent body with broader activities.

Section three declares that membership shall be open to all the United Nations and Associated Nations and to such other nations as shall be accepted by the Assembly, upon application thereto, after the cessation of hostilities with the Axis.

Section four, which lists the agencies of the proposed organization, provides for an Assembly with equal representation and votes for all member states, an Executive Board to be elected by the Assembly and an International Secretariat.

The fifth, or financial section states that administra-

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1. The above ten lines of the Preamble were not included in the official release issued by the Conference of Education Ministers of Allied Governments Secretariat but were included here for the sake of completion and are cited in Thompson, Mildred C., "United Nations Plans for Post-War Education," Foreign Policy Reports, vol. XX, no. 24, p. 318, March 1, 1945.
tive expenses shall be shared by the member nations on a basis to be agreed by the Assembly. It also provides for the creation of an Emergency Rehabilitation Fund controlled by an Emergency Rehabilitation Fund Committee. National contributions to the Rehabilitation Fund will be fixed by the Committee subject to the approval of each contributing nation, and the Committee will also make allocations from the Fund. The Committee will consist of representatives of the three States making the largest contributions for administrative expenses and three members elected by the Executive Board.

Section six contains provisions relating to ratification, amendment and interpretation which follow closely those in the statutes of other international bodies.

Section seven contains provisions requiring member nations to supply information about education and cultural matters, defining the legal status of the organization and its staff, providing for cooperation between the organization and existing international organizations in educational and cultural fields and governing the relationship of the Organization to any agency for coordinating public international organizations.

Issued by The Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments Secretariat,
Appendix XLVI

THE INTER-ALLIED BOOK CENTRE.

The Inter-Allied Book Centre, recently established under the auspices of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, had its first beginnings in the efforts of the Library Association to assist in the replenishment of libraries damaged or destroyed by enemy action. As far back as June, 1941, the Council of the Association asked all librarians to bear in mind the plight of damaged libraries and to exercise particular care not be discard any works which might eventually be of value in replacing those destroyed. Many private individuals, whose homes had been destroyed, or who were moving house, were getting rid of their books, either by selling them at ridiculously low prices or by putting them into the salvage material. Matters were made more critical by the appeal of the National Salvage Campaign to people to contribute their old books to the making of pulp. Many books in their best editions were destroyed in this way, and the Association took steps to present the case for protecting and pooling for future distribution to libraries any books which might be needed to replace damaged stocks. Urgent representations were made that librarians everywhere should be given the opportunity of seeing that no valuable material was destroyed. Representatives of the Association attended a number of conferences concerned with the Salvage Drive and, in view of the danger of indiscriminate destruction of books, pressed strongly for adequate safeguards which would prevent the pulping of any books which could still be better employed as books.

The President of the Association wrote to THE TIMES on this matter and, particularly because of the need for books, asked those who were turning out books for salvage to exercise discrimination and to seek the advice of experienced members of the local University or public library staffs before handing in books as salvage.

Protracted negotiations took place before the scheme submitted was arranged, the Library Association rightly requiring to be satisfied that adequate safeguards existed against the wanton destruction of useful books or MSS. This point of view was readily appreciated by the Ministry of Supply and the success of the drives has been largely due to the wise enthusiasm of the Director of Salvage, Mr. G. B. Hutchings, and his colleagues, Mr. H. G. Judd and Mr. J. C. Dawes.

The machinery of the scheme called for the establishment
of local committees throughout the country under the auspices of the local authority. The committees were to appoint a Committee of Scrutiny, a small sub-committee to examine all the books collected and to supervise their being sorted on lines indicated in a leaflet entitled "Notes on sorting books", copies of which were supplied to all local scrutiny committees and their helpers in every district. This leaflet, issued by the Ministry of Supply and the Library Association, emphasised that, urgent as was the need for waste paper for repulping, good and useful books needed to-day, or for future use, were not to be destroyed. "Salvage" as the keynote of the campaign was dropped in favour of "Book Recovery".

Books were to be sorted into the following categories. For repulping: books and magazines for the Services; books for re-stocking war damaged libraries; books for children; rare and valuable books and manuscripts; foreign directories and similar literature published within the last ten years. Nothing was to go for repulping which could find a place in the other five categories, and in those cases where books would be equally suitable for public libraries and the Services, the latter were to be given the preference. Public Libraries were to retain their own stock, subject to the consent of the Central Committee of Scrutiny, any items of peculiar interest to the locality, but apart from these and children's books, nothing was to be kept for local use in any place where there has been no war damage to the public library stocks.

In the "Library Association Record" for November, 1942, it was announced that new machinery had been set up to deal with the collection of books to increase the supplies of waste paper and board for war purposes; to provide reading material for the Services, and to ensure that, in attaining these two objects, valuable and useful books were not destroyed. The National Book Recovery Council was formed, composed of representatives of the Ministry of Supply (the Department responsible for the Salvage campaign), the National Book Council, the Publishers' Association, the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland, the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association, the Library Association, the Waste Paper Recovery Association and Women's Voluntary Services. The Library Association representatives were Mr. Richard Wright (Middlesex County Librarian) and Mr. Lionel R. McColvin (Hon. Secretary of the Library Association). The latter was appointed Chairman of the Central Committee of Scrutiny, whose function was the oversight of books to be specially allocated to National libraries or war-damaged libraries. The Library Association had, in July, 1942, appointed a Committee upon which the British Museum, the National Central Library, the British Council, the Association of Special Libraries, and the British Records Association were also represented. This Committee will ultimately be responsible for the detailed allocation of books, and for
this purpose has been augmented by the addition of representatives of allied countries nominated by the Inter-Allied Book Centre Committee.

It is, of course, obvious that librarians, as custodians of the nation's bibliographical resources, are specially qualified to deal with work of this kind, and they themselves are keenly anxious to see that the work of scrutinising and sorting is carried out intelligently and wisely. All MSS material on which there was any doubt was submitted to a representative of the British Records Association, and much valuable material was recovered.

Many Book Drives have yet to take place, but already it is estimated that about a million and a half books have been provisionally set aside for the replenishment of libraries from the Drives so far carried out. The process of selection follows a uniform practice. Each locality is asked to prepare, on 5" x 3" slips, a list of those books which the local committee of scrutiny has reserved for libraries. These slips are then sent to the Central Committee of Scrutiny, whence, after a preliminary examination, they are forwarded to the British Museum for a report on the items required there. The slips are then carefully scrutinised in detail, as standards of local scrutiny vary a good deal and it has been found that many of the works listed for libraries can properly go into other categories, particularly bearing in mind the priority needs of the Services. It may be said that the percentage of really good and authoritative books listed is very high, and a great number consist of essential works, long out of print and difficult to obtain through ordinary channels. Books for the Services are transported free of charge by the General Post Office to the Services Central Book Depot, from the place where they are collected, and the total has run into millions. Any books not required by the Depot are sent on to the Inter-Allied Book Centre and already several thousand volumes of what might perhaps be called the most "highbrow" works have been received from this source.

The number of books set aside for allocation in individual districts varies greatly, from a few dozen in small areas to 15,000 or more in large towns. All these books were housed in local depots, usually the premises of the public library or the local authority. This method of dispersal was regarded as highly desirable as a precaution against serious loss by enemy action through the air-raids which were still taking place. Pressure on accommodation has always been a problem in most libraries and few can afford to give space for an unlimited period to several thousand volumes not of their own stock, and requests were received from a number of areas asking that they might be relieved of these collections. In some cases, books had had
to be housed in buildings or sheds which were not altogether weather proof and in which deterioration of the contents seemed likely to occur.

At this stage, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education called a meeting which was informed of the steps already taken and that the Library Association had carried matters to a point where accommodation, staff and financial support beyond its own resources were necessary. The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education had set up machinery for the purchase of books published during wartime and saw the desirability of a co-ordination of all efforts in this direction, so the scheme which had already been drafted by the Library Association Committee for the Recovery of Books and Manuscripts was adopted. The value of the work done was fully appreciated and the Conference readily undertook to provide the further requirements. Through the then Minister of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, who was also Chairman of the Conference, a large building was requisitioned and a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Ernest Barker set up by the Conference to administer the work. Mr. B. M. Headicar, formerly Librarian of the London School of Economics, was appointed Director.

Up to this point the preparatory work of the Centre had been carried out through the courtesy of the Library Association, at Chaucer House, the Association's Headquarters. This, coupled with the help and advice readily given by Mr. Welsford, Secretary of the Association, greatly facilitated the progress of "getting going" and the writer is deeply appreciative of the facilities afforded by the Association. The premises acquired at 3-5 Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, London, were eminently suited for the purpose of the Centre. The building was formerly the home of the London "Daily Chronicle" and as such its 95,000 sq. ft. were largely occupied by printing presses which naturally required floors of exceptional strength to sustain the weighty machinery. This meant, of course, that the utmost use of the floor space for shelving could be depended upon without fear of collapse when the full stock of books was in position.

The necessary renovations and the equipment and installation of 180,000 feet of shelving have been carried out by the British Government and occupation of the building took place on July 5th, 1944. From that time books from many different parts of the country have been assembled in easy stages at the Centre, where they are being finally scrutinised and classified in broad sections of the Dewey decimal classification by two qualified librarians. The receipt of the books has been "staggered" as the erection of the shelving has had to be done piecemeal owing to shortage of labour, more urgently required for repair work on damaged buildings. In present circumstances it is not possible to provide the
usual type of shelving but the "strip" shelving used serves the purpose quite well and is, of course, much less costly than the normal kinds. "Strip" shelving is just a series of wooden battens, 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)" wide fastened together to give the required depth. Each bay is 3' wide. The shelving is the fixed type, 10" being allowed between each shelf, the bottom one throughout being 14" deep to take oversize volumes.

The formal opening of the Centre by Mr. R. A. Butler, the Minister of Education, took place on 28th September, when a distinguished gathering, representative of Universities, scientific and learned societies and representatives of Allied Governments, listened to speeches of great interest by the Minister and Mr. Arundel Easdale, President of the Library Association, Dr. A. Sommerfelt, Chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Conference of the Allied Minister of Education, and Professor Gilbert Murray. One of the objects of the meeting was to launch the appeal to the Universities and societies just mentioned, requesting them to approach their members for gifts of books and periodicals.

A covering personal letter from Sir Ernest Barker, the Chairman of the Committee, to the Vice Chancellor or Principal of the University or College concerned or to the President or Chairman of each of the other societies, of whom there are about 400, was sent. The letter asked in each case for the appeal to be brought to the notice of the members concerned. Many societies have circulated copies of the appeal with their Journal or Transactions as the case may be and others have summarised the appeal within the columns of their Journal. So far 100,000 copies of the appeal have been asked for and distributed, but many societies have yet to consider the matter.

It is not intended that a further public appeal should be issued, at least until the war is over, but it is hoped that the special appeal to scholars, technologists and professional men to give this practical help to their colleagues facing so many difficulties will bring forward offers of much valuable material. Special emphasis will be laid on the need for sets of the journals and transactions of various bodies as complete as possible, or parts and sets from which complete sets can be made up. Many libraries have been entirely destroyed; others have lost large sections covering one or more fields of knowledge. At the moment it is impossible to assess the damage done to libraries in Europe and until that knowledge is obtained it will be useless to attempt to settle the details of allocation.

As already stated, the Book Recovery Campaign has produced a vast number of books of great importance, but the percentage of modern books in scientific, technical, medical and legal subjects is low and it is for this reason that
dependence on the help of learned societies and their individual members was inevitable.

Of the books from the Salvage Drive, about 18% are literature, poetry and the drama, 17% history, 10% biography, 9% travel and 15% fiction; the books retained in the latter category, of course, being only those by recognised novelists of the best type. Among the donations received from the Drives or from private sources, are 130 years of "The Gentleman's Magazine", over 100 years of the "Annual Register", several sets of the "Cambridge Modern History", and Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," a complete bound set of the "Oxford English Dictionary" and "Hasting Dictionary of Religion and Ethics" etc., "Encyclopaedia Britannica", with a large number of complete sets of Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, Carlyle, and many other standard authors. In addition, a very large number of books of considerable intrinsic value, and early printed books of the 16th to 18th centuries rarely met with has been received, and, of course, we are only just beginning. So far, the number of books we have had delivered is about 300,000 and there is no doubt that many more useful books, in a varying number of copies, will be received.

The appeal which has just gone out has met with a generous response. Many societies are presenting one or more sets of their publications, others are offering to supply their Transactions and Journals at much reduced prices. Individual members are sending partial sets or long runs of their societies' publications. Many others are coming in through the Book Recovery Drive and other sources, so that it is hoped that it will be possible to build up quite a number of complete sets of the many literary and scientific publications which are so essential to any well-established library.

The practice has been for the slips received from local authorities by the Central Committee of Scrutiny to be sent to the British Museum, who have the right to select one copy of any book in these lists which they do not already possess. In this way some ten to twelve thousand volumes have already been sent to the Museum. In those instances where no slips have previously been compiled, the books are examined when they are received at the Centre and a list is made of those works which are in the classes destroyed as a result of enemy action, privately printed books, books published before 1842, when the Copyright Act came into existence, books by American publishers and those published in foreign countries which may possibly have been missed by the British Museum, who select those needed.

It is the intention of the Committee of the Centre to give priority in allocation to war damaged libraries in this
country, the British Museum having first choice and the National Central Library second. Next in order will come the replenishment of war damaged libraries in this country and then the replenishment of libraries in Europe, as the countries become liberated. The Allocation Committee consists of professional librarians in this country together with representatives of Allied countries. The needs of liberated countries in regard to libraries and books cannot be determined with any certainty until enquiries on the spot have been made. It is hoped that each country will be able to make an enquiry at the earliest possible date after liberation as to the actual condition of libraries and their stocks in their territory. It is not, of course, likely that the replenishment of the actual books lost can be accomplished on a large scale, but every endeavour will be made to get a representative selection of English literature into each country as soon as the European phase of the war has concluded.

The probable course in dealing with books of the more scientific and research standard will be to have lists made and circulated to the representatives of the Governments concerned, who may be appointed to deal with the question and for them to make a selection for their country and to allocate them among their libraries as they consider best. Where single copies of books only are available, and asked for by more than one country, the destination of the copy will be settled by the Allocation Committee (the Committee for the Recovery of Books and Manuscripts). So far as libraries in England are concerned, the librarians of the seriously damaged libraries will probably be invited to inspect the books on the shelves at the Centre and to intimate on slips the books they wish to have. In those cases where more than one library requires a book, and sufficient copies are not available for all, the Allocation Committee will again be the final arbitrator in the matter.

One point of interest which will arise is in the case of those books of which very few copies exist and for which there may be claims from this country or from the Continent. It will then have to be decided whether it will not be better policy to send a book of which only one copy is held at the Centre to a country which has no copy of it at all within its area than to allocate it to a war damaged library in this country, even if it previously possessed a copy, if it is known that there are other copies available in other libraries and which, normally, can be obtained on loan through the National Central Library.

It is quite obvious that the demand for works in English in the liberated countries will undoubtedly be very great after the war, and it is obviously desirable that demands should be met to the utmost possible extent.
Although we anticipate that at least a million and a half volumes will be available from the Book Drives for distribution, and possibly another 500,000 from Societies and their members, this is really a comparatively small total compared to the great losses which have undoubtedly been suffered. It is not intended, at the moment, to make any other public appeal for books for libraries. This may come later, when the Ministry of Supply is satisfied that it can safely be done without injuring the supply of books for pulping, but it seems that the work of replenishing libraries will have to go on in some way or other after the immediate demand for books has been met. There is a demand on all sides for a central institution under official auspices which will undertake the work of exchanging publications and duplicates between this country and others. It is generally agreed that international co-operation is one of the best ways of establishing friendly relations with other nations and surely the exchange of the written word on the largest possible scale is one of the best means of promoting international co-operation. It is through their books that the people of one nation disseminates its thought and culture among other peoples. It is mainly through books that one learns to understand and appreciate the others' point of view. It is mainly through books that developments in science, medicine, and invention are brought within the reach of all mankind, and anything which will increase the spread of knowledge among nations is surely worth doing on a recognised and definite basis.

(Signed) B. M. Headicar

1. Cited in a typewritten memorandum received by the present writer from the Director of the Inter-Allied Book Centre, July 1945.
25th June, 1945

A. Goodman, Esq., B.A.,

VANCOUVER, B.C.
Canada.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your question about the inclusion of the Centre in the proposed United Nations Cultural and Educational Organisation, nothing has been decided yet so far as I am aware, although it is not outside the bounds of possibility. If the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education is included in the new organisation, we shall naturally go with it, although we anticipate that the present work of the Centre, for which it was definitely established, will have come to an end in, say, two years from now.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) B.M. Headicar
Director.
Introduction

The official national information services of various members of the United Nations have been co-operating in the United States of America since September, 1940, through a common agency in New York now consisting of the representatives of 19 nations known as the United Nations Information Organisation (formerly known as the Inter-Allied Information Center), and in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland since September, 1941, through a common agency in London now consisting of the representatives of 18 nations known as the United Nations Information Organisation (formerly known as the Inter-Allied Information Committee).

These two organisations, working in close co-operation, have since their inception engaged in the dissemination of information concerning the aims and accomplishments of the United Nations and in so doing have gained experience in meeting the need for international information, and have also built up documentary libraries, a trained international staff and considerable good will.

The practical experience thus gained has shown the advantages of international co-operation in the field of information and has enabled the United Nations Information Organisation to come to certain general conclusions concerning principles and methods in the organisation and dissemination of international information. These general conclusions are embodied in the attached memorandum.

The information officers who are the national representatives on these two Organisations express no preference in this memorandum as to the form of organisation best suited to the efficient performance of the functions outlined. They feel that the best service they can render at the moment is to describe alternatives briefly and objectively. They recognise, first, that the ultimate choice is for the Governments to make in the light of other and wider decisions, and, secondly, that the choice will inevitably depend upon the general structure of the forthcoming international organisation and the interrelationship of its various agencies. They would be prepared to offer their services to amplify this memorandum with specific recommendations or a draft project should the authorities concerned with these decisions feel it desirable.
I. The Problem

The widest possible dissemination of information among the peoples of the world is generally recognised as being one of the necessities for the development of "friendly relations among nations," the strengthening of universal peace and the achievement of "international co-operation in the solution of international, economic, social and other humanitarian problems." (Dumbarton Oaks Plan, Chapter I (2) and (3).

After the war the demand for information on international matters will be greater and more difficult to meet than ever before - this for four reasons:

1. The impact of this war and the development of communications have greatly increased the interest taken throughout the world in international matters.

2. Information on international matters will originate from far more centres than before owing to the creation of international agencies in places scattered over the world.

3. Specialised and technical international agencies already created or in contemplation will require that international information services be concerned with the widest variety of subjects: politics, economics, finance, aviation, etc.

4. Information activities will have to serve the public through an increasing number of widely differing media such as the Press and publications, radio, motion pictures and other forms of visualisation.

II. Functions

The various functions to be performed in the international field, which the development of events seem to make necessary in one form or another, can be stated as follows:

1. To create greater understanding of the principles and methods of international co-operation and of the aims and accomplishments of the General International Organisation and affiliated agencies. This is the basic work of disseminating facts and interpretative information concerning common problems and joint efforts to deal with them.

2. To provide machinery for co-ordinating the information activities of the General International Organisation and affiliated agencies in order to avoid possible conflict or overlapping.
3. To assist the information offices of the General International Organisation and affiliated agencies by providing a pool of expert services, production and distribution facilities (for example for films, exhibitions, publications) which would be at the disposal of such offices in carrying out their own information programmes.

4. To provide a central reference point from which information could be obtained regarding the aims and activities of the General International Organisation and affiliated agencies as a whole; and, in order to disseminate such information widely, to maintain and supply similar information offices at as many appropriate world centres as may be needed.

5. To make such studies as the General International Organisation may direct of technical problems involved in the international flow of information; to make recommendations to the General International Organisation for action which would facilitate access to and distribution of information internationally; and to provide machinery and staff for international conferences concerning information problems.

6. To serve as a centre for the discussion of common information problems and the development of joint information programmes by the representatives of member nations. This would enable the national information services of member governments to exchange material, co-ordinate projects and pool technical knowledge.

7. To provide such other services as may be directed by the General International Organisation.

III. Organisation

One of three main types of organisations might be developed to perform the functions outlined - (a) as part of the Secretariat of the General International Organisation; (b) as a Commission of the General International Organisation; and (c) as an agency specially constituted for the purpose and affiliated with the General International Organisation.

(a) As part of the Secretariat of the General International Organisation

Under this plan the international information agency would take the form of a department of the Secretariat of
the General International Organisation administered by an officer of high rank preferably a Deputy Secretary-General chosen for his qualifications in the field of information. This officer could also co-ordinate the information work of the various international agencies, perhaps as chairman of a committee of their information officers; and be responsible for branch offices and representatives abroad. The work of the department might be strengthened by an advisory council consisting of information officers or other representatives from national delegations and from the various international agencies.

(b) As a Commission of the General International Organisation

Under this plan the General International Organisation would set up an information Commission as authorised in Chapter IX D(1) of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Commission would be served by a staff from the General International Organisation Secretariat under the direction of a high official to be approved by the Commission preferably a Deputy Secretary-General in charge of information. That officer might be responsible to the Secretary-General of the General International Organisation for all information activities concerning the General International Organisation and to the Commission for all other matters. In addition he could co-ordinate the information work of the various international agencies and supervise branch offices and representatives abroad. Advisory committees might also be constituted in various countries, modelled on those attached to the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

(c) As an Affiliated Agency of the General International Organisation

Under this plan the international information agency would take the form of an affiliated agency parallel to such agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the International Labour Organisation. It would be brought into relation with the General International Organisation by agreement as provided in Chapter V B(7) of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. This agreement would ensure co-ordination of the policy of the information agency with those of the General International Organisation and other affiliated agencies. The General International Organisation might exercise further control by providing the funds of the agency out of the budget of the General International Organisation; alternatively it could be financed wholly or in part by direct contributions from member governments. The agency would be directed by a Council of national information officers served by its own Secretary-General and office.
The Secretary General of the agency would co-ordinate the information work of all international agencies, and supervise the agency's branch offices and representatives abroad.

March 1945.  

Appendix XLIX

Extracts from a Communication from Dr. Powell Spring to the Present Writer

Winter Park, Florida
May 23, 1945

Mr. A.H. Goodman
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Mr. Goodman:

...I doubt whether conditions will be ripe even in Switzerland for its (a Cultural World Center) organization during the next two years, although I shall go there possibly before the end of this year and shall continue our preparatory work. Several nation-wide cultural institutions are represented on our organizing committee, and several more have expressed their readiness for unqualified support of the project.

There is not much to be said about the International Academy which was planned as a super-national institution along the lines indicated in the literature which will soon be in your hands. While it was completely international with only two Germans on the Round Table Governing Board (Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann), the degree of co-operation by educated Germans was very heartening. The city of Dresden offered us three large castles along the Elbe River with very extensive grounds, rent free, for a period of years and just as we were getting started, the Nazi Government took over in the city of Dresden, and decided to run the Academy as they were wont to run things. Needless to say, the entire venture, carefully built up and ready to function, withdrew in a body.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Powell Spring

PS-RB
Appendix L

Proposed Conditions of Organization for a Cultural World Center

First

To establish a Cultural World Center, located in neutral Switzerland, as a permanent Forum for the peoples of all nations who are cooperatively inclined. It is recognized that no institution can succeed without broad moral backing or adequate preparation. It is therefore proposed that such an institute be established at the earliest possible moment, so that it may begin to function as soon as delegates from various countries can be assembled. The official language would be English, with French, Russian or German speeches permitted, as long as English translations were simultaneously presented.

Second

It is proposed that said Cultural World Center, under whatever name it may be established, shall be under the direct control of a Round Table Governing Board, in permanent session; this Governing Board to be composed of one delegate each, with one or two alternate delegates to be chosen from each of the nations who are represented.

Third

The Cultural World Center would be incorporated under the laws of the Republic of Switzerland, but there would be no authority other than the above mentioned Governing Board to direct its destiny. All members of this Board would hold equal rank, each delegate endowed with a single vote, the majority vote deciding matters pertaining to policy. The Round Table Governing Board would require a quorum present in order to vote, the deciding vote in an emergency being cast by the Secretary, President, or a Coordinator, who in the main would act as the Executive Member to carry out the wishes of the Round Table.

Fourth

The Cultural World Center would aim to find a common ground amid conflicting points of view, its primary purpose being to smooth out any differences that might arise from purely national points of view. A fact-finding body such as this would possess no political power, although its moral influence would be the stronger because its
findings would present it with a composite picture of varying trends, and might indeed pave the way for the important work of the Peace Conference proper.

Fifth

It is proposed that vital and urgent subjects and problems be brought into central focus in rotation, be they political, social, economic, or purely scientific in character. The central purpose of the organization, in other words, would be to reinforce the cultural bonds already uniting the nations of the earth, and to show that cooperation is not only possible but profitable as well. Courses would be offered in the field of intelligent travel and dealing with the cultural life of nations, so that globetrotters may gradually be replaced by serious students who will be able to accomplish pioneer work in the field of cultural exchange for the promotion of international amity. We need more bridges between nations, and fewer tariff and other barriers.

Sixth

The primary function of the Round Table Governing Board would be to select the best known experts upon each subject under discussion, who would be invited to partake in Round Table discussions, and to maintain a quorum at all times.

Seventh

The discussion of questions which have always divided nations can obviously be brought out into the open the better in an organization of this kind, because there will be no political favoritism, and no positions of advantage for which to spar. It may be possible to unite existing cultural organizations, awarding prizes for achievements of value to humanity as a whole under the aegis of such a Center, although first of all the attainable goals contained in the various proposals for a lasting peace would be brought under discussion.

Eighth

The results of deliberations, upon no matter which subject, would be published in book or pamphlet form, with proper commentary or recommendations for the guidance and consideration of those who hold the political and economic destiny of nations in their hands.
As soon as practicable the Eastern nations would be invited to send delegates, because the ironing out of differences arising from basic conflicts in Eastern and Western mentality are of the utmost importance at the present juncture in world history. A clash between Oriental and Occidental temperament, on a still larger scale than at present, appears inevitable unless the leaders of Eastern and Western peoples learn to understand each other's point of view, and begin to think and act with common ends in view.

The time to found such a Cultural World Center is now. It is not only desirable but utterly vital that deliberations bearing world-wide implications be taken out of the hands of political appointees such as are often found at World Councils, and placed in the hands of an international body of experts who can foresee these implications. Too many decisions in the past have been made without a foundation of deep knowledge and foresight.

The most eloquent reiteration of our ideals will no longer suffice. If it is peace we want, and not just another truce. The nations must enter into close cooperation around a central conference table, and there remain until they understand each other's points of view.

Appendix LI

An Open Letter

To Members of the American Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization

You have been designated by our government to help develop at San Francisco the international organization to erect safeguards against the intolerable catastrophe of a third World War. We express the sentiments of all Americans when we wish you success in this great task.

We draw to your attention a factor in international security which has been too often neglected in previous efforts to establish a lasting peace. Military, political, economic, and juridical factors are of unquestioned importance, but, in the long run the educational and cultural factor is of vital significance.

We urge, therefore, that you seek to reach an agreement with representatives of the other United Nations upon the following proposal to strengthen the foundations of an enduring peace:

That the United Nations agree to use their best efforts to direct their respective educational systems to develop mutual understanding and goodwill; and that, to give effect to this purpose, the United Nations agree to explore the desirability and feasibility of including in the overall security organization an international agency to deal with international problems in education.

World cooperation in the international aspects of education will not alone bring about international security, but it will be a powerful influence in the successful operations of the plan which you will formulate.

Is it not highly appropriate that the American Delegation, representing a nation which has always progressed by means of education, take the lead in this area? The teaching profession of America will spare no effort in securing intelligent and prompt consideration by the American people of the proposals that will emanate from your deliberations and will assume its share in preparing American youth and adults for new patterns of international cooperation.

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators.
URGING FORMATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE KNOWN AS INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION

May 17, 1945.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. Kee, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

(To accompany H. Res. 215)

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the resolution (H. Res. 215) urging the formation of an organization to be known as the International Office of Education, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the resolution, as amended do pass.

The amendments are as follows:

On page 2, lines 3 and 4, strike out the words "organization of an International Office of Education" and insert in lieu thereof the words "creation of an international educational and cultural organization."

On page 2, line 9, strike out the words "students and scholars" and the comma following the word "scholars" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "students, scholars and other educational and cultural leaders and materials."

In his address to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco President Truman emphasized the point that "Justice remains the greatest power on earth."

The purpose of House Resolution 215 is to express the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should participate in the creation of an international educational and cultural organization, to the end that the force of justice might be implemented.

The organization recommended by this resolution would
function in a purely consultative and advisory capacity to bring together educational and cultural leaders from throughout the entire world, in order that the people of all countries might better have made available to them the ideals and purposes essential in the preservation of peace and the maintenance of international good will.

Among other things, it is contemplated that the organization herein recommended would encourage the exchange of students, scholars, and other educational and cultural leaders and materials; it would work toward the elevation of the world's educational standards and the universalization of educational opportunities throughout the world; it would provide leadership in the eventual evolution of an ethical code of international good behavior, which will help people everywhere to appreciate and practice the concepts of good citizenship and proper international relationships.

The organization recommended in this resolution would conform to the following limitations:

(1) It would not interfere with educational systems or programs within the several nations, or their administration.

(2) It would not have jurisdiction over the problem of reeducation in enemy nations.

(3) It would not be responsible for physical rehabilitation of educational facilities in war-devastated countries.

It is the intention of the committee that the work of the proposed educational and cultural organization should be correlated with the general international organization now being chartered at San Francisco, through the Social and Economic Council.

The resolution does not endorse nor pledge the House of Representatives to approve any specific plan, code, or charter for the organization it urges. By the adoption of the resolution, the House merely expresses the sense of its membership that an international organization, with the objectives stated in the body of the resolution, should be created and that the United States Government participate therein. All other details connected with the suggested organization and its operations, including its charter, the personnel of its membership, the location of its headquarters, and the contribution for its support to be made by each member government, are matters for future consideration and further legislative action.

The amendments adopted by the committee are in substantial agreement with the recommendations in the acting Secretary of State's letter of May 5, 1945, to Mr. Bloom.
The letter is included in this report.

The prompt adoption of the resolution is highly desirable in that it will give timely evidence to the United States delegation at San Francisco and to the representatives of the United Nations at that Conference that the United States, through an expression of its attitude of the House of Representatives, joins with the recommendations of the Chinese delegation to the Conference that "the Economic and Social Council should specifically provide for the promotion of educational and other forms of cultural cooperation." It would reenforce the efforts of our American delegates to the San Francisco Conference in the development of a post-war program in which right will have might.

Department of State,

The Honorable Sol Bloom,
House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Bloom: The Department has carefully considered House Resolution 215, which you transmitted for the Department's comments on April 14, 1945. This resolution "urges the participation by the Government of the United States in the organization of an International Office of Education by the nations of the world for the purpose of advising together and to consider problems of international educational and cultural relations throughout the world."

Since April 1944 representatives of this Government have been collaborating with the nations represented in the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London in discussions looking toward the establishment of an international organization for educational and cultural affairs.

As you are aware, on April 24, 1945, the four Governments sponsoring the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco announced that they had agreed to support certain proposals put forward by the Chinese Government, the third of which provides that-

"The Economic and Social Council should specifically provide for the promotion of educational and other forms of cultural cooperation."

Accordingly, there is no question but that the objectives of the Department in this field are generally the same as those sought in House Resolution 215. Since this resolution expressly covers cultural relations, and since both
cultural and educational relations would undoubtedly be integral aspects of any such international organization, the Department suggests that the term "a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs" be substituted for the term "International Office of Education," on page 2, line 3, of the resolution. The phrase, "the exchange of students and scholars," on page 2, line 9, might also be deleted so as not to limit the terms "educational" and "cultural."

Subject to these modifications, the Department would give its full approval to this resolution.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew,  
Acting Secretary.
Appendix LIII

79th Congress H. RES. 215
1st Session

RESOLUTION

Urging the formation of an organization to be known as the International Office of Education.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 9, 1945

Mr. Mundt submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

May 17, 1945

Reported with amendments, referred to the House Calendar, and ordered to be printed

(Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic)

May 22, 1945

Agreed to

Whereas the achievement of a peaceful and orderly life among the peoples of the world has become critical as a result of the war; and

Whereas the future peace and security of the American and of all other peoples rest upon the achievement of mutual understanding among the peoples of the world, the universal application of the principles of the Golden Rule, the application of reason and knowledge to the solution of domestic as well as international problems, and effective education at all levels; and

Whereas the Axis countries have pursued a deliberate policy of destroying the technical, professional, and teaching personnel of the countries they have conquered, and have encouraged hatred and misunderstanding between nations, peoples, and cultural groups; and

Whereas these circumstances present a persisting problem which, if not solved, will result in the perpetuation of
conditions of life most likely to cause peoples to resort to violence and war; and

Whereas it is essential to collaborate with other nations to promote educational advancement and at the same time to direct education toward the achievement of mutual understanding among the nations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States urges the participation by the Government of the United States in the creation of an international educational and cultural organization by the nations of the world for the purpose of advising together and to consider problems of international educational and cultural relations throughout the world and more particularly to organize a permanent international agency to promote educational and cultural relations, the exchange of students, scholars, and other educational and cultural leaders and materials, and the encouragement within each country of friendly relations among nations, peoples, and cultural groups: Provided, however, That such agency shall not interfere with educational systems or programs within the several nations, or their administration.
Mr. Fulbright, from the Committee on Education and Labor, submitted the following

REPORT

(To accompany S. Res. 122)

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred the resolution (S. Res. 122) relative to participation by the Government of the United States in the organization by the nations of the world of an International Office of Education, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the resolution as amended do pass.

The committee has amended the resolution as follows:

Page 1, lines 3 and 4, strike out "an International Office of Education" and insert "a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs". A similar amendment was made to the title.

Page 1, line 9, strike out "the exchange of students and scholars". This amendment was made because it was thought that this phrase might be interpreted as a limitation restricting the scope of the proposed organization. The amendment is not intended to exclude the exchange of students and scholars from the objectives of the organization.

The purpose of this resolution is to urge the representatives of this Government to promote the creation of a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs. The resolution does not establish such an organization but it does advise the executive, especially the representatives at the San Francisco Conference, of the attitude of the Senate on this matter.
The Department of State has approved this resolution, together with various organizations interested in the prevention of war. In April 1944 our Government sent a delegation to meet with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London. A charter for a world educational organization was drafted at that time for submission to the United Nations. After a year's consideration of this proposed charter the time draws near for its adoption.

The purpose of the organization is to promote educational and cultural relations among the nations of the world. It will seek to encourage the exchange of students and scholars and to improve educational standards and opportunities. The proposed organization will be an advisory body to work with the educational systems of the various nations. Participation in the organization is voluntary and it shall have no power to control or interfere with educational systems.

Even in normal times, but especially in this uncertain time, such an agency can be of the greatest usefulness in promoting those relations among nations upon which peace depends. Few Americans realize how widely the intellectual and cultural resources of the occupied countries have been destroyed. With calculated thoroughness the Germans have murdered students, teachers, professional and political leaders; in fact everyone whom they thought might inspire or lead people to resist their tyranny. They have burned books, pillaged works of art, leveled schools, and generally destroyed the facilities essential to the intellectual and cultural life of the people whom they planned to enslave in their "new order." Unless the orderly processes of education are restored and encouraged, the youth of the war-torn nations will constitute the breeding ground for violence and disorder; for the fascism of the future. It is this fascism we are fighting to destroy in this war. To leave a field so fertile for its growth would be a mockery of our victory.

Much has been written about our war aims and the nature of our enemy. Fascism is our real enemy. It is the same enemy, in different clothes, which has from the beginning of history sought to control the mind and spirit of man, by force rather than by reason. This proposed organization can be made an effective agent for the destruction of the foundation of fascism. Our armed forces will momentarily destroy its physical powers, but if the ideas and beliefs, the intolerance and prejudices which have nurtured and supported the Fascists are not eradicated and discredited by the widespread dissemination of truth and knowledge and the facts relating to all peoples and their views, new arms will be found.

We spend vast sums of money and sacrifice our finest boys to defeat our enemy. We hold conferences and make
treaties to preserve the peace. We have done this often with little success. Never have the nations made a concerted and organized effort to utilize the powers of education to provide the understanding and appreciation of one another, without which treaties and leagues have been but empty shells. Wisdom and tolerance are much more difficult for nations to acquire than battleships and guns, hence it would seem that if reason is ever to supplant force as the arbiter of international differences, a beginning must be made in that direction.

Few persons, if any, actively oppose education. It languishes not from opposition, but from indifference. Unless some agency is charged with the specific responsibility of promoting better educational standards, it is unlikely that it will improve of itself.

There is attached hereto the letter from the Acting Secretary of State approving the resolution.

May 5, 1945.

The Honorable J. William Fulbright,
United States Senate.

My Dear Senator Fulbright: This is in response to your request for the comment of the Department on your resolution (S. Res. 122), relative to participation by the Government of the United States in the organization by the nations of the world of an International Office of Education.

Since April 1944 representatives of this Government have been collaborating with the nations represented in the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London in discussions looking toward the establishment of an international organization for educational and cultural affairs.

As you are aware, on April 24, 1945, the four Governments sponsoring the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco announced that they had agreed to support certain proposals put forward by the Chinese Government, the third of which provides that:

"The Economic and Social Council should specifically provide for the promotion of educational and other forms of cultural cooperation."

Accordingly, there is no question but that the objectives of the Department in this field are generally the same as those sought in Senate Resolution 122. Since this resolution expressly covers cultural relations, and since both cultural and educational matters would undoubtedly be integral aspects of any such international organization, the Department
suggests that the term "a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs" be substituted for the term "International Office of Education" in the resolution. The phrase, "the exchange of students and scholars," might also be deleted so as not to limit the terms "educational" and "cultural."

Subject to these modifications, the Department would give its full approval to this resolution.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary.

Under chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals there is a provision made for the creation of "various specialized economic, social, and other organizations and agencies," which "would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes" and which would be brought into relationship with the United Nations organization by agreement with the Economic and Social Council. One of the organizations so contemplated was one dealing with the problems of education and international understanding.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives held hearings on a similar resolution (H. S. 215), at which several witnesses appeared in support of the proposal. In view of the apparent universal support, it was not felt to be necessary that the Senate committee hold hearings, and the resolution was reported unanimously. Communications were received from various organizations favoring its adoption, including the American Association for the United Nations, Inc., the American Council on Education, the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers, the Educational Policies Commission, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference.
RESOLUTION

Relative to participation by the Government of the United States in the organization by the nations of the world of a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 30 (legislative day, April 16), 1945

Mr. Fulbright (for himself and Mr. Taft) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

May 21, 1945

Reported by Mr. Fulbright, with amendments

(Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic)

May 24, 1945

Considered, amended, and agreed to; title amended

RESOLUTION

Whereas the future peace and security of the American and of all other peoples rest upon the achievement of mutual understanding among the peoples of the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States urges the participation by the Government of the United States in the organization by the nations of the world of a permanent international organization for educational and cultural
affairs, for the purpose of advising together and considering problems of international educational and cultural relations throughout the world, and more particularly for the purpose of organizing a permanent international agency to promote educational and cultural relations and the encouragement within each country of friendly relations among nations, peoples, and cultural groups; provided that such agency shall not interfere with educational systems or programs within the several nations, or their administration.
Appendix LVI

Extract From a Communication From the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to the Present Writer

Societe des Nations
League of Nations

Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle
International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

Paris (1er), 2, Rue de Montpensier
(Palais-Royal)

9 Juil 1945

Mr. A. Goodman

Vancouver, B.C.
Canada.

Dear Sir:

We are not at present in a position, however, to define what our own organisation may be in the future, since, as you are aware, such organisation is to be determined by a Conference to be held probably in London, in October or November next. I can only say that after having been shut and occupied by the Germans during the war, the Institute has now reopened its doors and is trying to re-establish relations with its old collaborators and experts throughout the world, whilst endeavouring at the same time to make its work and existence better known in the large measure in which they can help to solve the numerous problems set by the organisation of peace and of a new world.

Yours very truly,

For Mr. J.J. MAILLOUX, Subst. Manager

The Secretary general,

(Signed) Jean LOROTTE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

March 28, 1945

My dear Mr. Goodman:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of February 22, 1945, concerning the draft constitution of the proposed United Nations organization for educational and cultural reconstruction.

I regret that I cannot comply with your request to send you a copy of the draft constitution, as it has not been released for distribution. It was sent to the governments of the United Nations and associated nations, and reactions have been received from a considerable number of the governments. Until it has been officially released, it is not possible to distribute copies of it.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Eugene N. Anderson
Assistant Chief
Division of Cultural Cooperation

Mr. A. Goodman
Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada.
Appendix LVIII

Draft Constitution of the Proposed Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations
(August, 1945)

The High Contracting Parties

Determined that all possible steps shall be taken to further the attainment of international security and peace and to advance the welfare of the peoples of the world;

Recognising that co-operation in education and the furtherance of cultural interchange in the arts, the humanities and the sciences will promote the freedom, the dignity and the well-being of all and therefore assist in the attainment of understanding, confidence, security and peace among the peoples of the world;

Dedicated to the proposition that the free and unrestricted education of the peoples of the world, and the free and unrestricted exchange among them of ideas and knowledge are essential to the advancement of human welfare and to the preservation of security and peace;

Hereby establish the Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations and agree to support its broad purposes and functions as expressed in this constitution through their participation in the activities of this international agency and through their respective national educational and cultural programmes.

Article I

Purposes

The purposes of the Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations shall be:

1. To develop and maintain mutual understanding and appreciation of the life and culture, the arts, the humanities and the sciences of the peoples of the world, as a basis for effective international organization and world peace.

2. To co-operate in extending and in making available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of knowledge and culture, and in assuring its contribution to the economic stability, political security, and general well-being of the peoples of the world.
Article II
Principal Functions

To achieve these purposes the Organization shall:

1. Facilitate consultation among leaders in the educational and cultural life of all peace-loving countries.

2. Assist the free flow of ideas and information among the peoples of the world through schools, universities and other educational and research institutions, libraries, publications and the press, the radio and the motion picture, international conferences and the exchange of students, teachers and all other representatives of educational and cultural life, with special attention to the exchange of information on major educational and cultural developments, including advances in scientific knowledge.

3. Foster the growth, within each country and in its relations with other countries, of educational and cultural programmes which give support to international peace and security.

4. Develop and make available educational and cultural plans and materials for such consideration and use as each country may deem appropriate.

5. Conduct and encourage research and studies on educational and cultural problems related to the maintenance of peace and the advancement of human welfare.

6. Assist countries that need and request help in developing their educational and cultural activities.

Article III
Membership

1. Members of the United Nations shall automatically be granted the right of membership. Other nations may be admitted by the Conference, acting by a two-thirds vote, upon recommendation of the Executive Board.

2. Any member may withdraw from the Organization after two year's notice of intention to do so, provided that its financial obligations shall have been fulfilled at the time of withdrawal.

3. Each member undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the organization promptly its share of the expenses. The right of a member to vote in the Conference and the eligibility of its nationals to be elected to the Executive Board shall be automatically suspended for any member that fails for two
successive years to meet its financial obligations to this Organization, with the proviso that the Conference may in exceptional circumstances waive such suspension.

4. Members of the Organization which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations shall automatically be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organization.

Article IV
Organs

1. The Organization shall include a Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat.

Article V
The Conference

A. Composition.

Alternative a.

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organization. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five representatives, who shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

Alternative b.

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organization. The Government of each member state shall designate not more than five delegates. Three out of a five-member delegation shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission). When a state does not appoint the full delegation of five, one delegate only shall be appointed independently by the Government, except that, when there is only one delegate that delegate shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

Alternative c.

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organization. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who shall be selected after consultation with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

Alternative d.

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of
the members of the Organization. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who shall be selected after consultation with educational and cultural bodies.

Alternative e.

The Conference consists of the representatives of the members of the Organization. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who will be selected, if convenient to the government concerned, after consultation with educational and cultural bodies.

B. Functions and Powers

1. The Conference shall determine the general policies and the programme of the Organization.

2. The Conference is empowered to make recommendations to the members. The Conference may by a two-thirds majority adopt for submission to the members with a view to their acceptance by the appropriate constitutional procedure, agreements on educational and cultural programmes, designed to accomplish the purposes of the Organization.

3. The Conference shall advise the United Nations on the Educational and Cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter in accordance with terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two organizations.

4. The Conference shall receive and consider reports submitted periodically by the members on educational and cultural developments within their respective territories and on the effect given to the recommendations of the Organization.

5. The Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board. It shall admit new members to the Organization and elect the Director-General on the recommendation of the Executive Board.

6. The Conference shall approve the budget of the Organization and the allocation of financial responsibility to the members.

7. Gifts and bequests may be accepted by the Conference and utilised under its direction provided the conditions of the gift or bequest are consistent with the purposes and policies of the organization.

1. The adoption of this alternative would involve the modification of Article VIII in the sense of making this Article entirely optional.
C. Voting.

Each Member State shall have one vote in the Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority of those present and voting, except where otherwise specified in this instrument.

D. Procedure.

1. The Conference shall meet annually in regular session; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. The sessions shall be held from time to time within the territories of different members.

2. The Conference shall set up such committees and other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for the performance of its functions.

3. The Conference shall elect its own officers and adopt its own rules of procedure.

Article VI
The Executive Board

A. Composition.

The Executive Board shall consist of fifteen persons elected by the Conference from among the delegates. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the Conference shall have regard to the desirability of including persons with varied experience in education, in the arts, the humanities and the sciences, bearing in mind geographical distribution. Not more than one delegate from any member state shall serve on the Board at any one time. The members of the Board shall serve for a term of three years and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election. At the first election, five persons shall be elected for a three-year term, five for two years, and five for one year. Thereafter, five persons shall be elected each year. Members elected to the Executive Board for a partial term shall be eligible for re-election.

B. Functions and Powers.

1. The Executive Board shall be responsible within the competence of the Organization for giving effect to the programme for the Organization adopted by the Conference.

2. The Executive Board shall supervise the administration of the Organization and prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Conference.

3. The Executive Board shall recommend to the Conference the admission of new members to the Organization.
4. It shall be empowered to make appointments to fill vacancies in its membership, which appointments shall terminate at the next meeting of the Conference, when an election shall be held for the unexpired term.

5. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the Conference on behalf of the whole Conference and not as representatives of their respective governments.

C. Procedure.

The Executive Board shall elect its own officers and subject to any decisions of the Conference, determine its own rules of procedure.

Article VII
The Secretariat

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and elected by the Conference under such conditions of tenure and compensation as the Conference may approve. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization, immediately responsible to the Executive Board, and the staff shall be responsible to him. He, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board, and all committees of the Organization. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

3. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat under regulations adopted by the Executive Board which shall provide for the approval by the Board of appointments in the higher administrative grades. Subject to the requirements of efficiency and technical competence, the staff shall be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

4. In the performance of their duties, the Director-General and the staff shall be responsible only to the Organization. Their responsibilities shall be exclusively international in character, and they shall not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any authority external to the Organization. The members undertake to respect fully the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretariat and not to seek to influence any of their nationals in the discharge of such responsibilities.
5. The Conference shall make provision for the determination by an administrative tribunal of disputes relating to the conditions and terms of appointment of members of the staff.

Article VIII

Alternative titles:-
(1) National Commissions.
(2) National Co-operating Bodies.

A. Composition.

Alternative a.

Each member of the Organization shall establish a National Commission on educational and cultural co-operation, broadly representative of the Government and the principal groups devoted to and interested in educational and cultural matters. Delegates to the Conference shall, during their period of service be included in the National Commission. Each member state shall be free to adapt the size and scope of the National Commission to its own special conditions.

Alternative b.

Within each member state, the Government shall appoint or recognise a National Co-operating Body or Bodies, representatives of its principal educational and cultural groups, to be associated with the Government in the activities of the Organization.

Alternative c.

Each member state shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions, either by the formation of a National Commission or otherwise, for the purpose of associating bodies of educational and cultural opinion with the work of the Organization.

B. Functions and Powers.

1. National Co-operating Bodies (or National Commissions) shall act in an advisory capacity to the National Delegation to the Conference and to the Government in matters relating to the Organization.

Alternative a.

2. The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission.)
Alternative b.

Certain members of the National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commissions).

Alternative c.

The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government after consultation with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

Alternative d.

The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed after consultation with bodies of educational and cultural opinion.

3. The National Co-operating Bodies (or National Commissions) shall consider recommendations and reports made by the Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations and take such steps as are suitable and desirable to further the general objectives of the Organization.

Article IX
Reports by Members

1. Each member shall report periodically to the Organization, in a manner to be determined by the Conference, on activities and developments related to the functions of the Organization and on the action taken on the recommendations by the Conference.

2. Each member shall upon publication communicate to the Organization laws, regulations, official reports and statistics concerning its educational and cultural institutions and organizations.

Article X
Juridical Status of the Organization and its Personnel

1. The Organization shall possess international personality and legal capacity. The members of the Organization shall accord to the Organization the privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities which they accord to each other including in particular (a) immunity from every form of legal process; (b) exemption from taxation and customs duties; and (c) inviolability of premises occupied by, and of the archives and communications of, the Organization.

2. The members of the Organization shall accord diplomatic privileges and immunities to persons appointed by
other members as their representatives in or to the Organization, and to the higher officials of the Organization not being their own nationals. They shall accord to all officials and employees of the Organization (a) immunity from suit and legal process relating to acts performed by them in their official capacity; (b) exemption from taxation of their official salaries and emoluments; and, in general (c) such privileges, exemptions and facilities as they accord under similar circumstances to officials and employees of foreign governments.

Article XI
Amendments

1. Proposals for amendments to this instrument shall require the approval of the Conference by a two-thirds majority, and amendments shall take effect on ratification by two-thirds of the member states. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the members at least six months in advance of their consideration by the Conference.

2. The Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules prescribing the times within which proposed amendments must be accepted in order to become effective and other rules of procedure to carry out the provisions of this Article.

Article XII
Interpretation

1. The English and French texts of the Constitution shall be regarded as authoritative.

2. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this instrument shall be referred for determination to the international court of justice or to an arbitral tribunal as the Conference may determine.

Article XIII
Relations with the United Nations

1. The Organization shall be brought in relationship with the United Nations, this relationship to be defined by an agreement approved by the appropriate organs of both bodies.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article XI, such agreement may, if approved by the Conference by a two-thirds majority, involve modification of the provisions of this Constitution, provided that no such agreement shall modify the purposes and limitations of the Organization.
Article XIV
Relations with Other Specialized International Organizations

1. The Organization may co-operate with other specialized international organizations, both public and private, whose interests and activities are related to and in harmony with its purposes.

2. The Executive Board, with the approval of the Conference, may enter into agreements with the competent authorities of such organizations defining the distribution of responsibilities and methods of co-operating, and maintain such joint committees with them as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation.

3. Whenever the Conference of this Organization and the competent authorities of any other organization whose purposes are similar deem it desirable to effect transfer of the resources and functions of the latter to this Organization, the Executive Board, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

Article XV
Establishment of the Organization

This instrument shall come into force when twenty of the Governments of the United Nations shall have filed with the Interim Educational and Cultural Commission of the United Nations (to be set up in accordance with the Transitory Provisions) official notice of their acceptance of it and adherence to the Organization. Thereupon the Chairman of the Interim Commission shall cause to be convened the first meeting of the Conference of the Organization, which shall proceed with the election of the Executive Board and the Director-General and shall make whatever other arrangements which may be necessary to put the Organization into operation.

Transitory Provisions

1. Pending the approval of the Constitution by twenty nations and the calling of the first meeting of the Conference, the persons designated in Annex 1 of this Constitution shall serve as members of the Interim Educational and Cultural Commission of the United Nations. This commission shall call the first meeting of the Conference and prepare the agenda and preliminary analyses required for effective action by the Conference.

This Interim Commission shall be assisted by an international Secretariat and financed by the participating Governments in a manner to be determined at the Constituent Conference.
2. The following exceptional arrangements shall apply in respect of the financial year in which this Constitution comes into force: the budget shall be the provisional budget set forth in Annex 2 of this Constitution, and the amount to be contributed by member states shall be in the proportion set forth in Annex 3 of this Constitution.

Note - Annexes 1, 2, and 3 will be drawn up at the Constituent Conference.

Appendix LIX

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

Final Act of the London Conference

Constitution

Instrument Establishing a Preparatory Commission
UNESCO Charter

In Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, designed at San Francisco in the Spring of 1945, the nations undertook to promote "international cultural and educational cooperation", and in Article 56 pledged themselves to take joint and separate action for the achievement of this purpose.

Article 57 provided that specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement, in cultural, educational, and other fields should be brought into relationship with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization, by agreements approved by the General Assembly.

With a view to establishing a specialized agency in the field of educational and cultural relations the British Government, and the French Government in association with it, invited the nations to be represented at a conference in London beginning November 1, 1945. Forty-four of the United Nations arranged for representation. The Canadian Government sent a delegation of three persons, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, Principal R.C. Wallace, Mr. Edmond Turcotte, and with them three civil servants as advisers.

The conference had before it when it met a draft constitution for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization which had been prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education with the assistance of the United States Department of State, together with a draft submitted independently by the French Government which was based on its experience with the League of Nations Organization for International Intellectual Co-operation.

By November 16 agreement had been reached, by the representatives of the 44 nations, on a revised draft of a charter for an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to be presented to their Governments for formal approval. (In the process of revision the word "Scientific" had been added to the proposed name). The text of this document is printed in the following pages, preceded by the descriptive Final Act, and followed by the text of an Instrument Establishing a Preparatory Commission.

The main purposes of the Preparatory Commission are to make preparations for the first Conference of the Organization (probably in the early summer of 1946), and to provide for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries. An Executive Committee of fifteen members was established (one of the fifteen being Canada) and, to deal with the urgent problems of reconstruction, a special technical sub-committee.

JOHN E. ROBBINS.

December, 1945.

Final Act

The Conference for the Establishment of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations was convened by the Government of the United Kingdom in association with the Government of France. The invitations were sent out in accordance with the recommendation of the Conference of San Francisco and upon the request of the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education, in order to promote the aims set out in Article I, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Conference met in London from the 1st to the 16th November, 1945.

The Governments of the following countries were represented at the Conference by Delegates and Advisers:

- Argentine Republic
- Australia
- Belgium
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Canada
- Chile
- China
- Colombia
- Cuba
- Crecho-Slovakia
- Denmark
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- Egypt
- France
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Haiti
- India
- Iran
- Iraq
- Lebanon
- Liberia
- Luxembourg
- Mexico
- Netherlands, The
- New Zealand
- Nicaragua
- Norway
- Panama
- Peru
- Philippines, The
- Poland
- Saudi Arabia
- Syria
- Turkey
- Union of South Africa
- United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- United States of America
- Uruguay
- Venezuela (represented by an Observer)

The following international organisations were also represented by Observers:

- International Labour Organisation
- League of Nations Secretariat
League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation
International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation
Pan-American Union
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.)
International Bureau of Education

The Conference had before it, and adopted as its basis of discussion a draft Constitution prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. It likewise had before it a draft Constitution prepared by the French Government. A number of proposals put forward by other Governments and by various bodies and organisations were also before the Conference.

After consideration of these drafts and proposals the Conference drew up a Constitution establishing an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and an instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission. The Conference also adopted the following Resolution:


"This Resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority."

In faith whereof, the undersigned have signed this Final Act.

Done in London, the sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic. This copy shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom, by whom certified copies will be sent to all the United Nations.

Appendix LIX

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

The Governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on Behalf of their Peoples

Declare

that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propaganda, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these Reasons,

the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purpose of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In Consequence Whereof

they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for the purpose of advancing through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims.
ARTICLE I.

Purposes and Functions

1. The purpose of the Organisation is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realize this purpose the Organisation will:

(a) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

(b) give fresh impulsa to popular education and to the spread of culture;

(c) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;

by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of personnel active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;

by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States members of this Organisation, the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

ARTICLE II.

Membership


2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, approved pursuant to Article X of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organisation may be admitted to membership of the Organisation, upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.

3. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, upon request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

4. Members of the Organisation which are expelled from the United Nations Organisation shall automatically cease to be members of this Organisation.

ARTICLE III.

Organs

The Organisation shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat.

ARTICLE IV.

The General Conference

A. Composition

1. The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the States Members of the Organisation. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be selected after consultation with the National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

B. Functions

2. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organisation. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

3. The General Conference shall, when it deems it desirable, summon international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

4. The General Conference shall, in adopting proposals for submission to the Member States, distinguish between recommendations and international conventions submitted for their approval. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice; in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the Member States shall submit recommendations or conventions to its competent authorities within a period of one year from the close of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted.

5. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations Organisation on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter,
in accordance with the terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organisations.

6. The General Conference shall receive and consider the reports submitted periodically by Member States as provided by Article VIII.

7. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and, on the recommendation of the Board, shall appoint the Director-General.

C. Voting

8. Each Member State shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required by the provisions of this Constitution. A majority shall be a majority of the Members present and voting.

D. Procedure

9. The General Conference shall meet annually in ordinary session; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. At each session the location of its next session shall be designated by the General Conference and shall vary from year to year.

10. The General Conference shall, at each session, elect a President and other officers and adopt rules of procedure.

11. The General Conference shall set up special and technical committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purposes.

12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

E. Observers

13. The General Conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Board and by a two-thirds majority may, subject to its rules of procedure, invite as observers at specified sessions of the Conference or of its commissions representatives of international organisations, such as those referred to in Article XI, paragraph 4.

ARTICLE V.
Executive Board

A. Composition

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the Member States, together with the President of the Conference who shall sit ex officio in an advisory capacity.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the General Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference excepted.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall not serve consecutively for more than two terms. At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one third shall retire at the end of the first year and one third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots. Thereafter six members shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Executive Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the Member State concerned, a substitute, who shall serve until the next session of the General Conference which shall elect a member for the remainder of the term.

B. Functions

5. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the General Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference and shall prepare its agenda and programme of work.

6. The Executive Board shall recommend to the General Conference the admission of new Members to the Organisation.

7. Subject to decisions of the General Conference, the Executive Board shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

8. The Executive Board shall meet in regular session at least twice a year and may meet in special session if convoked by the Chairman on his own initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

9. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the General Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.

10. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

11. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

ARTICLE VI.
Secretariat

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.
2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years, under such conditions as the Conference may approve, and shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation.

3. The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the General Conference, of the Executive Board, and of the committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

4. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the General Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, appointment to the staff shall be on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

5. The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each State Member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organisation for common services and staff and for the interchange of personnel.

ARTICLE VII.

National Co-operating Bodies

1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organisation, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies:

2. National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organisation and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

3. The Organisation may, on the request of a Member State, delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work.

ARTICLE VIII.

Reports by Member States

Each Member State shall report periodically to the Organisation, in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4.

ARTICLE IX.

Budget

1. The budget shall be administered by the Organisation.

2. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organisation subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article X.

3. The Director-General, with the approval of the Executive Board, may receive gifts, bequests, and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations and private persons.

ARTICLE X.

Relations with the United Nations Organisation

This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation, as soon as practicable, as one of the specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organisation. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognize the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XI.

Relations with other specialized international organisations and agencies

1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations and agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with which such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the competence of this Organisation,
deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

3. This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other intergovernmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings.

4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference.

**ARTICLE XII.**

**Legal status of the Organisation**

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organisation.

**ARTICLE XIII.**

**Amendments**

1. Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organisation or new obligations for the Member States shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the Member States at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

2. The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure for carrying out the provisions of this Article.

**ARTICLE XIV.**

**Interpretation**

1. The English and French texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authoritative.

2. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be referred for determination to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

**ARTICLE XV.**

**Entry into force**

1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Signature may take place either before or after the deposit of the instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceded or followed by signature.

3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

In faith whereof, the undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, have signed this Constitution in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the sixteenth day of November, 1945 in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the Members of the United Nations.
Instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission

The Governments represented at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Conference in London,
Having determined that an international organisation to be known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be established, and
Having formulated the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation,
Agree as follows:

1. Pending the coming into force of the Constitution and the establishment of the Organisation provided for therein, there shall be established a Preparatory Commission to make arrangements for the first Session of the General Conference of the Organisation, and to take such other steps as are indicated below.

2. For this purpose the Commission shall:
   (a) Convoke the First Session of the General Conference.
   (b) Prepare the provisional agenda for the First Session of the General Conference and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on the agenda including such matters as the possible transfer of functions, activities and assets of existing international agencies, the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, and arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organisation and the appointment of its Director-General.
   (c) Make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and the budget of the Organisation for presentation to the General Conference at its First Session.
   (d) Provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries as indicated in Paragraphs 6 and 7.

3. The Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the Governments signatory to this Instrument.

4. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Committee composed of fifteen members to be selected at the first meeting of the Commission. The Executive Committee shall exercise any or all powers of the Commission as the Commission may determine.

5. The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure and shall appoint such other committees and consult with such specialists as may be desirable to facilitate its work.

6. The Commission shall appoint a special technical sub-committee to examine the problems relating to the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war, having regard to the information already collected and the work being done by other international organisations, and to prepare as complete a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of the problems for the information of the Organisation at the First Session of the Conference.

7. When the technical sub-committee is satisfied that any ameliorative measures are immediately practicable to meet any educational, scientific or cultural needs it shall report to the Commission accordingly and the Commission shall, if it approves, take steps to bring such needs to the attention of governments, organisations, and persons wishing to assist by contributing money, supplies or services in order that co-ordinated relief may be given either directly by the donors to the countries requiring aid or indirectly through existing international relief organisations.

8. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Secretary who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine, with such international staff as may be required. The staff shall be composed as far as possible of officials and specialists made available for this purpose by the participating Governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

9. The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Commission.

10. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in London immediately after the conclusion of the present Conference and shall continue to sit in London until such time as the Constitution of the Organisation has come into force. The Commission shall then transfer to Paris where the permanent Organisation is to be located.

11. During such period as the Commission is in London, the expenses of its maintenance shall be met by the Government of the United Kingdom on the understanding:
   (1) that the amount of the expenses so incurred will be deducted from the contributions of that Government to the new Organisation until they have been recovered, and
   (2) that it will be open to the Commission, if circumstances so warrant, to seek contributions from other governments.

When the Commission is transferred to Paris, the financial responsibility will pass to the French Government on the same terms.
12. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the assumption of office of the Director-General of the Organisation, at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organisation.

13. The Government of the United Kingdom shall be the temporary depositary and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the English and French languages. The Government of the United Kingdom shall transfer the original to the Director-General on his assumption of office.

14. This Instrument shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature on behalf of the States entitled to be the original Members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 12.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives having been duly authorised for that purpose, have signed this Instrument in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the Sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the States Members of the United Nations.
Appendix IX

Educational Problems Already Studied on the International Plane

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems(^2)</th>
<th>Field or Plane(^1)</th>
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<td>National</td>
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**Aims:**
- **Political**
  - Education for Citizenship and Patriotism
  - Peace and International Co-operation
- **Religious**
  - Religious Education
- **Ethical**
  - Moral Education

**Personnel of Education**
- **Students\(^1\)**
  - National Coordination of Associations
  - International Coordination of Associations
- **Parents\(^1\)**
  - National Coordination of Associations
- **Teachers\(^1\)**
  - National Coordination of Associations

**Exchanges:**
- **Pupils**
  - Exchanges within the Country
  - Exchanges with Foreign Countries
- **Parents**
  - Exchanges within the Country
  - Exchanges with Foreign Countries
- **Teachers**
  - Exchanges within the Country
  - Exchanges with Foreign Countries

1. To simplify, we have omitted the local and regional planes, although they are important in countries with a good deal of educational freedom, or with an intense local or regional life.
2. The selection of problems listed is very incomplete, and will appear arbitrary unless it is realised that we have mentioned only the principal problems already studied, not those still to be studied.
3. Some international organisations have a religious, ethical, or social aim, others treat problems simply from the informatory or didactical angle, without taking sides.
# Educational Problems Already Studied on the International Plane (Con't)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>International</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Educational Films</td>
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<td><strong>Interschool Correspondence</strong></td>
<td>Correspondence with Schools within the Country</td>
<td>Correspondence with Foreign Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>School Journeys</td>
<td>Journeys within the Country</td>
<td>Journeys in Foreign Countries</td>
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</table>

4. International educational organisations deal with the curriculum and methods of practically every school subject without this raising specifically international problems of education, but any international unification of the curriculum would do so.
Educational Problems Already Studied on the International Plane (Con't)

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<tr>
<th>Problems(^2)</th>
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<td>Vacation Courses</td>
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<td>Recommendations issued by International Authorities</td>
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<td>Comparative Education</td>
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<td>Opening of International Schools</td>
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<td>Opening of International Schools</td>
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<td>Parallelism of Degrees and Diplomas, International Diplomas</td>
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List of Unnumbered Series of League Documents

Minutes of the Sessions of the League Council.

The Minutes of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Sessions of the League Council, covering the period February 21-November 16, 1921, were published as separate, unnumbered documents. Previously, they had been published as part of the first series of Official Documents of the League. The "Minutes of the Sixteenth Session" and those of the succeeding sessions were printed in the Official Journal.

Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the League Council, Feb. 21-March 4, 1921. (See esp. p. 74.)

Minutes of the Thirteenth Session of the League Council, June 17-28, 1921.

Minutes of the Fourteenth Session of the League Council, Aug. 30-Oct. 12, 1921, (in two parts). (See esp. p. 33.)

Minutes of the Fifteenth Session of the League Council, Nov. 16-19, 1921.

Records of the Assemblies.

The Records of the Assemblies, for the period 1920-1922 inclusive, were published as a separate, unnumbered series. Thereafter the Records, both for the Plenary and Committee meetings, were published in the Special Supplements to the Official Journal.

Records of the First Assembly (1920), 3 vols.

Plenary Meetings. (See esp. pp. 47, 71, 74, 91, 93, 501.)

Meetings of the Committees: vol. 1: Committees 1-3 and Permanent Court.

Meetings of the Committees: vol. 2: Committees 4-6 and Index to the Records of the First Assembly.

Records of the Second Assembly (1921), 3 vols.

Plenary Meetings. (See esp. pp. 309-314.)

Meetings of the Committees: vol. 1: Committees 1-3 and Permanent Court.

Meetings of the Committees: vol. 2: Committees 4-6 and Index to the Records of the Second Assembly.

(See esp. p. 42.)

Records of the Third Assembly (1922), 3 vols.

Plenary Meetings, vol. 1. (See esp. pp. 324, 326-328, 362-363.)

Plenary Meetings, vol. 2: Annexes.
Records of the Third Assembly (continued)
Minutes of the Committees:  First Committee
Second Committee (includes intellectual cooperation questions)
Third Committee
Fourth Committee
Fifth Committee
Sixth Committee
Index.
L. of N. Periodicals

Bulletin of the International University Information Office.

The Bulletin of the International University Information Office was published by the International Bureaux and Intellectual Cooperation Section of the League Secretariat during the years 1924-1925. The Bulletin related to the international aspect of university life and contained a summary of the work of the Sub-Committee on University Relations of the C.I.C.I. and information emanating from National University Offices, National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, International University Associations, etc. After January 1, 1926 the Bulletin was published by the I.I.C.I. and beginning January 15, 1929 it was incorporated into La Co-operation Intellectuelle, which was also published by the Paris Institute.

vol. 1 (first year), 1924, nos. 1-4.
vol. 2 (second year), 1925, nos. 1-6.

Educational Survey.

The Educational Survey was published semi-annually by a Committee of Directors, representing the C.I.C.I., the League Secretariat and the I.I.C.I., as a review presenting official and non-official information on the instruction of youth in the aims of the League. It contained signed articles by well-known educationists, reports and notes furnished by Governments, etc.

Beginning 1934 the Educational Survey appeared as an annual publication under the title of Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching. It contained studies of the efforts made by the League, through its Advisory Committee for League of Nations Teaching, to encourage those responsible for systems of education in various countries to emphasize in their teaching the political, economic and social interdependence of the modern world. Some forty pages of each volume were devoted to the reproduction of texts of official documents likely to be of interest to teachers and some of the more general speeches and talks broadcasted from Radio-Nations were also published. In addition to official documents, its contents included surveys of various aspects of the League's work under the Chapter titles of "The League of Nations at Work" and "The I.L.O. at Work."
L. of N. Periodicals (Continued)

Educational Survey.
- vol. 1, no. 1, July 1929.
- vol. 1, no. 2, Jan. 1930.
- vol. 2, no. 1, Jan. 1931.
- vol. 2, no. 2, Sept. 1931.
- vol. 3, no. 1, Jan. 1932.
- vol. 4, no. 1, March 1933.
- vol. 4, no. 2, Dec. 1933.

Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching.
- no. 1, Dec. 1934.
- no. 3, Dec. 1936.
L. of N. Periodicals (Continued)

Journal of the Assembly.

The Journal of the League Assembly was issued for the convenience of the delegates and guests at the Assembly. It was not intended to serve as a permanent or official record and was "not to be used for reference purposes." It was published every morning while the Assembly was in session and contained a list of Committee members, the daily program of meetings and a brief account of the work done by the Assembly and the various Committees of the Assembly on the previous day.

The General Committee of the Assembly decided, in 1933, that the Journal should not, as it had in previous years, contain a summary of the general discussion at plenary meetings on the Report on the Work of the League, since the delegates already received Verbatim Records of those meetings. Brief summaries, however, of the proceedings of the Committees of the Assembly to be published in the Journal.

Journal of the First Assembly (not placed on sale until the Fourth Assembly, 1923).


Journal of the Fifth Assembly, (1924) nos. 1-19.

Journal of the Sixth Assembly, nos. 1-19.
   no. 7, Sept. 13, 1925. See p. 71.
   no. 9, Sept. 16, 1925. - pp. 114, 115.
   no. 10, Sept. 17, 1925. - p. 121.
   no. 11, Sept. 18, 1925. - pp. 132-133.
   no. 18, Sept. 26, 1925. - p. 248.

Journal of the Seventh Assembly, nos. 1-19.
   no. 2, Sept. 7, 1926. See p. 10.
   no. 9, Sept. 15, 1926. - pp. 109-111.
   no. 11, Sept. 17, 1926. - pp. 132-133.
   no. 14, Sept. 21, 1926. - pp. 174-175.
   no. 18, Sept. 25, 1926. - p. 243.

   no. 2, Sept. 6, 1927. See p. 10.
   no. 4, Sept. 8, 1927. - p. 39.
   no. 5, Sept. 9, 1927. - pp. 56-58.
   no. 7, Sept. 11, 1927. - pp. 80-81.
   no. 9, Sept. 14, 1927. - pp. 120-121, 127.
### Journal of the Eighth Assembly (continued)

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\* Journal of the Thirteenth Assembly (and the Disarmament
Confernce), nos. 1-20.

- no. 3, Sept. 28, 1932. See p. 34.
- no. 6, Oct. 1, 1932. - pp. 74, 75-76.
- no. 9, Oct. 5, 1932. - pp. 149-152.

\* Journal of the Fourteenth Assembly, nos. 1-16.

- no. 3, Sept. 27, 1933. See p. 19.
- no. 5, Sept. 29, 1933. - p. 43.
- no. 11, Oct. 6, 1933. - pp. 130-131.
- no. 12, Oct. 7, 1933. - pp. 159-160.
- no. 13, Oct. 8, 1933. - p. 176.
- no. 16, Oct. 12, 1933. - p. 224.

\* Journal of the Fifteenth Assembly, nos. 1-17.

- no. 8, Sept. 18, 1934. See p. 74.
- no. 9, Sept. 19, 1934. - 91-93, 98-99, 100, 101,
102-103.
- no. 11, Sept. 22, 1934. - pp. 142-144.

\* Journal of the Sixteenth Assembly, nos. 1-29.

- no. 5, Sept. 17, 1935. - p. 64.
- no. 12, Sept. 21, 1935. - pp. 130-133.
- no. 13, Sept. 22, 1935. - pp. 147, 152.


- no. 5, Sept. 25, 1936. See pp. 31-32.
- no. 6, Sept. 26, 1936. - p. 39.
- no. 7, Sept. 27, 1936. - pp. 45-47.
- no. 10, Oct. 1, 1936. - pp. 73, 74, 75.
- no. 15, Oct. 7, 1936. - pp. 147, 156.
- no. 16, Oct. 8, 1936. - pp. 165-166, 173-175.
L. of N. Periodicals (Continued)

Journal of the Eighteenth Assembly (1937).
Journal of the Nineteenth Assembly (1938).
Journal of the Twentieth Assembly (1939).
L. of N. Periodicals (Continued)

League of Nations (Fortnightly) News for Overseas.

The League of Nations (Fortnightly) News for Overseas was published either fortnightly, monthly or once every two months, depending upon the year in which it was published and the state of the League's finances at the time.

With the exception of the issues for the year 1932 the present writer had the file of this publication from the beginning of 1930 until the end of 1936.

- Aug.-Sept., 1929.
- Jan., 1930.
- March, 1930.
- May, 1930.
- June, 1930.
- Sept., 1930.
- Feb., 1931.
- March, 1931.
- Nov.-Dec., 1933.
- Feb., 1934.
- July, 1934, no. 5.
- April, 1935, no. 4.
- July, 1935, no. 7.
- Jan., 1936, no. 1.
- April, 1936, no. 4.
- July, 1936, no. 7.
League of Nations Periodicals (Continued)

Monthly Summary.

The Monthly Summary was a record of all the proceedings of all League meetings and provided, in general form, a regular account of League activities in addition to summaries of the principal official documents of the League.

The Monthly Summary was first issued in 1921 and the last issue, vol. 20, no. 2, appeared in February 1940. The issue which appeared immediately after the annual sessions of the League Assembly contained the text of all the resolutions adopted thereat. The February issue of each year usually contained a list of the members of the various League Committees.

* vol. 1, no. 5, Sept. 1921, p. 95.
* vol. 1, no. 6, Oct. 1921, pp. 99, 119, 139.
* vol. 1, no. 9, Dec. 1921, pp. 192, 194.
* vol. 2, no. 1, Jan. 1922, p. 6.
* vol. 2, no. 5, May 1922, pp. 95-96.
* vol. 2, no. 8, Aug. 1922, pp. 170, 176-178.
* vol. 2, no. 9, Sept. 1922, pp. 197-198, 216, 235.
* vol. 2, no. 11, Nov. 1922, pp. 278, 290-291, 300.
* vol. 3, no. 3, April 1923, pp. 46, 57-58.
* vol. 3, no. 8, Aug. 1923, pp. 175-177.
* vol. 3, no. 11, Nov. 1923, p. 276.
* vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1924, pp. 8-9.
* vol. 4, no. 3, March 1924, pp. 60, 71.
League of Nations Periodicals (Continued)

* vol. 4, no. 4, April 1924, p. 80.
* vol. 4, no. 5, May 1924, pp. 95-96.
* vol. 4, no. 6, June 1924, p. 117.
* vol. 4, no. 7, July 1924, pp. 126, 136-140.
* vol. 4, no. 9, Sept. 1924, pp. 187-189, 209-211.
* vol. 4, no. 10, Oct. 1924, p. 245.
* vol. 4, no. 11, Nov. 1924, p. 254.
* vol. 4, no. 12, Dec. 1924, pp. 264, 266, 278.
* vol. 5, no. 2, Feb. 1925, p. 57.
* vol. 5, no. 3, April 1925, pp. 116-117.
* vol. 5, no. 5, May 1925, p. 135.
* vol. 5, no. 8, Aug. 1925, p. 197.
* vol. 6, no. 4, April 1926, p. 99.
* vol. 6, no. 9, Sept. 1926, pp. 215, 224, 237-238.
* vol. 7, no. 4, April 1927, pp. 101-103.
* vol. 7, no. 5, May 1927, p. 145.
* vol. 7, no. 6, June 1927, pp. 198-199, 212.
* vol. 7, no. 7, July 1927, pp. 219-224.
* vol. 7, no. 8, Aug. 1927, pp. 252-262.
* vol. 8, no. 1, Jan. 1928, pp. 6-7, 34-38.
* vol. 8, no. 3, March 1928, pp. 97-98, 102.
* vol. 8, no. 4, April 1928, pp. 124-125.
League of Nations Periodicals (Continued)

vol. 8, no. 5, May 1928, p. 150.

vol. 8, no. 6, June 1928, pp. 176-180.

vol. 8, no. 7, July 1928, p. 208.

vol. 8, no. 8, Aug. 1928, pp. 229-235.

vol. 8, no. 9, Sept. 1928, pp. 245-246, 292-294.

vol. 8, no. 11, Nov. 1928, p. 369.

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vol. 9, no. 7, July 1929, pp. 242-249.

vol. 9, no. 8, Aug. 1929, p. 258.

vol. 9, no. 9, Sept. 1929, pp. 277-290, 298, 302-303, 320.


vol. 10, no. 1, Jan. 1930, pp. 11-12, 22.

vol. 10, no. 3, March 1930, p. 63.

vol. 10, no. 4, April 1930, pp. 70, 75-76, 81.


vol. 10, no. 6, June 1930, pp. 114, 118, 120.


vol. 10, no. 11, Nov. 1930, p. 244.


vol. 11, no. 2, Feb. 1931, pp. 56, 75-77.

vol. 11, no. 3, March 1931, p. 92.

vol. 11, no. 4, April 1931, pp. 102-105, 108.
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* vol. 11, no. 5, May 1931, pp. 126, 134-135.
* vol. 11, no. 6, June 1931, pp. 163-164.
* vol. 11, no. 7, July 1931, pp. 171, 175-183.
* vol. 11, no. 10, Oct. 1931, p. 299.
* vol. 11, no. 11, Nov. 1931, pp. 314-316, 326-327.
* vol. 11, no. 12, Dec. 1931, p. 341. (?)
* vol. 12, no. 1, Jan. 1932, pp. 3-4, 12-13.
* vol. 12, no. 2, Feb. 1932, pp. 40, 63-64, 71-74.
* vol. 12, no. 4, April 1932, pp. 121, 129-131, 137-138.
* vol. 12, no. 5, May 1932, pp. 156, 176-178.
* vol. 12, no. 6, June 1932, pp. 182, 186, 197-198.
* vol. 12, nos. 8-9, Aug.-Sept. 1932, pp. 249, 254-255.
* vol. 12, no. 11, Nov. 1932, pp. 328-329.
* vol. 12, no. 12, Dec. 1932, pp. 348-353.
* vol. 13, no. 1, Jan. 1933, pp. 5-6, 13-14.
* vol. 13, no. 2, Feb. 1933, pp. 40, 62-64.
* vol. 13, no. 3, March 1933, pp. 80-81, 84.
* vol. 13, no. 4, April 1933, pp. 92, 93-96.


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* vol. 14, no. 3, March 1934, p. 76.
* vol. 14, no. 4, April 1934, pp. 82, 87, 91-94.
* vol. 14, no. 5, May 1934, pp. 113, 125-127.
* vol. 14, no. 6, June 1934, pp. 154-155.
* vol. 14, no. 8, Aug. 1934, p. 192.
* vol. 14, no. 11, Nov. 1934, pp. 268-269.
* vol. 15, no. 4, April 1935, pp. 82-92-97.
* vol. 15, no. 5, May 1935, pp. 127-128, 136-137.
* vol. 15, no. 7, July 1935, pp. 159, 164-172.
* vol. 16, no. 1, Jan. 1936, pp. 21, 28.
* vol. 16, no. 2, Feb. 1936, pp. 66-68.
* vol. 16, no. 3, March 1936, p. 87.
* vol. 16, no. 4, April 1936, pp. 114-116, 119-121, 123.
* vol. 16, no. 5, May 1936, p. 146.
* vol. 16, no. 6, June 1936, pp. 202-205.
* vol. 16, no. 7, July 1936, pp. 213-220.
League of Nations Periodicals (Continued)

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vol. 16, no. 11, Nov. 1936, pp. 347-349.
vol. 16, no. 12, Dec. 1936, pp. 361, 378-381.
vol. 17, no. 1, Jan. 1937, pp. 11-14.
vol. 17, no. 4, April 1937, pp. 81-82.
vol. 18, no. 2, Feb. 1938, pp. 54-56.
vol. 18, no. 4, April 1938, pp. 80, 84-87.
vol. 18, no. 5, May 1938, pp. 126-127.
vol. 18, no. 6, June 1938, pp. 153-155.
vol. 18, no. 7, July 1938, pp. 166-176.
vol. 18, no. 11, Nov. 1938, p. 298.
vol. 19, no. 1, Jan. 1939, pp. 39-41, 43-44.
vol. 19, no. 2, Feb. 1939, pp. 70, 73, 80, 97-98.
vol. 19, no. 4, April 1939, p. 171. (?)
vol. 19, no. 5, May 1939, pp. 191, 220-221, 226.
Supplements to the Monthly Summary.

Only three Supplements to the Monthly Summary were published. The first was published in May 1921 and was sub-titled "Activities of the League of Nations since its Creation, January 1920 to April 1921." Pages 11 and 36 of this publication contain material relating to intellectual cooperation.

The second Supplement was published in February 1922 and was sub-titled "The League of Nations: Its Organization and Work." Page 15 of this publication contains material on intellectual cooperation.

The last Supplement, which was published in August 1939, was prepared as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War and was an attempt to assess the probable effect of the War on the League of Nations as a whole and on its various constituent organs. Pages 7, 8, 10, 16, and 17 of this publication contain material relating to intellectual cooperation.
**Official Journal.**

The *Official Journal* was usually published monthly, from 1920 onward. During its first year, 1920, however, only eight numbers appeared. During 1920-1921 it was published in a bilingual edition; thereafter two editions were published, one in French and the other in English.

The *Official Journal* contained the League of Nations Council "Minutes" (except those of the first fifteen sessions which were published separately). The "Minutes" of the Council's sessions were usually published in the first number of the *Official Journal* issued after that session. The *Official Journal* also contained, as annexes to the "Minutes" of the sessions of the Council, the reports and resolutions adopted by the Council, and the principal official documents distributed during the session or received or dispatched by the League Secretariat. In addition, it reported the exchange of diplomatic notes and the ratification of conventions concluded under League auspices.

Since all the documents related to the first fifteen sessions of the Council were published, together with the "Minutes" of those sessions, in a separate series of documents, the *Official Journal*, prior to the sixteenth session, i.e., before 1923, published only a selection of the most important texts.

The October number of the *Official Journal* usually contained the Budget of the League as adopted by the Assembly (prior to its adoption it was printed as a separate document) and also the staff lists of the League Secretariat and the I.L.O. Prior to 1929 this information was published in the January number.

Indices to the *Official Journal* prior to 1928 were published in the form of *Special Supplements* (nos. 6, 10, 12, 22, 31, 41, 52, 62, 72). Thereafter the annual indices formed a part of their respective annual volumes. A less detailed index, covering the period from 1920 to 1937 was annexed to the official history of the Council on its one-hundredth session, in 1938 (see *L. of N.*, Secretariat, Information Section, The Council of the League of Nations: Composition, Competence, Procedure: First Session, January 1920 - Hundredth Session, January 1938).
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<td>Communications to the Secretary-General from Various Associations.</td>
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<td>vol. 1, no. 7, p. 446.</td>
<td>- - -: French Association for the League of Nations: Meeting of the Directors' Council, June 21, 1920: Resolution in Favour of the 'Creation of an International Bureau for Intellectual intercourse and Education.'</td>
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<td>Third Budget of the League of Nations: Memorandum by the Secretary-General.</td>
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<td>Plan for the Establishment of an International University at Brussels: Note by the Secretary-General, May 25, 1921.</td>
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<td>vol. 2, nos. 5-6, p. 621.</td>
<td>Minutes of the Thirteenth Session of the League Council: General Principles To Be Observed in Placing the International Bureau under the Authority of the League: Report Presented by M. Hano-taux.</td>
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Until 1932 the reports of the Committees of the Assembly were annexed to the Records of the debates (Minutes) of the respective Committees and also to the plenary meeting debates. Thereafter the reports of these Committees were annexed solely to the Records of the Debates of the Committees.

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* vol. 4, 1932 (semi-annual), nos. 1-2.
* vol. 5, 1933 (semi-annual), nos. 1-2.
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* vol. 1, no. 14, Supplement contains Index to vol. 1, nos. 10-13.
* vol. 1, no. 17, Supplement contains Index to vol. 1, nos. 14-17.
* vol. 1, no. 22, Supplement contains Index to vol. 1, nos. 18-21.
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Verbatim Record of the First Assembly (not placed on sale until the Fourth Assembly, 1923).

Verbatim Record of the Fourth Assembly, (1923) nos. 1-20.

Verbatim Record of the Fifth Assembly, (1924) nos. 1-29.

* Verbatim Record of the Sixth Assembly, nos. 1-19.
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* Verbatim Record of the Seventh Assembly, nos. 1-17.
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* Verbatim Record of the Eighth Assembly, nos. 1-22.
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* Verbatim Record of the Ninth Assembly, nos. 1-19.

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* Verbatim Record of the Fourteenth Assembly, nos. 1-9.
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* Verbatim Record of the Seventeenth Assembly, (1936) nos. 1-17.
List of Relevant League of Nations Secretariat Documents

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Brochures: Enquiry into Conditions of Intellectual Work.

The following two series appeared irregularly and were eventually discontinued. Some titles which were announced but were not printed have been omitted from the following lists.

First Series: General Questions

no. 1. Observations sur la méthode d'une statistique de la vie intellectuelle, par J. Luchaire, expert de la Commission.

no. 2. Observations sur quelques problèmes du travail intellectuelle, par J. Luchaire (French text only).

no. 3. The Conditions of Life and Work of Musicians, by Wm. Martin (Representative of the I.L.O. on the C.I.C.I.), (2 vols.).

x no. 3 Les échanges internationaux de publications, par O. de Halecki, Secrétaire de la Commission (French text only).

Second Series: Intellectual Life in Various Countries


no. 8. Brazil: Rapport d'ensemble sur les aspects principaux de la vie intellectuelle au Brésil, par Aloysio de Castro (membre de la Commission) (French text only).

Brochures (Continued)

Second Series (Continued)

no. 10. United States of America: Colleges and Universities, by Henri Reverdin (Expert to Committee).

no. 11. - - -: The Principal Foundations, by Henri Reverdin.

no. 12. - - -: The Principal Academies and Learned Societies, by Henri Reverdin.

no. 13. France: L'enseignement des langues, littératures et civilisations modernes et son utilité pour le rapprochement international.

no. 14. - - -: La Crise de la Science pure, par J. Luchaire (French text only).

no. 15. - - -: Preservation and Dissemination of Artistic Taste, by J. Luchaire.

no. 16. - - -: Les Universités et la vie sociale, par J. Luchaire.


no. 20. Hungary: General Situation, by O. de Halecki.

no. 21. - - -: Les Universités, par O. de Halecki (French text only).

no. 24. Italy: Le Mouvement pour la rénovation de la culture nationale, par J. Luchaire (French text only).

no. 25. Japan: Use and Study of Foreign Languages in Japan, by Inazo Nitobe (Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations).

no. 28. Mexico: Biological Studies, by C. Rodriguez (Member of the Latin American Office of the League of Nations).

no. 29. Norway: Natural Science, by K. Bonnevie (Member of the Committee).

no. 31. -- --: Les Universités, par G. de Reynold (French text only).

no. 33. Poland: Les Universités, par L. Szperl (Vice-Président de la Caisse Mianowski, Varsovie) (French text only).

no. 34. Russia: Les Groupes académiques russes. Rapport sur la situation des intellectuels russes hors de Russie, par G. de Reynold (Doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie à l'Université de Berne, membre et rapporteur de la Commission) (French text only).

no. 35. Switzerland: Les Études historiques, par G. Castella (French text only).

no. 36. -- --: The Universities, by G. Castella.

no. 37. Czechoslovakia: Le Livre comme instrument de travail et d'éducation, par O. de Halecki (French text only).

no. 38. -- --: Les Universités, par O. de Halecki (French text only).

no. 39. -- --: Technical Sciences, by O. de Halecki (the French text bears the number C.I.C.I. 1923.I.)

no. 40. Canada: The Universities, by Henri Reverdin.

no. 41. United States of America: Science in the United States.


The Handbook of International Organizations contained material on the organization and activities of international associations, bureaux, committees, etc.
Handbook of International Organizations (Continued)

Handbook of International Organizations, 1921 ed.
Handbook of International Organizations, 1923 ed.
Handbook of International Organizations, 1926 ed. (1926.XII.B.1.).
Handbook of International Organizations, 1927 ed. (1927.XII.B.1.).
Supplement to (1929) Handbook of International Organizations, 75 pp. (1931.XII.B.1.).

Index Bibliographicus, International Catalogue of Sources of Current Bibliographical Information, 1925, Arranged and edited by Marcel Godet. (A revised edition of this work was published by the I.I.C.I. in 1931. See the publications of the Paris Institute for details regarding the revised edition.)
L. of N., Secretariat, Information Section,

Aims and Organization of the League of Nations, 1929 (1928.XII.A.5.).

Part I, pp. 13 ff., dealing with the interdependence of nations, and p. 74, dealing with the I.L.O. Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers are relevant to this study.

Aims and Organization of the League of Nations (1930.XII.A.).


This book explains the nature of the two aims of the League, namely, to prevent war, and to develop cooperation among Governments. Its publication was due largely to the joint efforts of the Information and Intellectual Cooperation Sections of the League Secretariat and represented an attempt to carry out a recommendation made by the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching at its two meetings held July 10-11, 1935. Various chapters of the book deal with the resources at the League's disposal and the methods it employed. About half the book is devoted to an examination of the achievements that already stood to the League's credit. (See esp. pp. 155-56.)

Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations, 1938, 221 pp.


An official history of the Council published on the occasion of its hundredth session. It has a useful index of all matters dealt with by the Council from 1920-1937 annexed to it.

The Covenant of the League of Nations,
1921 ed., 10 pp.;
1923 ed., 16 pp.;
1924 ed., 17 pp.;

See especially part I, Article XXIII and part XIII, which are relevant to this study.

Essential Facts About the League of Nations.

These volumes are written in a clear and concise style. They are useful to anyone desiring to obtain information on any aspect of the activities carried on by the League in
Essential Facts About the League of Nations (Continued).

virtue of the Covenant. Among other things, these handbooks define the competence of each of the three principal organs of the League — namely, the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat — and contain the essential facts regarding the organizations and commissions subordinate to the League or attached to it, including the I.C.O.

(First) 1933 ed.
(Second and Third) 1934 ed., 216 pp.
(Sixth) 1936, ed., 311 pp.
(Seventh) 1936 ed., 311 pp.
(Eighth) 1937 ed.
(Tenth) 1939 ed., 359 pp. (See esp. pp. 266, 266-269.)


The Forty-Ninth Session of the Council of the League of Nations, 6 pp. mimeographed (edited by H.R. Cummings). (See esp. p. 6.)

Illustrated Album of the League of Nations, 1925.

Illustrated Album of the League of Nations, 1927.


This admirable booklet formed one of the major sources of material for this study. It contains a critical analysis of almost every aspect of the I.C.O.'s history, machinery and activities, with the exception of the financial set-up of the Organization and the working of the I.E.C.I. An attempt is made in the booklet to present some of the major difficulties with which the I.C.O. was faced and the means which it adopted to surmount them.

The booklet was not documented and its value was thus considerably lessened for the purposes of this study.

The League in Pictures, 1927.


This small pamphlet is one of a series dealing with var-
The League of Nations and Intellectual Co-operation, 1923
(Continued).

ious aspects of the League's work. It contains a short summary of the organization and constitution of the C.I.C.I. and its early program of work. It is not documented, however.


The League of Nations from Year to Year.

This pamphlet formed an annual supplement to the publication The League of Nations, A Survey (Jan. 1920-June 1925) and to its revised edition for 1926. It also acted as a supplement to Ten Years of World Cooperation (1930).

The League of Nations from Year to Year contained a chronological table of the principal events which occurred in the League's sphere of activity during the year. This table included a list of the dates of the meetings and conferences of the various League organizations as well as a summary of their principal discussion.

(See esp. Chapter VIII.)
vol. 6, 1931-1932, 246 pp.
vol. 7, 1933, 257 pp.
vol. 8, 1934, 292 pp.
vol. 10, 1936.
vol. 11, 1937.


An illustrated pamphlet containing a short descriptive account of the League's civil service and its buildings and quotations from speeches delivered by various statesmen on these topics.


This publication has excellent charts and photographs covering most of the League's organizations and including photographs of the Institutes at Paris (I.I.C.I.) and Rome (I.E.C.I. and I.I.U.P.L.), as well as an analytical summary of the League's budgets for the years 1920-1928.


La Liste des Unions, Associations et Bureaux internationaux (1919?), 1923.

This publication was issued with the concurrence of Messieurs Lafontaine and Otlet.


This publication discusses problems which, in their causation and their solution, are akin to the problems of the League in the field of intellectual cooperation.

La Société des Nations. Son Activité par l'Image, 1931 (French text only published).


This full length book, compiled by the League of Nations, deals with the development of the League, the efforts made by it and the results achieved in ten years of international cooperation on a scale extending to almost every aspect of inter-State relations.

Chapter IX (pp. 313-329), which deals with intellectual cooperation, is of special importance for this study. The history of the I.C.O., its relations with existing organizations, the difficulty and complexity of its tasks, the history and working of the Paris Institute, and the need for the revision of the Organization as a whole are all dealt with in this chapter in a frank and critical manner.

Unfortunately this book, like so many others on the League of Nations, is not documented. However, a brief annotated bibliography is to be found at the end of the work and it proved quite useful for this study.

The United States and the League, 1920-1927.

Pp. 49-61 of this publication have material on the participation of Americans in the work of the I.C.O.
Bibliography
General Bibliographical Note

Those items in this Bibliography which are preceded by the notation "x" are items to which the present writer had access, either as a separate publication or as part of other publications. This notation has been included, however, only in the first mention of each item in the Bibliography and not in any subsequent mentions or cross-references. Thus the first mention of any publication may be considered as the "main entry" for that publication. All items in this Bibliography which are not preceded by the notation "x" were included in order to enhance the value of the Bibliography as a source of reference.

Square brackets enclosing the title of any publication indicate that its exact title was unknown to the present writer, either because he did not have access to the publication or because the copy to which he had access had no title marked on it. Hence the title noted within the square brackets may be quite incorrect. Such titles are listed in the hope that they might provide a clue to the subject-matter contained in the publication in question, since the writer had, from one source or another, obtained some hint as to either the title or the content of the publication concerned.

In a few instances a question mark has been placed after either the title, the page numbers, or the number of certain publications. These question marks indicate that the writer is unable at the time of writing to verify the information recorded regarding the item in question and that some doubt has arisen, for one reason or another, as to the veracity of the entry.

Although document numbers and titles of publications are underlined in the text of this study, this practice has not been followed in the Bibliography where the numbers of documents or the titles immediately follow each other in a series, since that would have involved the underlining of virtually every line.

In the section of this Bibliography which deals with the various League of Nations numbered series of documents, the third and last column in some instances contains the notation "(See esp. pp. - .)". Where this notation follows the citation of the inclusive page numbers of the document in question, the pages especially referred to indicate the particular pages of this general document which contain material dealing with or relating to intellectual cooperation. In a few instances where the inclusive page numbers were not recorded, only the specific pages containing material dealing with intellectual cooperation are noted. In such instances the notation "see esp." precedes the page numbers noted.
It should also be noted that many of the lists of relevant official publications are incomplete due to the fact that it was impossible for the writer either to obtain complete lists or to obtain access to the publications themselves.

And finally, it will be noted that no attempt has been made to include a critical or analytical bibliographical note concerning every official publication noted, since that would have extended the length of the study beyond all reasonable dimensions. In addition, in most cases, no critical comments have been included concerning those items in the Bibliography to which the writer did not have access. And, in general, it may be said that the extent of each bibliographical comment made by the present writer is proportionate to the importance of the item in question, either in the preparation of this study or to the subjects discussed in this study.
Publications of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute

The I.E.C.I. published inter alia, the monthly review Interciné, the last volume of which appeared in 1935 (vol. 7). An English edition of this publication, entitled International Review of Educational Cinematography, was published up to 1934 (vol. 6). At the end of March 1937 the Institute began the publication of an additional periodical entitled Announcements of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. The purpose of this periodical was to strengthen international relations in the sphere of educational cinematography and to make the I.E.C.I. a liaison and information centre. It also spread a knowledge of the work of the Institute and of the efforts made by the various countries in the field of educational cinematography.

The I.E.C.I. also published a series of reports, twenty-eight of which had appeared before the Institute was closed by the Italian Government at the end of 1937. The writer has been unable to obtain a complete list of these reports. They were evidently published in the form of "Cahiers" (French) and "Monographs" (English). The following list includes the titles of all the reports to which the writer has found mention:

- The Cinema and Scientific Management, 1930 (?) (Monograph no. 20, Cahier no. 19).
- The Cinématograph and Hygiene, 1930 (Monograph no. 15, Cahier no. 14).
- The Effects of the Cinema on the Sight, 1930 (Monograph no. 10, Cahier no. 9).
- The Social Aspects of the Cinema, 1930 (Monograph no. 5, Cahier no. 4).

In 1935, following the opening of the Television Centre at the I.E.C.I., the Institute also published a monthly Cronache di Televisione, in Italian.
Bibliographical Note
Regarding the Publications of the I.I.C.I.

The I.I.C.I. began issuing documents, reports and other publications soon after its inception in 1926. All of its publications were issued under its own name and bore no relationship to the documentation of the League of Nations. Like the League's publications, however, the publications of the Institute may be divided into two main groups: numbered documents and unnumbered documents. The unnumbered publications may be further classified under the following four headings: Periodicals, Collections, Volumes and Reports. This system of classification was adopted in 1930. Some of the Institute's publications which appeared before that date do not fit into any one of the four sub-divisions mentioned. Hence in this Bibliography such publications will be listed separately, in alphabetical order.

The writer has endeavoured to obtain a complete list of the Institute's documents, both numbered and unnumbered, from the I.I.C.I. itself. He has been informed, however, that no complete catalogue was ever published and since many of the Institute's publications were pilfered by the Germans during the occupation of France, it is now impossible to compile a complete list. The essence of the contents of many of the mimeographed documents which are no longer available may, however, be found in the monthly bulletins of the Institute which were issued under a number of different titles during the period 1929-1945. Previous to the publication of these monthly bulletins, the various activities of the Institute were described in a series of Bulletins published by the various Sections of the Institute.

The numbered series of documents were published chiefly for use within the Institute itself, usually in mimeographed form. Few, if any, were ever placed on sale, except in connection with other related published documents. Since no catalogue of these numbered documents can be obtained and since the Institute's numbered documents often bore similar or identical numbers or letters to those used on League of Nations documents, it has been impossible for the writer to distinguish, in all cases, between the two. Consequently, some of the numbered documents cited below may actually be League of Nations documents and some of those included in the list of League of Nations documents may be I.I.C.I. publications.

The Institute, from 1933 onward, regularly issued lists of its unnumbered publications still in print, in its annual survey International Intellectual Co-operation, 193-. These lists were also separately published by the Institute, both in French and English editions, under the following titles:
Catalogues des Publications, 1933.
List of Publications, 1934.

Catalogues of the Institute's unnumbered documents were also published by the Columbia University Press, which is the American agent for Institute publications. In addition, the annual reports of the C.I.C.I. contained similar lists of the Institute's publications.

Publications of the Institute often appeared in several languages - French, English, German and Dutch. In this Bibliography the English title will be cited and used for the purpose of listing the publications alphabetically. Non-English titles will be used only in those instances where no English edition of the publication appeared.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Document Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Printed or Referred to In</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.2.1933</td>
<td>Study Undertaken by the Institute on the Question of the Universal Adoption of the Roman Characters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.9.1932</td>
<td>Report by the Committee of Experts for the Co-ordination of Educational Information Centres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.11.1932</td>
<td>[Regarding National Educational Information Centres.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.14.1932</td>
<td>[Regarding National Educational Information Centres.]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.15.1932</td>
<td>[Regarding Broadcasting in Its Relation to Adult Education, with the Object of Improving Internal Relations.]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.17.1932</td>
<td>Use of Broadcasting for International Understanding.</td>
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<td>Document Number</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.63.1938</td>
<td>[Replies Received from National Committees to the I.I.C.I.'s Enquiries regarding Broadcasting.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.10.1926</td>
<td>Report to the Sub-Committee on Inter-University Relations on the Work of the University Relations Section.</td>
<td>A.27.1926.XII., p. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.27.1928</td>
<td>Report by the I.I.C.I. to the Sub-Committee on University Relations.</td>
<td>A.28.1928.XII., pp. 6, 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.A.16.1929</td>
<td>[Regarding the Committee of Enquiry]</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.A.17.1929</td>
<td>(See C.I.C.I.212. in League of Nations/Documents Bibliography.)</td>
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<td>C.E.66.</td>
<td>[Regarding the Interchange of Young People.]</td>
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<td>Document Number</td>
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<td>1935.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.5.1927(1).</td>
<td>Report to the Sub-Committee on Bibliography on the Work of the Scientific Relations Section.</td>
<td>D.5.1927(1).</td>
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<td>D.23.1930.</td>
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<td>Supplement.</td>
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<td>Annex 1, 2,</td>
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<td>E.52.1936</td>
<td>Conclusion by the I.I.C.I. and the I.I.U.P.L. of an Agreement on Authors' Rights.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>E.52.1936 (revised)</td>
<td>[Regarding a Universal Statute of Authors' Rights.]</td>
<td>O.J., vol. 17, p. 1265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.57.1936</td>
<td>Draft Regulations regarding the Rights of Authors in Discoveries and Inventions.</td>
<td>O.J., vol. 17, p. 1265</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.1.1926</td>
<td>Report to the Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters on the Work of the Literary Relations Section.</td>
<td>A.27.1926.XII., p. 1</td>
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<td>Document Number</td>
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<td>F.12.1933</td>
<td>Communication from M. Julien Cain and M. Ernest Reinhardt regarding the Index Translationum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.3.1926</td>
<td>Report to the Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters on the Work of the Artistic Relations Section.</td>
<td>A.27.1926.XII., p. 1</td>
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<td>H.25.1928</td>
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<td>O.J., vol. 18, p. 1047</td>
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**International Bureau of University Statistics Documents**

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<th>Document Number</th>
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List of Unnumbered Publications of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

I.I.C.I., Periodicals,


This bulletin which superseded the Bulletin of the Office de Documentation internationale contemporaine, was published monthly by the I.I.C.I. during the period Jan. 1, 1926-1928. It was an attempt to make a methodical arrangement of current bibliographical information dealing with contemporary problems and mentioned only:

1. Books in all languages which dealt with questions of international affairs and which were recently announced in current bibliographies or book-sellers' catalogues since 1919, in politics, economics, and sociology.

2. Articles on the same subjects as in (1) above which appeared in three hundred periodicals, published in all languages.

This publication was superseded by the Bulletin Bibliographique de documentation internationale contemporaine, published by la bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine for the European division of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.


A description of the work done in the field of artistic relations by the C.I.C.I. and its Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, the I.I.C.I., and the International Museums' Office.


Bulletin de la Coopération Intellectuelle, nos. 1-16.

This Bulletin was published monthly during the period Jan. 1931-April 1932. It superseded Coopération Intellectuelle (nos. 1-24) and was itself superseded first by Coopération Intellectuelle (nos. 17-102) and then by Informations Sur La Coopération Intellectuelle. The Bulletin de la Coopération Intellectuelle was the only organ in existence from Jan. 1931 (when the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry came into effect) until April 1932, which contained general information on the activities of the League in the field of intellectual cooperation. In April 1932 the Information Bulletin (of the League of Nations' Intellectual Co-operation Organization) appeared as a complimentary version of the Bulletin de la Coopération Intellectuelle. Sixteen numbers of the Information Bulletin were published, during the period April 1932-Nov. 1933.
I.I.C.I., Periodicals (Continued)


This monthly Bulletin appeared during the period July 1926-Nov. 1928 and was superseded on Jan. 15, 1929 by Coopération intellectuelle.

Bulletin of International School Correspondence.

This Bulletin was published annually, beginning January 1930, by the Secretariat of the Permanent Committee for International School Correspondence at the I.I.C.I. It included periodical statements on the activities and methods of the National Bureaux of International School Correspondence. Several numbers of this publication appeared in French only. The present writer had access only to no. 4 (1932).


This quarterly Bulletin appeared during the period July 1926-Dec. 1928 and was superseded by Coopération Intellectuelle, on Jan. 15, 1929.


This Bulletin was published up to 1926 by the League of Nations under the title of Bulletin of the Internal University Information Office and was superseded on Jan. 15, 1929 by Coopération intellectuelle. The Bulletin contained a summary of the work of the Sub-Committee on University Relations of the C.I.C.I. It also contained information emanating from National University Offices, National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation and international university associations.

Coopération intellectuelle, nos. 1-24 and 17-102.

This monthly publication appeared during the period Jan. 1929-Dec. 1930 (nos. 1-24). It superseded the Bulletin of the Information and Reference Section, the Bulletin of the Scientific Section and the Bulletin of the University Section, and was itself superseded by Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle (nos. 1-16) and its complimentary English version Information Bulletin (of the League of Nations' Intellectual Co-operation Organization). In May 1932 the Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle was superseded by Coopération intellectuelle and nos. 17-102 (June 1939) were published under the latter title. No issues of Coopération intellectuelle appeared from June 1939 to Jan. 1940, after which time it was superseded by Informations Sur La Coopération intellectuelle (nos. 1-8) and its complimentary English
version Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin. The present writer had access to only a few numbers of Co-operation Intellectuelle.

A complimentary English version of Coopération Intellectuelle appeared during the period Dec. 1933-Dec. 1934, under the title Intellectual Co-operation (nos. 1-12).

Each number of Coopération Intellectuelle contained a Note on the outstanding events of the previous month in the field of intellectual activity; a Summary of the work accomplished by the different Committees on intellectual cooperation; and a Chronological Review giving particulars of the meetings and activities of associations and organizations which worked in collaboration with the Institute, and also information concerning questions which figured on the program of intellectual cooperation. A section entitled Documents was reserved for legislative texts, statutes, reports and resolutions. Coopération Intellectuelle also contained condensed Bibliographical Reports and a Calendar of forthcoming meetings.

* (La) Coopération Intellectuelle Internationale (French text only published).

This publication first appeared in the form of a special number in Oct. 1945. It was the first Institute periodical to appear after the re-opening of the I.I.C.I. in 1944. It indicates the accomplishments of the Institute since its re-opening and its plans for the future.

This issue contains a list of the first post-war publications of the Institute on pp. 89-93. Pp. 122-132 contain a list of the unnumbered publications of the Institute in print in Nov. 1945.

Index Translationum (International Bibliography of Translations), nos. 1-31.

This quarterly publication was first issued in July 1932, as a result of a decision of the I.C.O. to attempt to use translations as a means of promoting a knowledge of the cultures of foreign countries. The Index Translationum covered, at first, French, German, English, Italian, Spanish and American translations. The following sources were used: La bibliographie de la France, Deutsche National bibliographie, The Publisher and Bookseller, Bulletinino delle Publicazioni Italiane, Bibliografia Generale Espanola y Hispano-Americana, and the Publishers Weekly.

The Index was the first international publication of its kind. It enabled writers, translators, publishers, book-
sellers and librarians to keep themselves informed of all new translations, and to follow the movements of literary fashion and taste in the foreign book market.

The Index contained, in addition to bibliographical material, alphabetical indices of authors' names and translators' names, as well as the addresses of the firms that published the translations. An annual statistical analysis of translations by country, original language and language of translation was also included.


At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the C.I.C.I. in 1931 it was felt that the moment had arrived when a special effort should be made to respond to the numerous requests for the publication in English of an organ similar to the Bulletin de la Co-opération Intellectuelle. Accordingly the Committee instructed the Paris Institute to undertake the regular publication of the Information Bulletin.

Having regard, on the one hand, to the considerable additional expense involved by the issue of two monthly journals, and, on the other hand, to the clear desirability of avoiding any unnecessary duplication of the Institute's publications, it was thought advisable to issue the Bulletin de la Co-opération and the Information Bulletin as complementary publications rather than as English and French versions of a single organ. The Information Bulletin, while reproducing, though in a more restricted compass, most of the essential information given in the Bulletin de la Co-opération Intellectuelle, contained certain new and special features of its own. Thus it was neither a translation nor a mere summary in English of the French organ.

The Information Bulletin appeared during the period April 1932-Nov. 1933.


This publication superseded the periodical Co-opération Intellectuelle. It first appeared in Jan. 1940 and was issued, in double numbers, until May 1940. A parallel English version also appeared during this period under the title Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin.

Intellectual Co-operation, nos. 1-12.

This monthly publication was issued as a complimentary version of Co-opération Intellectuelle and appeared during
I.I.C.I. Periodicals (Continued)

the period Dec. 1933-Dec. 1934. It superseded the Information Bulletin and was itself superseded by the Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin.

This publication appeared, in double numbers, during the period Jan. 1940-May 1940. It superseded Intellectual Co-operation.


This publication was at first issued three times a year and later became a quarterly. It was first published in April 1927. It appeared in French, with English summaries of each article. It contained information on the work of the Office and on all questions relating to the international organization of museums.

Musées et Monuments: Monthly Supplement to Mouseion.

This publication contained a complete survey of the current activities of museums in all countries and information on the preservation of ancient monuments and on the result of archaeological excavations. It also included announcements regarding changes in the administrative staffs of museums together with various reports and bibliographical references and notices.

The publication was later entitled Informations Mensuelles. It included administrative and technical studies on all problems arising in connection with museums and the preservation of ancient monuments. It also gave current information on the activities of associations of museum curators and on public collections, their acquisitions, additions and alterations, methods of preservation, classification, education and propaganda. It also contained information concerning museum technique and conducted enquiries on questions of capital interest to technicians and intellectual workers. It devoted special attention to problems relating to the preservation of works of art and historical buildings.


This Bulletin, which was the organ of the International Office of Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art, was issued three times a year from July 1934 to Oct. 1937. It was intended to serve as a link between university institutions which collaborated with the I.C.O. in this field. It published articles on institutes of archaeology and history of art.
I.I.C.I. Periodicals (Continued)

The Bulletin also contained numerous illustrations referring to the subjects discussed.


This Bulletin appeared monthly in French-English editions during the period 1933-March 1939. It gave information on the activities of science museums and their personnel, on the acquisitions, extension and alterations made by these museums and on the different expeditions carried out in connection with these institutions.

Students Abroad (Bulletin of Organizations Concerned with Students Abroad).

This Bulletin appeared semi-annually, in November and April. It contained information on the activities pursued in the different countries to facilitate the residence of students abroad and on international university exchanges in general. Nos. 1-8 of the first series appeared from Oct. 1932 to May 1935. Nos. 1-8 of a second series were published from 1935 to April 1939. No. 1 of the first series was entitled Bulletin of Organizations Concerned with Students Abroad.

The "Conversations" on Goethe which are reproduced in this volume took place at Frankfort-on-Main from May 12 to 14, 1932, during the course of the sessions held in that city, at the invitation of Dr. Landmann, Oberbergemerster of Frankfort, of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters. The volume is in three parts: "Goethe, the European," "Goethe and Art," and "Goethe's Novels."


The "Conversations" on the Future of Culture, which are reproduced in this volume, took place in Madrid from May 3 to 7, 1933, at the invitation of the Spanish Government. The "Conversations" took place under the chairmanship of Mme. Curie-Sklodowska.


The "Conversations" which are reproduced in this volume were held in Paris from October 16 to 18, 1933, at the invitation of the French Committee for European Co-operation. Thirty speakers took part in these "Conversations", under the chairmanship of M. Paul Valery.


The "Conversations" which are reproduced in this volume were held in Venice from July 25 to 28, 1934, at the invitation of the Italian Government and in collaboration with the International Biennial Exhibition of Art. Sixty speakers participated in these "Conversations", under the chairmanship of M. Jules Destree.


This volume contains an analytical report of the "Conversations" held at Nice from April 1 to 3, 1935, at the Centre d'Etudes Méditerranéennes. It provides a comparison of the most divergent views on the elements of culture, on the role of myths, and modern means of popular education, and defines man as he is, as he might be and as he should be, as a national and a member of society. This book contains an abundance of lessons which, for the first time, are brought to bear on these questions from the international standpoint.
I.I.C.I., Collections, Conversations Series, (Continued),


The "Conversations" which are reproduced in this volume took place in Budapest, from June 6 to 10, 1936, at the invitation of the Hungarian Government. These "Conversations" continued the "Conversations" at Nice, which dealt with the training of modern man. Some thirty personalities were present at the Budapest "Conversations", under the chairmanship of M. P. Valery.


This volume contains a report on the "Conversations" which took place in Buenos-Aires from September 11 to 14, 1936. Ten European writers and nine Latin-American writers participated in these "Conversations", under the chairmanship of M. Sanin Cano. Their exchange of views on the relation between European and Latin-American civilization is given in this volume.


The "Conversations" which are reproduced in this volume were organized by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters and were held in Paris, under the chairmanship of M. P. Valery, during the "Intellectual Cooperation Month" (July 1937). A lively record may be found in this volume of the debate on the question of the Immediate Future of Letters, envisaged from three different angles: first, from the writer's standpoint (material and moral position of present-day writers); secondly, from the reader's standpoint (public needs and tastes and the means of satisfying them); and thirdly, from the point of view of language (new forms of expression).


The "Conversations" reproduced in this volume were held in Luxemburg from May 22 to 25, 1938. They were participated in by students. The main topic for discussion was "Education in the University" and the following subjects were discussed: the autonomy of universities; their educational mission; their responsibility to the national and international community; the role of science and culture in university life; and, opportunities for the exchange of thought between students of various lands.


This publication contains an account of the meeting organized by the Paris Institute in cooperation with the International Physicists' Union and the Polish National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. The meeting was held at Warsaw, from May 30 to June 3, 1938.
Publications of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law

No complete survey of the public documents of the I.I.U.P.L. has been published. The publications of the Institute were intended primarily for the use of the experts of the Institute. The majority of the documents and studies concerned were mimeographed; as a rule only the final drafts were printed. The text of the documents was generally in French; the final drafts were in French and English. Publications of general interest were issued for sale.

Budget and Accounts Series of Documents.

Budget, Comptes, 1929, 1930.
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Budget, Comptes, 1931, 1932.
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Budget, Comptes, 1935, 1936.
Budget, Comptes, 1936, 1937.
Budget, Comptes, 1937, 1938.

Minutes of the Sessions of the Permanent Committee.

Procès-verbaux du Comité permanent (U.D.P.C.P.) II, 1929.
Procès-verbaux du Comité permanent (U.D.P.C.P.) III, 1930.
Procès-verbaux du Comité permanent (U.D.P.C.P.) IV, 1931.
Procès-verbaux du Comité permanent (U.D.P.C.P.) VI, 1933.
Procès-verbaux du Comité permanent (U.D.P.C.P.) IX, 1936.

Minutes of the Sessions of the Governing Body.

Procès-verbaux du Conseil de direction (U.D.P.C.D.) VI, 1933.

Reports on the Work of the Institute.

Rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut, 1928, 1929.
Rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut, 1929, 1930.
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Rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut, 1934, 1935.
Rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut, 1936, 1937.

Study Series of Publications

Etudes I: Lettres de change et chèques (Documents 1-5, 1929).

Etudes II: Dettees alimentaires (Documents 1-15, 1929-1938).

Etudes III: Arbitrage (Documents 1-29, 1933-1938).
This third series was preceded by:

Etudes IV: Vente (Documents 1-93, 1929-1938).


Etudes V: Droits intellectuels (Documents 1-12, 1929-1935).

This series was again begun in 1938 and contained all the material dealing with the problems of copyright which was previously published as Etudes VI (Documents 1-5), VIII (Document 1), IX (Documents 1-3), X (Document 1), and XI (Documents 1-3).

Etudes VII: Garantie extra-cambraire (Document 1, 1930).

Etudes XII: Responsabilité des hôteliers (Documents 1-6, 1932-1934).


Etudes XIII: Assurances (Documents 1-5, 1933-1936).

Etudes XV: Transports internationaux (Document 1, 1931).

Etudes XVI: Contrats entre absents (Documents 1-14, 1935-1936).

Etudes XVII: Responsabilité civile automobiliste (Documents 1-29, 1935-1938).

Etudes XVIII: Chambres des compensations (Documents 1-12, 1935).

Etudes XIX: Contrats par representation (Documents 1-11, 1936-1937).

Etudes XX: Emprunts internationaux (Documents 1-4, 1937-1938).
**Numerical and Alphabetical List of League of Nations Documents Containing Material on or Related to Intellectual Cooperation**

**First Series of Documents Listed According to the System In Force From January 1, 1920 to April 22, 1921**

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**C.I.C.I. 244.** or. Ibero-American Collection: Report in Letter Form by M. de Reynold, dated June 1, 1931.


**C.I.C.I. 325.** Extracts from the Report by the Secretary of the Organization on the Work of the Secretariat during the Past Year.

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