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UTOPIAN DREAMS, NATIONAL REALITIES:
INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Juli Gatling Book

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Karen Petrone, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

2016

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

UTOPIAN DREAMS, NATIONAL REALITIES:
INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Utopian Dreams, National Realities: Intellectual Cooperation and the League of Nations chronicles the work of the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI). This dissertation demonstrates how the CICI's utopian vision of international peace was actively challenged by national tensions and agendas in the interwar period. It examines the idealistic goals of the movement by focusing on the narratives and motivations of key committee members as they worked toward their own ideas of peace. The challenge of nationalism is illustrated through an analysis of major disagreements between CICI members as well as through biographical case studies of lesser-known members. The pursuit of "moral disarmament," or the process of changing mentalities towards war, was a central component of the CICI's work. Both education and film were envisioned as ways to influence the public and engender anti-war sentiment. This work argues that the League of Nations' conception of internationalism was Eurocentric and moral disarmament was formulated within an Anglo-American context. Both of these limitations narrowed the influence of the CICI's peace work to certain geographical areas of influence and effectively marginalized less powerful nations and individuals within it.

KEYWORDS: interwar period, peace, education, disarmament, gender

_____Juli Gatling Book_______

___________4/25/16_________

UTOPIAN DREAMS, NATIONAL REALITIES:
INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements iii

Chapter One: Introduction
- Background 1
- The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation 4
- Challenges to Peace 9
- Intellectual Cooperation: A Transnational Minor Utopia 13
- Historiography 17

Chapter Two: Moral Disarmament and the Limits of Internationalism
- Introduction 26
- Limited Internationalism 31
- Moral Disarmament 45
- Conclusion 72

Chapter Three: "In the Hearts of the Teachers Lies the Destiny of the World"
- Introduction 74
- International Education 79
- Propaganda and the Challenge of Nationalism 91
- Conclusion 110

Chapter Four: Anti-War Film and Fascism
- Introduction 112
- Historiography 115
- The International Educational Cinematographic Institute 120
- Film and Anti-war Education 125
- Conclusion 140

Chapter Five: Women and Film Censorship
- Introduction 143
- The Role of the Mother 150
- Laura Dreyfus-Barney and the International Council of Women 159
- Conclusion 170

Chapter Six: Celebrities and Hidden Histories
- Introduction 173
- The Women of Intellectual Cooperation 176
- CICI Celebrities: Marie Curie and Albert Einstein 180
- CICI Silent Worker: Margarete Rothbarth 193
- Conclusion 208

Chapter Seven: Conclusion
Summary 211
Withering Away: UNESCO and the United Nations 219

Appendices 233
Appendix A: Abbreviations
Appendix B: CICI Member Nations and Individual Committee Membership

References 235

Vita 245

Chapter One: Introduction

Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding.

- Albert Einstein, CICI member, 1930

Interwar internationalism had limits to its inclusivity and did not directly challenge nationalism. In the interwar period, the League of Nations (LN) was the spearhead for a broader understanding of fostering peace and therefore a centralizing agent where terminology and practice were debated and considered. As British LN delegate Lord Renell of Rodd argued in 1935, "the word 'International' has its uses and abuses. It reminds us of successes and of failures. But its introduction into the language is an indication of the broader outlook of recent times and a less restricted horizon."[1] However, while it allowed for a "broader outlook," League of Nations internationalism was tied in direct relationship with nationalism. Could internationalism survive where nationalism thrived? While most nations did not desire war, they also did not want to relinquish their national identity. It was when nationalism was used in the cause of war—when its power was used to influence other nations negatively—that internationalism was considered desirable.

Establishing and maintaining world peace is an enduring aspiration that has been sought by politicians, peace activists, and intellectuals across many ages. Almost one hundred years ago most of the West was still reeling from the devastation of the "Great War." After the end of the First World War, public opinion provided a unique opportunity to address the issue of a sustainable world peace. The leaders and citizenry of

[1] Quoted in Frank Howes, "The International (European) Folk Dance Festival," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 2 (January 1, 1935): 9.

the West seemed unified in their horror and weariness of war and in their commitment to avoiding future violence between nations. There was a growing sense that the old institutions and societal mores had failed humanity. Amid this disillusioned atmosphere emerged a group of individuals committed to avoiding future catastrophic wars.

Memory, whether in the form of personal account or public veneration, such as memorials, plays an important part in life as well as historical scholarship.[2] What a society remembers, and what it forgets, is a telling indicator, and for the interwar generation the memory of the First World War loomed large. It was a trauma that ran deep. The experience and memory of war directly led to the formation of the League of Nations and later its International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI).[3] The CICI attempted to establish a lasting peace in the interwar years through the exchange of ideas to promote cultural understanding among nations. The CICI envisioned intellectual cooperation as a vital mechanism in securing a peaceful future. Just as political ideas can be exchanged through diplomacy and material goods through commerce, the members of the CICI sought to exchange peace-promoting ideas while also establishing intellectual relations between nations. This committee was formed in 1922 by the League of Nations

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[2] Jay Winter. *Remembering War: the Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 1. Winter argued that the First World War triggered what he termed the "memory boom" of the twentieth century and that the war served as a sort of template for understanding, and remembering, later wars. "The images, languages and practices," Winter wrote, "which appeared during and in the aftermath of the Great War shaped the ways in which future conflicts were imagined and remembered. It is in this sense that I refer to the survivors of the Great War as the first (although not the last) 'generation of memory' in the twentieth century." The trauma of the First World War led to a certain infatuation with memory as a means of coping, which he explained as causing the current fascination with memory among ordinary citizens, politicians and reporters.

[3] The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation's acronym stems from the French *Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle*. See Appendix A for a list of acronyms used in this dissertation.

and, with the haunting images of the Great War and its carnage fresh in their minds, the French government provided funding when the CICI founded the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in 1925, located in Paris. The focus of the CICI was to use education and media as a means to ensure continual peace.

The process of "disarming" the minds of individuals and nations, which the League of Nations eventually called "moral disarmament," was a primary goal of the CICI and was considered a complement to material disarmament. This dissertation uses the term "moral disarmament" and associated CICI work in the fields of education and film as an entry point to discuss the different approaches of national committees and individuals toward the problem of peace. Additionally, it focuses on the wider peace work of the CICI and pulls from the rich, and largely neglected, stories of some of the many individuals who dedicated themselves to achieving lasting peace. However, a very real atmosphere of distrust and political maneuvering in the interwar period challenged these utopian dreams, and this work illustrates how national agendas reigned supreme at the expense of internationalist goals.

This dissertation assesses the challenge these national agendas posed. While historians focused for many years on the League of Nations as a "failed experiment," as discussed below, this dissertation argues against such an approach. By looking beyond narratives of success or failure, we are better able to assess the challenges facing the CICI as well as the organization's contribution. I argue here that the most significant challenge to the CICI's work were national tensions. Avoiding a narrative of failure does not mean ignoring the significant challenges facing the CICI in the interwar period. This work argues that the League of Nations' conception of internationalism was Eurocentric and

moral disarmament was formulated within an Anglo-American context. Both of these limitations narrowed the influence of the CICI's peace work to certain geographical areas of influence and effectively marginalized less powerful nations and individuals within it. However, this should not overshadow the strides made during the CICI's tenure, and I also argue that its most important contribution was the growth in the transnational networks it facilitated.

The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

The overarching goal of the CICI in the work of intellectual cooperation was to "safeguard peace by a closer union and better understanding between peoples."[4] The general aims of the CICI can be broken down into two areas: practical and visionary. As CICI chair and British scholar of classics Gilbert Murray explained in 1928, "in the limited sense, intellectual co-operation aims at the joint study and practical achievement of means of co-ordinating and promoting intellectual life…But intellectual co-operation has also a wider and more lofty meaning." What Murray called the "real purpose" of the CICI was to "inspire" intellectuals of the "whole world with the conviction that their interests and duties are everywhere identical…For no reconstruction of an economic, political or social character will be solid or permanent unless it is based on spiritual and intellectual harmony."[5] In this way, the visionary aims of the CICI were focused on altering attitudes, especially as they related to international cooperation and the promotion of peace. With the specter of the Great War still haunting their memories, the

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[4] League of Nations Publications, *Essential Facts about the League of Nations*, 1935 (Geneva, 1935), 181. League of Nations Publications hereafter cited as LNP.

[5] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Tenth Plenary Session,* Official No. A.28.1928.XII (Geneva, 1928), 5.

members of the CICI thought it was imperative to promote international, rather than national, attitudes toward cooperation. Memories of the First World War informed another important visionary aim of the CICI, the effort to promote peace, which they viewed as directly linked to the encouragement of international attitudes.

The practical aims of the CICI were centered on facilitating intellectual work around the world—an effort in which national committees of intellectual cooperation played a central role. In an attempt to improve the working conditions of intellectual workers, the CICI facilitated studies to assess national working environments. Another practical aim, which was largely unsuccessful at the time, was to establish intellectual property with international recognition. The conventions held in pursuit of this goal were met with resistance, such as the British government's fears that it would "interfere with industrial activity."[6] The Japanese government echoed this concern a few years later in 1931.[7]

Peace efforts of the CICI, which were gathered under the umbrella term of "moral disarmament" by 1931, centered on increasing communication and collaboration between intellectual circles in different countries, establishing expectations for teaching about and the representation of other countries in textbooks and films, and using film and broadcasting to support the peace-making goals of the League of Nations. To facilitate communication and collaboration, the CICI investigated such areas as language barriers, and student and teacher exchanges and set up a series of "Open Letters" designed to

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[6] "Intellectual Cooperation" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 68, No. 1770 (Nov. 30, 1928): 547.

[7] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Thirteenth Session,* Official No. C.471.M.201.1931.XII (Geneva, 1929), 38.

provide examples of how weighty questions could be debated on an international platform.

Logically, communication was a fundamental area of concern for the CICI in their quest for moral disarmament. Writing in 1928, *The British Medical Journal* noted that communication difficulties were "the principle hindrance to full international cooperation and understanding" and "in spite of the skilled army of interpreters at Geneva, difference of language is a constant impediment, leading every day to embarrassment and frustration, and sometimes with more disagreeable results." Notably, their suggestion for improving the situation was not the use of an invented language, but instead through "a wider acquaintance with the French language amongst the English-speaking peoples, and with the English language among the Latin peoples, a great deal of good might be done."[8] No mention was made of other languages in their article, though official League publications were also published in German. Recognizing this difficulty, one of the early efforts of the CICI was to assess the use of an international language and in particular Esperanto.[9] However, the application of the language was limited, and by 1923 the CICI officially abandoned their support of an artificial language in favor of encouraging scholars and students to study foreign languages and literatures in what they thought would be the "most effective" method of "bringing about a moral and technical understanding between men of different nationalities."[10] Although a number of member states did include Esperanto in their curriculum, the LN never significantly used it.

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[8] "Intellectual Cooperation" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 68, No. 1770 (Nov. 30, 1928), 547.

[9] LNP. Universal Esperanto Association, telegram requesting that the LON promote the teaching of Esperanto in schools of member states. (Reel XII B-1) C.261.M193.1921. [XIIB]

[10] LNP. A.31.1923.XII, 12.

Language barriers continued to be a hindrance to international cooperation in the interwar period. Additionally, the usage of English and French as the dominant languages effectively limited the international nature of the organization.

As a direct means of facilitating intellectual communication and cooperation, the CICI instigated "Conversations" and "Open Letters" between leading intellectuals in a variety of fields. Different scientific and artistic specialists were encouraged to participate as well as members of the CICI. The topic of the conversations ranged from the growth of intellectual life in Europe, the future of civilization, and art in relation to the state. These open letters were published by the CICI in several different volumes: *A League of Minds*; *Why War?*; *East and West*; and *Intellect, Ethics and War*. Other areas these conversations addressed included the avoidance of over-specialization in fields such as medicine, the future of culture and the "European mind," as well as training teachers in modern education techniques. Again, the reason for facilitating such conversations went beyond the desire to encourage debate in a specific area. The overarching goal was to contribute to internationalism and, as a result, peace. As a 1934 report stated, "it is not enough to exchange ideas – their exchange must lead not, of course, to unity of thought, but to one way of thinking."[11] While this ultimate goal was certainly not achieved by the CICI, such open letters and conversations made the work of the CICI more widely known and were especially useful in opening up exchanges between "the two great civilisations" of the East and West, specifically China and India.[12]

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[11] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report on the Work of its Sixteenth Plenary Session*, Official No. C.399.M.156.1934.XII (Geneva, 1934), 4.

[12] Ibid.

Effectively utilizing modern means of communication was another central interest of the CICI.[13] Notably, the CICI was not only concerned with how film and broadcasting could be effectively used, but also how to prevent abuse of these communication forms, such as using them to disseminate false information and to support nationalistic sentiments that worked against internationalism. In addition to cinematography, broadcasting was a means of communication the Committee viewed not only as a way intellectuals could communicate, but also as a vehicle for ideas central to the cause of peace. In a report on behalf of the CICI concerning the role of communication in the cause of peace, Swiss historian Gonzague de Reynold argued that "the education of listeners seems to be one of the most important factors in the development of the cultural role played by [broadcasting] wireless with a view of the promotion of better mutual understanding among nations."[14] Similarly, a 1932 report stated that towards the goal of creating mutual understanding, "the opportunities which [radio] offers, in this respect, are infinite."[15] Not only did the CICI envision the use of broadcasting and film as a way to educate the world about the LN, but also to contribute to general understanding of the culture and traditions of various nations, specifically through folk songs, folk lore and

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[13] LNP, *The League of Nations and modern methods of spreading information utilised in the cause of peace. Report furnished in accordance with (3) of the Assembly resolution of October 10th, 1937*, Geneva, 1937.

[14] LNP, Gonzague de Reynold, *Modern Means of Spreading Information Utilised in the Cause of Peace* (Geneva, 1938), 6.

[15] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Fourteenth Plenary Session*, Official No. A.11.1932.XII (Geneva, 1932), 40.

histories.[16] In a more practical sense, the CICI also used broadcasting and film for adult education, especially for agricultural instruction.

The education of youth in the aims of the League of Nations and work to establish international standards of teaching was another important focus of CICI peace efforts. In addition to serving an instrumental role in the formation of the first international organization of education—in the form of the International Bureau of Education—the CICI carried out the work of the League to increase international understanding of the LN's structure, work and aims. After Julio Casarés of Spain suggested in 1925 that efforts should be made to edit textbooks that incited national hatred and tension, much of the CICI's work in education fell under two different areas: education in the aims of the LN and textbook editing. In CICI peace efforts, education, communication and effective use of communication media such as film, were all intertwined.

Challenges to Peace

The League's intellectual cooperation initiative drew many well-known public figures such as philosopher Henri Bergson, Dutch physicist H. A. Lorentz, Gilbert Murray, scientists Marie Curie and Albert Einstein, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and authors H.G. Wells and Aldous Huxley. Although the institution did hold significant name recognition, as this list suggests, it was also an elite movement. Not only was the CICI made up of the culturally elite, but it also did not seek to involve—only inform—the common man. As CICI Chairman Gilbert Murray wrote to Sir Frank Heath: "I feel again the great importance of getting at the man at the top, especially if he is a man of

[16] Ibid., 50.

reasonable intelligence."[17] This elitism, as well as the significant emphasis on national membership, further limited the Committee in its efforts to have a substantial, worldwide impact.

Intellectual cooperation was an idealistic movement that was consistently challenged by an environment of distrust and political maneuvering that were a legacy of the First World War and hundreds of years of conflict. For instance, the most common example of this was the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations. Publicly, relations between members appeared optimistic and in most cases cordial, but an undercurrent of distrust emerges from the personal papers of committee members. Regardless of the institutional goals, the CICI was populated by individuals with the mindset that the views of other members and nations should be changed to align with their own values and perspective. There was a significant disparity between the public face of intellectual cooperation and the views and actions at national and personal levels where conflicts ran counter to the movement's idealism. As national citizens and as individuals, CICI members had much to overcome. Longstanding national enmities, such as between the recently allied countries of Great Britain and France, and distrust of rising powers, such as the US, were significant and crippling challenges to establishing a sustainable international peace. The terms of the First World War peace treaty and continual diplomatic and monetary demands made by the French led to recurrent friction with Germany. Fear of Communism influenced views towards the USSR, which resulted in their exclusion for all but five years of the LN's tenure from 1934 up until the country was expelled in 1939 after their invasion of Finland.

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[17] Gilbert Murray to Frank Heath. 1 November 1938. Murray MSS, 365: 56.

Although the members of the CICI thought it was imperative to promote international, rather than national, attitudes toward cooperation, national agendas were one of the major barriers to CICI peacebuilding. This tension between the ostensible goal of the CICI to create a new international mindset and the national agendas of committee members challenged the efficacy of their work. In an August 1923 report to the Council and the Assembly, the CICI argued that "mutual assistance and exchanges will become much easier when [National] Committees of this kind exist, not only in countries with deprecated exchanges, but also in more favoured countries." In other words, regardless of the financial power of a country, international goodwill would be strengthened if each founded its own Committee. Some of these "more favoured" countries began to form committees soon after the August 1923 report. Belgium, Brazil, France and Switzerland all joined in the months following.[18] By 1926, the CICI had stimulated the founding of thirty national committees.[19] Two more nation-states had formed national committees by 1928.[20] The membership peaked to over forty in the 1930s, with many more nation-states giving their participation, if not their membership. Notably, quite a few states formed national committees while not having a membership in the LN, such as the United States,

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[18] The first of the national committees formed spontaneously as a product of the need to expedite communications and urgent requests from individual scientists and universities to the CICI. The University of Tartu founded the first national committee in Estonia by mid-December of 1922. Six days later, the Hungarian Academy of Science set up a second national committee. In the next month, January of 1923, a Polish committee was set up at Marie Curie's prompting. After nine more countries followed suit in the next several months, the CICI used the inception of these initial twelve to draw attention to the need to expand the system. Of the nine, in order of inception: Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Austria, Finland, Greece, Lithuania, Latvia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. See Appendix B for a list of represented countries.

[19] Vernon Kellogg, "The League of Nations Committee and Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," *Science* 64, no. 1656 (1926): 291.

[20] "Intellectual Cooperation" *News Bulletin (Institute of Pacific Relations),* (Feb., 1928).

Japan and Brazil. These countries were active in the work of intellectual cooperation from the early inception of the CICI and sent delegates to early conferences and meetings.

The American countries, such as the US, Canada and Mexico, looked favorably upon on the efforts of the CICI and many countries formed national committees in the early years of the intellectual cooperation movement. The CICI national committees were "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 mutual understanding between peoples."[21] While the United States did not join the LN, it was a member of the CICI, along with many other North and South American countries in the interwar years. Intellectual exchange was considered an acceptable goal by US policy-makers, even if the US was not officially part of the LN body. For instance, American historian James T. Shotwell served as a member of the international committee and director for the United States National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. Notably, he held both an international and national post. Similarly, Gilbert Murray, long-term chair of the CICI, was also directly engaged in Great Britain's national committee. In fact, the majority of the international committee members were also members of their respective national committees. This was a logical organization at the time, but it also underscores the dual roles these members played.

[21] LNP, *National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation* (Geneva, 1937), 6-7.

Intellectual Cooperation: A Transnational Minor Utopia

In order to assess the challenges facing the CICI and the contributions it made, two main frameworks inform this study and help give it structure: transnationalism and what historian Jay Winter would call "minor utopia." The study of this international institution, which was made up of national committees and their respective national membership, requires a framework such as transnationalism that is able to take into account both international and national goals. Transnational connections are often described as "border crossings" that illustrate how ideas and connections can pass over, across, and through a nation-state, being transformed in the very process. In transnational history the nation-state is deemphasized but not ignored. As Patricia Clavin explains, "'Border crossings' permits the study of encounters that both attract and repel, between people, institutions and artefacts of all kinds, which are represented and analyzed through a host of different types of evidence."[22] Clavin's emphasis on connections that attract *and* repel, such as not only how ideas might spread and be incorporated in different ways but also how the act of transmission might be met with resistance or be selectively utilized, is important when considering the LN. In the transnational focus of this dissertation, cooperation is obviously an important theme, but so is resistance and repulsion. For instance, the CICI thought the education of children in the aims of the League was an important step towards peace, but national boards of education and individual teachers resisted this, such as in Great Britain. Similarly, the US national committee and the international organization based in Europe often had conflicting approaches and interests.

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[22] Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2005): 422.

An emphasis on interactions that both attract and repel help support this study's argument concerning the divide between an idealistic aim to create lasting peace and the reality of the numerous personal and national conflicts which undermined it. While the conditions that repelled were plentiful, the main attractor for this group was the commitment to create a lasting international peace. Though there were obvious exceptions in such ideologies as National Socialism and Communism, the desire to create lasting peace seemed to be a universal desire in the West following World War I. Even so, the methodologies being used by the League of Nations and the ways it suggested to realize peace were contested.

It is unwise, and arguably impossible, to view the nation and transnational influences in isolation. For instance, focusing on the external versus internal factors in American history would be a misleading dichotomy, especially for the nineteenth century when the state was relatively weak and trade, capital and labor flowed freely. However, even when a nation-state becomes powerful enough to exude a national identity, that itself is produced transnationally. The global context of security, economic competition, and demographic change prompt the formation of national boundaries. Nation-states do not exist in isolation. National identities are defined against other influences, including the transnational pressures that affect the nation as it is shaped. This making of the nation through a variety of borders—from immigration controls to state projects of national memorialization—has occurred decisively only in very recent years, for most from the 1880s to 1940s particularly. The character of national development is directly influenced by transnational phenomena and as a result, historians cannot study the nation in isolation. This is especially important when you consider that many of the CICI member

nations were newly formed and were taking advantage of the prestige of the committee to increase their cultural capital.

Because this dissertation is assessing interwar intellectual cooperation through a transnational framework, it is necessary to explain how I am using this terminology. In the interwar period, "international" was used to describe any sort of interaction that involved more than one country. Transnationalism, however, is more than internationalism, but it was not a term used within the period. It is a theoretical concept introduced in the late 20th century to explain what arises from the interaction between different countries. As I apply it to the interwar context, the transnational is something new to each national culture that was created as a result of its interaction with other nations. I use "transnational" to describe such moments and "international" as a reflection of the period's broad, general use. Additionally, since intellectual cooperation was not the only form of internationalism in the interwar period, I will borrow Akira Iriye's term "cultural internationalism" to describe the work of the CICI. This work differed significantly from the main alternate form of internationalism, Communism, in that it focused on the realms of ideas, or culture, rather than materialism.[23]

In *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, historian Jay Winter set out a framework of "minor utopia" that is very useful for a study of LN intellectual cooperation. Winter intended to cast utopia in a more positive light, especially what he calls minor utopias, which he distinguishes from major utopias in the following ways. Violence was a defining characteristic of major utopias (e.g. Stalin and Hitler), which resulted in

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[23] See Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1997).

numerous victims. The idea of politicians as "weeders" lies at the heart of what Winter considered major utopias—where figures try to take out the "undesirable" aspects of the world. Winter focused instead on minor utopian moments, which he described as small moments of possibility where a better future was imagined (although not laid out with a specific blueprint like major utopias). In Winter's formulation, a minor utopia is not one envisioned for the whole of the world, but instead a small part that can possibly be transformed. Minor utopians are figures who are committed and then "hit a brick wall." They are either partially or fully frustrated in their attempts, but they do not "turn cynical or passive." Indeed, they get up again and still "dream dreams which reconfigure their initial commitment in new and imaginative forms."[24] In the case of the CICI, many of those who took up the work in the interwar period continued to do so after the Second World War, but in a new form in a new organization. While members of the CICI ostensibly held the goal of world peace and relied on rhetoric of internationalism, this study will demonstrate how their formulation was essentially limited to only certain spheres of influence: North America and Europe.

Winter's work was based on the Marxian idea that men make history, however, not under the conditions they chose and their movements often carry within them the "same contradictions they seek to supersede."[25] Winter then adapted this framework to view times when the "link between past and future is fractured," or a time of collective violence, which in many cases gives rise to minor utopias.[26] The First World War was

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[24] Jay Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom: Utopian Movements in the 20th Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 102.

[25] Ibid, 7.

[26] Ibid, 8.

one such time of collective violence, and this dissertation views those who took part in the interwar intellectual cooperation movement as minor utopians—subject to the same inconsistencies, such as nationalism, they hoped to overcome. While, like Winter, I view intellectual cooperation as a whole as a minor utopia, I have also analyzed minor utopian "moments" within the movement, including moral disarmament, textbook editing and anti-war film. Each of these were idealistically conceived as unique opportunities to create lasting peace.

Attempting to address world peace through cultural work was a utopian hope. Those involved in intellectual cooperation were endeavoring to promote an idea-based form of cultural internationalism at a time of increasingly ardent, militant nationalism. It was a significantly different approach than of those who claimed that the cure for future war rested on national self-determination alone. The CICI was filled with helpful, yet flawed, individuals and, quite arguably, the CICI attempted an impossible task. This does not undermine the fact that what they were trying to accomplish was consequential and unique. Cultural internationalism was the minor utopia they were trying to create and film, broadcasting and education were the vehicles they hoped to use. However, these arenas were also the most potent tools for the very forces they hoped to overcome.

Historiography

In a 2011 French-language article, historian Daniel Laqua made a start at assessing the dual roles of CICI members (international and national) when he addressed the disparity between cultural internationalist goals and national agendas within the

CICI.[27] This dissertation builds upon his research by providing additional examples and an expanded analysis through case studies of lesser-known female members. While Laqua did illustrate tensions between nationalism and internationalism within the organization and suggested frameworks for studying the topic, his analysis was brief. His primary emphasis on French members was a very useful start to this topic, but a deeper analysis is needed.

Though much work still remains to be completed to effectively assess the LN and its many committees, in the past few decades it has been the subject of an increasing amount of academic research. While scholarly work on the League of Nations in the interwar period was common, after the Second World War, the topic, like the organization itself, fell out of favor. Many of the post-WWII scholarly works are now considerably out of date and had a heavy emphasis on the organization's decline and fall.[28]

The League of Nations, so often depicted as the "Great Failed Experiment" by historians or, somewhat more optimistically, as the practicing grounds of the United Nations, has not received the serious study it is due. As one League of Nations publication noted, "one of the most important and fascinating chapters in the history of international endeavor has come to an end," but "the romance goes on. The League is handing over to the new body which has sprung from its loins and is to take over the

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[27] Daniel Laqua, "Internationalisme ou affirmation de la nation? La coopération intellectuelle transnationale dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Crit. Int. Critique Internationale* 52, no. 3 (2011): 51–67.

[28] The most notable of such accounts are George Scott, *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (1973; US edition, New York, 1974), and Elmer Bendiner, *A Time for Angels: The Tragicomic History of the League of Nations* (New York, 1975).

work and the traditions, made richer by the great adventure, made bolder by League timidity, wiser by League failures and stronger by League frailty." Unfortunately, the close of the League "chapter" for the "richer," "bolder," "wiser" and "stronger" United Nations seems to be of more interest to historical scholarship.[29] Of the historical works published concerning the League, many have focused on the failure of the League of Nations Covenant rather than the social strides made during its term.

In response to the common "failure" narratives of the League of Nations, historians have pointed out the many areas in which LN work extended beyond peacekeeping, such as the protection of minorities, addressing health concerns, or in the case of CICI, establishing intellectual-property rights.[30] Indeed, as part of their assessment of the Economic and Financial Organization (EFO) of the LN, Patricia Clavin and J. W. Wessels argued that questions of failure or success should be ignored.[31] Although this change in approach has resulted in a significant rise in revisionist academic interest, as well as in the LN as a field of inquiry, continuing to focus on the topic of peace keeping efforts while also rejecting the "failure" narrative is equally important.

Until recently, historians have viewed the LN's work in the realm of intellectual cooperation similarly. While certainly part of an organization that quite publicly failed in

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[29] LNP, *The League Hands Over* (Geneva, 1946), 5.

[30] See, for instance, Peter Hilpold, "The League of Nations and the Protection of Minorities – Rediscovering a Great Experiment," *SSRN Scholarly Paper* (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, August 5, 2013); I. Borowy, *Coming to Terms with World Health. The League of Nations Health Organization, 1921-1946* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009); Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press, 2012).

[31] See Patricia Clavin and J. W. Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of its Economic and Financial Organization." *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (November 2005): 465-492.

its effort to avoid another World War, the CICI should be regarded as an indicator of changing views concerning international cooperation rather than studied on the terms of whether or not it was a failed experiment. While the CICI's peace efforts may have had little impact on political events, they contributed to evolving peace strategies within education, media and intellectual work. The central importance of the CICI to historical study is not in its successes or failures but as an example of how transnational connections were facilitated for the cause of peace and intellectual progress during its tenure.

The focus on decline and fall narratives began to shift in the 1990s when the world faced similar challenges after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The resulting ethnic conflict called attention to the work of the League concerning minorities' protection as a possible working example.[32] By the mid-1990s, mounting interest in transnational studies also brought increased scholarly attention to the LN and its various international efforts. As Susan Pederson argued in her 2007 review of LN historiography, around this time the focus on the LN as a failure shifted to research questions concerning the work it completed, how it was perceived, and its impact during its term. She argued that there were three main narratives in more recent LN scholarship: 1) an emphasis on peace efforts, 2) the balance between national and international power, and 3) the LN "as a harbinger of global governance."[33] She pointed out that, while all of these narratives have contributed to a greater understanding, the more common emphasis

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[32] See Mark Mozower "Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe," *Daedalus* 126 (1997): 47-61.

[33] Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (October 1, 2007): 1092.

had been on security, and more attention needed to be paid to the interaction between state development and international cooperation.[34]

The interwar intellectual cooperation movement has also benefited from the revival of interest in the LN. However, institutional histories of the CICI and its international institute, located in Paris, do not study individuals—their views, national commitments, or biographical information—in any real depth.[35] Studies focused on LN work in individual countries also largely leave intellectual cooperation unaddressed.[36] Similarly, biographies of CICI members do not thoroughly address their intellectual cooperation work.[37] While even the biographies of the major players—most of them male

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[34] Recent works have focused on personal development away from uncompromising nationalism toward a measure of international reconciliation. See, for instance, Zara Steiner *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919-1933* (Oxford, 2005); Gérard Unger, *Eristide Briand* (Paris, 2005); Jonathan Wright, *Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman* (Oxford, 2002).

[35] See, for instance, Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation : The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO*, (Wroclaw, 1962); Pham-Thi-Tu, *La coopération intellectuelle sous la Société des Nations*, Genève, Droz, 1962 ; Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée : la Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*, (Paris, 1999); Eckhardt Fuchs, "Der Völkerbund und die Institutionalisierung transnationaler Bildungsbeziehungen" (*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 54, 2006, p. 888-899).

[36] For instance, Peter Yearwood provided a very thorough discussion of Great Britain's extensive involvement and commitment to the League of Nations, but he only briefly considered intellectual cooperation. Adding further depth, Helen McCarthy assessed how Great Britain harnessed international rhetoric to promote national goals in her book *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c.1918-45*. While her book title suggests otherwise, her emphasis is actually on the British organization the League of Nations Union and she placed little emphasis on the repercussions of such a policy on the work of the League of Nations. See Peter J. Yearwood. *Guarantee of Peace: The League of Nations in British Policy 1914-1925.* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Helen McCarthy. *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c.1918-45* (Manchester University Press, 2012). In the case of France, see Mona Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[37] For the most comprehensive treatment of CICI work in a biography see Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray, OM* (Oxford, 1987) and Christopher Stray, ed., *Gilbert Murray Reassessed*, (Oxford, 2007). Biographies of other key members, such as James T. Shotwell, Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, Gonzague de Reynold, or Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, only briefly consider their work for the CICI. None of these effectively address how individual nationalism affected the movement.

with the exception of Marie Curie—tend to contain only a passing mention of their work for the CICI, most of the female members are essentially absent from historical work. There is a significant gap in the historiography concerning the contributions of female CICI members.[38]

The literature written about the CICI and its members has largely neglected two important areas: 1) the individuals, especially women, who made up the committee and their personal views about intellectual cooperation, moral disarmament and peace, and 2) the internal inconsistencies, such as national conflicts, which undermined the CICI's vision of cultural internationalism. This dissertation addresses these gaps. In order to analyze the influence of national sentiment on the work of the movement, this study will focus on themes related to moral disarmament, as well as the life and work of individuals working with the CICI towards the goal of peace.

Chapter one, in addition to providing a better understanding of the CICI's goals and the lives of its members, assesses the evolving use of the term moral disarmament and how it was a central part of the CICI's work. This chapter argues that moral disarmament was hobbled from the outset due to the League's limited, Eurocentric internationalism. Chapter two analyzes the work of the CICI in the realm of education, how the LN was instrumental in the realization of the International Bureau of Education

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[38] Marie Curie was the most famous female CICI member and her many biographies do mention her intellectual cooperation work. See, for instance, Sarah Dry, *Curie* (London: Haus Pub., 2003); Shelley Emling, *Marie Curie and Her Daughters: The Private Lives of Science's First Family* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Work specifically related to other CICI members includes: Joyce Goodman, "Women and International Intellectual Co-Operation," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357–68. Work about women's roles, but without a discussion of individuals, includes: Nitza Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and International Organizations* (JHU Press, 1999); Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth, *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks 1900-1960* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

(IBE) and how the CICI and IBE pursued peace through the education of youth. Chapter three uses film as another entry point to address how the CICI envisioned cinema as a way to influence the public and engender anti-war sentiment. In this, they worked closely with another League institute, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), which was located in Rome and heavily influenced by Fascist ideology. Although the IECI ostensibly focused on the study of cinema as an essential tool for the maintenance of peace, as the Second World War loomed closer, the goals of the CICI and IECI became increasingly divergent. As Chapter four argues, though the IECI's location in Fascist Italy effectively limited the tenure and work of the organization, fascist ideology about the role of women did provide an opening for women to take an active part in the debate over film and its use. The life and LN work of American expatriate and reformer Laura Dreyfus-Barney provides a case study for how women took advantage of assumptions about their "natural" role as mothers to give them a political voice. Chapter five uses biographical case studies to illustrate the marginalization of women and minorities within the CICI. This chapter also assesses the life and work of German historian Margarete Rothbarth, who served as Deputy Chief for the IIIC, to demonstrate how national tensions challenged the work of the LN in this area, as well as how the atmosphere of distrust could forever alter individual lives in the interwar years.

This study addresses some of the areas that have been neglected by the biographical and institutional histories of the CICI and its members. By focusing on the role intellectual cooperation played in the lives of individual members and their interaction with one another, we can learn more about the tensions within the movement. Since similar tensions, often revolving around national agendas, remain a significant

hindrance to peace efforts, this historical assessment will provide insight into current and future endeavors to secure lasting international peace.

It is often the impulse of historians studying the LN and, likewise, the CICI, to evaluate it on a scale of failure or success. This is a very limited view. In the words of CICI chair Gilbert Murray, "it is not fair to judge intellectual co-operation by the practical and tangible results it has obtained: account must be taken of the *imponderabilia*."[39] He continued, arguing that "the most important and the most essential outcome of intellectual co-operation consists in the multitude of relationships what are constantly being established between divers [sic] persons, institutions and groups, which would otherwise, perhaps, never have had the opportunity of entering into contact, much less collaborating with another." If only by this measure, disregarding all other efforts and successes, "intellectual co-operation would have justified its existence."[40] Viewing intellectual cooperation as a minor utopia diminishes the emphasis of CICI as failure or success. Such a framework also places the importance on *effort* and why such an effort was deemed necessary. Just as CICI chair Gilbert Murray argued, the most important work of the CICI was the establishment of international connections—likewise, these connections should be a primary concern of historians.[41] Such an approach also has the added benefit of shedding light on an oft-ignored aspect of historical scholarship: the

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[39] Things beyond measure

[40] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Tenth Plenary Session,* Official No. A.28.1928.XII (Geneva, 1928), 5.

[41] Though it does not assess the nature of the connections, a 2015 data analysis using Gephi provided an illustrated map of connections made in the CICI committee. See Martin Grandjean "Intellectual Cooperation: Multi-Level Network Analysis of an International Organization," *Martin Grandjean*, accessed February 25, 2015, http://www.martingrandjean.ch/intellectual-cooperation-multi-level-network-analysis/.

lives and labor of the silent workers, which in the case of the CICI most often included women and members from less influential member nations. This study hopes to give at least some of those individuals a voice.

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Chapter Two: Moral Disarmament and the Limits of Internationalism

In 1922, the same year the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (CICI) was formed, the Fellowship of Reconciliation published a leaflet titled "The Problem of Moral Disarmament," claiming that when it came to disarmament, "A Moral Question can be solved only by Moral Means."[42] This pamphlet was written shortly after the perceived failure of the world's first disarmament conference, which was held from 1921-22 in Washington, D.C. The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR) called for a different form of action that placed the emphasis on the "moral" in moral disarmament—making a direct link to religious morality. However, use of the term within the CICI deemphasized religion in favor of a more broadly defined term representing the pursuit of international political and cultural goodwill. In the interwar period, uses of the term suggested a range of meanings from simple international amity to one with deep religious underpinnings. However, two of the most influential members of the CICI—British classics scholar and CICI chair Gilbert Murray and American internationalist James T. Shotwell—resisted connections to religion. Both were also convinced that their respective countries could best take the lead in efforts to make moral disarmament a reality. Indeed, both Murray and Shotwell considered their countries to be "neutral" parties in international politics and therefore best situated to set the tone of international events. However, British and US interests did not align, let alone those in continental Europe and beyond.

[42] "The Problem of Moral Disarmament" in *The Messenger of Peace* (Peace Association of Friends in America., 1922), 16.

National agendas reigned supreme in the interwar period, which made international peace efforts in the period particularly difficult. This chapter will discuss the role material and moral disarmament played in CICI peace efforts, as well as the limits of League of Nations internationalism. This chapter argues that the League of Nations' view of internationalism was limited to a European conception of the term and the CICI formulated moral disarmament within an Anglo-American context. Both of these restrictions narrowed the impact of the CICI's peace work to certain spheres of influence. This chapter will consider the context of world disarmament efforts—including the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference—and how this was perceived as a failure by groups such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who called for moral disarmament. While the CICI did take up the work of moral disarmament, it was not under the religious formulation suggested by the FoR. This chapter will assess how moral disarmament provided a centralizing term for the CICI's utopian vision of maintaining peace with the goal of encouraging cultural internationalism and mentally disarming individuals and cultures. Additionally, this chapter will analyze how influential members of the CICI, including Murray and Shotwell, perceived moral disarmament. Little scholarly attention had been paid to interwar moral disarmament. What has been written has primarily focused on the press and efforts made in France.[43] This chapter explores the largely

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[43] In the case of the press, see for instance, Heidi Jacqueline Evans, "Peace through Truth? The Press and Moral Disarmament through the League of Nations," *Medien & Zeit* 25, no. 4 (2010): 16–28; Michel Franza, Adeline Daumard, and Université Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris), "L'Europe Nouvelle (1920-1934): Etude et Reactions d'une Revue Politque face au Mouvement de Renovation Internationale et sa Double Approche de la Construction de la Paix par la Press et la Societe des Nations" ([s.n.], 1993). More generally: Dana Johnson and Andrée Désilets, *Le désarmement moral en tant que facteur dans les relations internationales pendant l'entre-deux-guerres* (The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada Érudit, 1987). For France: Peter Jackson, "France and the Problems of Security and International Disarmament after the First World War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29, no. 2 (2006): 247–80;

neglected formulation of moral disarmament that arose within the Anglo-American context with a focus on education, rather than the press.

The CICI's strategy was in the world of ideas or cultural work. They believed that intercultural ideas could stave off war, destruction and militarism. This was a utopian vision and very neatly fits into the concept of minor utopia because the same historical changes that made such cultural work a possibility also supported the strengthening of militarism and nationalism. Namely, mass media was the prerequisite for cultural work, but it was also one of the most potent tools for the rise of militant nationalism in the interwar period. While the CICI focused on cultural internationalism, the League was also trying to address material disarmament and limiting the military industrial machine through arms control.

Material disarmament served as a catalyst to the development of moral disarmament as an official consideration of CICI work. Under the banner of collective security endorsed by the Treaty of Versailles, support for disarmament continued to rise following the First World War until direct action was achieved in 1921 in the form of the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference. Although material disarmament had already been a consideration of the League of Nations, the first official arms control conference was called by a non-member nation, the United States and held outside the auspices of the League. The United States was one of the strongest supporters of disarmament, though the nation had also proved to be the greatest stumbling block to

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Mona L Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1914-1940*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare 18 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

such a policy developing in the Paris Peace Conference.[44] Notably, while the United States was not a member of the wider League of Nations, it did hold membership in the CICI and its members were highly influential in the development of moral disarmament. The United States' interest and support of material disarmament provided a strong foundation for involvement in the CICI.

The Washington Naval Disarmament Conference was held from 12 November 1921 to 6 February 1922 and included nine nations: the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, China, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal. It was the world's first disarmament conference and an important step in laying the foundation for an international moral disarmament effort. Peace organizations were central in the promotion of the conference and women were particularly active in supporting it. Popular support for disarmament in the United States was strong following the First World War and many women were eager to make use of their newly gained political influence and voting power to support the peace movement. Indeed, they argued that the nation could cut costs and avoid future war by halting the arms race.[45] The Washington Naval Conference gained traction due to rising costs of munitions, negative public opinion regarding these costs, and the desire of nations—especially the United States, Great Britain and Japan—to decrease required expenditure by reducing competition.

The treaties that came out of the Washington Conference focused on limiting the relative naval strength of countries in agreed ratios, as well as the ratio of types of ships

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[44] Richard Fanning, *Peace And Disarmament: Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922-1933* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015).

[45] John W. Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997).

that could be maintained.[46] Although generally written about in terms of a success, the limited scope of this disarmament conference left some groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, disappointed with the results. The FoR was formed in 1914 in an effort to forestall war, and continues to this day. The US-based Fellowship of Reconciliation, included pacifist members such as Jane Addams, who had been a staunch supporter of the formation of the League of Nations. As a reaction to the perceived failures of the Washington Conference, the FoR distributed their leaflet titled "The Problem of Moral Disarmament." The leaflet explained that the problem facing the world was the need to move nations "away from the basis of Suspicion, Jealousy and the Threat of War to the basis of Mutual Co-operation and Fellowship." The leaflet argued that a number of solutions had been proposed, but none had dealt with the central issue: the moral underpinning of disarmament. For instance, naval disarmament conferences, the FoR claimed, took away battleships, but left "the spiritual equation what it was before." The League of Nations' use of "compulsion," they felt, negated "the spirit that is desired." Here they referred to the League's policy of sanctions. Additionally, while "Disarmament Groups" were "more encouraging than other methods" (presumably disarmament conferences and the League), they were too "timid" and "narrow" and based their methods on a "paraphrase" of Oliver Cromwell's famous line: "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." A group the FoR felt was more successfully addressing disarmament,

[46] The Five-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, Britain, Japan, France and Italy, also required these nations to cease building capital-ships for ten years and limited the size and munitions of certain ships. The Four-Power treaty, signed by the United States, Britain, Japan and France effectively set up zones of influence in the Pacific and helped temporarily address Anglo-American and Japanese-American competition. In the Nine-Power treaty, signers of the Five-Power were joined by Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal, agreeing to a continued Open Door policy in relation to China that allotted equal commercial access.

or “Some of Those Who Believe in Jesus’ Way,” got to the heart of what the FoR felt was required: true fellowship that replaced economic rivalry with cooperation. The leaflet concluded with a call to establish such fellowship and “a new conscious alert to all social and racial inequities” before stating their main argument and slogan: “A Moral Question can be solved only by Moral Means.”[47] As an organization formed and supported by Christians, questions of religious morality were central to their vision of a peaceful future. However, the challenges facing peace in the interwar period were considerable and pursuing these “moral means”—whether in a Christian or secular formulation, as discussed below—was complicated by the political atmosphere of distrust that followed the First World War. Within the CICI, moral disarmament was not conceived along religious lines, but instead was tied directly to the encouragement of cultural internationalism.

Limited Internationalism

Central to moral disarmament was the effort to promote internationalism. Other forms of internationalism in the interwar period focused on materialism—whether by increasing it or limiting it. In the interwar period, capitalist ideology thrived on competition and non-governmental interference. In contrast, communism limited materialism by focusing on the interconnected nature of people and argued that those working together as equals could achieve a greater good for all. As a form of internationalism, this was an appealing approach for many nations and individuals.

[47] “The Problem of Moral Disarmament” in *The Messenger of Peace* (Peace Association of Friends in America., 1922), 16.

Unlike communism, cultural internationalism did not challenge materialism, but focused on changing hearts and minds through education.

Communist internationalism called for the abandonment of nationality. In contrast, the LN's form of internationalism did not challenge the nation, but rather supported both national self-determination and international amity. They were trying to ameliorate national differences, while still allowing nationalism to stand. However, while the League stressed wide-ranging involvement of countries, it did not challenge Great Power hegemony or empire.[48] In 2015, Klaas Dykman pointed out in his assessment of the League's secretariat that the administration was only international in the European comprehension of the term. His analysis of the secretariat revealed that the machinery of the LN was "built on an understanding of international affairs that implied a separation of European 'high politics' and non-European regional affairs."[49] Undeniably, in the case of the LN secretariat, European countries dominated, especially in the early years of LN tenure. A similar balance of influence existed within the CICI, but it differed in one important aspect: the United States, though not a member in the League of Nations, took part in the CICI from the outset.

Dykmann found the League Secretariat to be especially dominated by the interests of Great Britain and France. However, in the case of the CICI, the United States, Great Britain and France dominated, with the latter significantly losing influence in the late 1920s. This was especially true in the case of the moral disarmament initiative, which,

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[48] See Mark Mazower, *Governing the World. The History of an Idea* (New York, 2012).

[49] Klaas Dykmann, "How International was the Secretariat of the League of Nations?" *The International History Review*, 37:4 (August 2015): 721.

although initially proposed by Poland, was largely presented in an Anglo-American formulation. Two CICI members and historians, Australian-born Englishman Gilbert Murray and American James T. Shotwell, strongly influenced the CICI's conception of peace through moral disarmament. Murray was the third and final chair of the CICI. French philosopher Henri Bergson served as chair of the CICI from 1922-1925 and then Dutch physicist Hendrk Lorentz held it for a three-year term from 1925-1928. The remaining years of the CICI's tenure Gilbert Murray held the post.[50] Murray was a member of the CICI from its inception in 1921 until it was reformed under the United Nations in 1945. Shotwell was professor of medieval and modern European History at the University of Columbia, as well as CICI member and chair of the United States Committee on Intellectual Cooperation from 1931 to 1943. Murray felt that peace through cultural internationalism was best attained through fostering intellectual networks and positively influencing public opinion. Shotwell took what he felt was a more active approach of promoting the study of the political processes and suggested special schooling in international civics. Shotwell's conception of moral disarmament resisted common urges to include censorship in favor of requiring nations to report to the LN ways in which they promoted international understanding.

Murray considered it very important to have a representative of the United States on the committee and went to great lengths to ensure that Shotwell took over the position

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[50] For more information about Murray see Gilbert Murray, *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960); Francis West, *Gilbert Murray, a Life* (London; New York: Croom Helm ; St. Martin's Press, 1984); Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray, OM, 1866-1957* (Oxford : Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1987); *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre, and International Politics* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Leonard Woolf, *The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War*, The Garland Library of War and Peace (New York: Garland Pub, 1973).

of physicist Robert A. Millikan—who had served as chair of the US National Committee from its founding in 1926—when the latter retired from his position on the international committee in 1931. This was despite the fact that Murray and Shotwell fundamentally disagreed about the overall goals of the committee. Shotwell criticized the committee for not addressing political matters and not having enough political scientists serving on the international committee, while Murray thought the committee was more effective because they formed connections between intellectuals without creating division over politically charged topics (he made an exception for disarmament). Both Murray and Shotwell were highly influential in guiding the work of the CICI and especially in their efforts towards moral disarmament. Though Dykmann found the LN secretariat to define internationalism in a European sense, this study argues that the LN intellectual cooperation movement defined cultural internationalism in an Anglo-American conception. While this widened the sphere of the CICI's influence beyond Europe, it did not mean that moral disarmament was more broadly accepted. In fact, even Murray and Shotwell faced significant challenges in getting their own countries to support it, as will be discussed below.

Though he only served as chair starting in 1928, Murray was active in the embryonic stages of development and served as vice-president after the LN formed the CICI in 1922. While Murray would spend thirty years of his life involved in international intellectual cooperation, he was initially anything but eager to be part of it. He wrote to his wife, Lady Mary Murray, that the topic "bores me stiff," but he was stuck with it because he was "one of the few people who know anything about it."[51] He initially

[51] Gilbert Murray to Mary Murray. 8 September 1921. Murray MSS, 465.

resented being placed in an intellectual cooperation post for the League Assembly of 1921, writing to South African LN advocate Jan Smuts that it was a "hazy and obscure subject" in which only "a few cranks" had any "clear views."[52] However, after spending some time in the meetings, he wrote Lady Mary that he had found himself "getting interested in the wretched business, from having to explain and defend it."[53] By the time he served as chair he was thoroughly committed to intellectual cooperation, and his views of its work were integrationist and anti-nationalist. As he wrote in a letter to Rev. Francis M. Downton: "Nationalism is really the enemy of world peace, as it is of economic prosperity, and I fear Nationalism is on the increase everywhere."[54] He argued that the future of the world depended on the interdependence of nations. "The experience of mankind has proved that nations in the modern world are not independent units but members of one society," he wrote. "Nations can destroy one another or help one another; but one cannot destroy the rest and prosper in their ruin."[55] He felt promoting understanding through intellectual channels was central to fostering this interdependence.

As a long-term member and chair, Murray was highly influential in the CICI's work. Though committed to cultural internationalism, it is important to note that there were crucial inconsistencies in Murray's political ideology. Much of this rested on the internal inconsistencies of British liberalism in this period, which resisted state sovereignty and ardent nationalism, while at the same time reinforcing paternalistic and

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[52] Gilbert Murray to Jan Smuts 8 Oct 1921. Murray MSS, 179.

[53] Gilbert Murray to Mary Murray. 22 September 1921. Murray MSS, 465.

[54] Gilbert Murray to Francis M. Downton. 25 September 1930. Murray MSS, 208: 181.

[55] Gilbert Murray, *From the League to U.N* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1988), 199.

imperialist rhetoric.[56] In an article assessing Murray's political views, political scientist Peter Wilson depicted Murray as a sort of conservative in liberal's clothing.[57] However, as Wilson noted, "In many ways the Committee embodied all Murray's high-minded hopes for a better, more civilised…world. A distracted world needed the guidance of philosopher kings, and in Murray, [Henri] Bergson, [Marie] Curie, [Albert] Einstein, and other members of this committee, it—or rather Bergson and Murray—had found them."[58] Despite a veneer of liberal rhetoric, Murray's internationalism was elitist, paternalistic and Eurocentric. As noted above, this was the case for the wider League of Nations movement—the CICI included. While Murray's faith in public opinion may have been overly optimistic, the power of increased international interaction is undervalued in Wilson's portrayal of him. Murray's, admittedly limited, integrationist view was still an important step towards the kinds of cooperation the CICI envisioned.

While Murray held an integrationist dream for intellectual cooperation, isolationism was the more common theme on the part of the United States. Shotwell's predecessor, Millikan, emphasized this isolationism in 1926. "In this whole movement," Millikan wrote, "we Americans occupy the role of interested and sympathetic observers rather than very active agents. Our remoteness and our political situation both conspire to make this inevitable." He thought the main role they could play, despite this, was "in the way of restraint." In order to be a restraining influence, however, the US had to not only

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[56] See Jeanne Morefield, *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[57] See Peter Wilson, "Gilbert Murray and International Relations: Hellenism, Liberalism, and International Intellectual Cooperation as a Path to Peace," *Review of International Studies* 37, no. 2 (2011): 881–909.

[58] Ibid.: 885.

have representation within the CICI, but also power. "I therefore regard it as very important," Millikan wrote, "that we are as well represented within the organization as possible."[59] In moral disarmament, Shotwell would serve as the restraining force that Millikan imagined here and Shotwell's ideas would run counter to Murray's vision of the CICI. Notably, Shotwell wrote Murray on 13 December 1928, explaining how he felt approaches to peace were quite different in what he viewed as the main spheres of influence. He wrote:

> If we look back over the last ten years, it seems to me that we already distinguish certain national formulations of general principle; the approach to the problem of international peace is distinctly different on the Continent from what it is in England, and our American approach, while somewhat resembling the British in its negative attitude towards the Continent, is still quite distinct from even the most liberal British point of view. I wonder if we have not been trying to impose a single strand upon these diverse elements… I gather that the feeling in England toward America is much more hostile than we have any clear idea of over here.[60]

While he noted it was his goal to make the US and Europe more aware of each other's views, he did not feel they could force "a single strand," on the three spheres. Shotwell also seemed to suggest that the US approach to peace was more progressive than even Great Britain and that trying to find a common approach was futile.

By the end of 1928, the League of Nations had still not secured disarmament. Part of the reason for this was the very nature of competing interests Shotwell outlined to Murray. The CICI was not immune to such divergence of national interests. Indeed, conflict within the CICI underscored the contrasting approaches within the movement. Additionally, it illustrates how interpersonal disagreements could have long-term

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[59] Robert Millikan to Wickliffe Rose. 26 February 1926. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[60] James T. Shotwell to Gilbert Murray. 13 December 1928. Murray MSS, 382: 206-07.

negative effects within international organizations. For instance, in 1929, French director of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) Julien Luchaire accused British IIIC worker Alfred Zimmern of shirking his duties.[61] While is seems there were grounds for Luchaire's accusation, the public way he handled it caused a rift within the institute. The US national committee felt it was best not to weigh in, but wrote of it among members in terms of a conflict between French and British interests.[62] Though Murray also felt it best to remain out of the conflict, Zimmern quarreled with him in addition to Luchaire and in his role as CICI chair, he could not avoid being pulled into the issue.[63] The result was an embarrassing confrontation reported to the IIIC Board of Directors that resulted in both Luchaire and Zimmern abandoning their work at the IIIC.[64] However, this was not a clear matter of handing in resignations. What started as a conflict between two individuals expanded to include the nations they represented within the IIIC. The issue simmered for months and Murray dreaded the annual CICI meeting in July as a result. Writing to his wife, Lady Mary, on 26 July 1930, he noted that "the fight over Luchaire" had developed into "a sort of black cloud" and France refused to accept Luchaire's resignation. "Unless France gets this, that and the other," he explained, "there may well be a regular explosion."[65] Murray spent a large portion of his time in Paris trying to soothe ruffled feathers on all sides.

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[61] Alfred Zimmern to Julien Luchaire. 23 September 1929. Shotwell MSS, 179, 180.

[62] See Shotwell MSS, 179, 180.

[63] See Murray MSS, 276.

[64] Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray, OM, 1866-1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 357-59.

[65] Gilbert Murray to Mary Murray. 26 July 1930. Murray MSS, 471: 61.

Despite such challenges, and in comparison to Shotwell, Murray felt that world-wide public opinion could be unified. Murray's views closely aligned with the British League of Nations Union (LNU), which had been instrumental in the formation of the League and continued as a separate, but closely aligned, organization in the interwar years. Fellow British LNU member John Power Bart summed up LNU views, as well as some of the financial challenges such institutions faced, in a speech delivered in 1929. “Anyone who enters the service of the League of Nations Union knows that he or she must get their reward in the knowledge that they are rendering a great service to the cause of Peace, for they get very little pay," he declared. "The task we have set ourselves is to help change the mentality of the people from a mentality of War to a mentality of Peace, for it is upon the public opinion that World Peace depends.”[66] Though Murray’s faith in the power of world public opinion may have been overly optimistic, it was the foundation of both his views and his work for the CICI. This belief also underpinned the peace work of intellectual cooperation.

For instance, that same year, working with British politician Lord Robert Cecil, Murray wrote a form letter sent to British public schools in preparation for Armistice Day celebrations that urged schools and teachers to remember the oath they made when entering the League of Nations. In it, Cecil and Murray reminded the British public that Great Britain signed the covenant ten years ago and the Kellogg-Briand Pact a year before. This pact, which was also signed by Germany, France, the United States, and many others, was a promise to not use war to settle disputes. “Great Britain has signed

[66] Speech by Sir John Power Bart. M.P., at the Peace Commemoration Dinner. The Guildhall, November 14, 1929. S.G.3017. Murray MSS, 207:197.

these treaties, and Great Britain does not break her word," they wrote. "Yet how many people in their ordinary thoughts about politics are really prepared to live up to this high standard?" They continue, noting that war had been considered natural for "countless generations" but that Great Britain "has agreed in all its disputes with other nations not to use its superior strength but willingly to submit to justice." They continued, in rhetoric directly aimed not only at increasing support of the League, but also at propping up national pride:

> The statesmen who meet at the League of Nations, who know and trust one another and have the Covenant before their eyes, understand this. But in every country there are multitudes of people who know nothing about the Covenant, do not realise that their country is bound by it, [~~do not feel war to be wrong~~][67] and do not see why they should be just to foreigners. They do not yet understand that the civilised world has put war behind it, like the torture of witnesses, the burning of witches, gladiatorial shows and other savage things. The people who do not understand are always a danger, in every nation. We want you to be among those who do understand: who see that the world has changed, that civilised nations can prosper only by helping one another, not destroying one another, and who mean their country to keep in letter and spirit the solemn Covenant that she has signed.[68]

In other words, Great Britain had to be better than all the countries that sought to undermine the institution Great Britain had been instrumental in erecting. Additionally, Murray and Cecil equated those who felt that war was acceptable as a "danger," but those who did understand the need for peace as an integral part of the civilized world.

The next year, though writing in support of the League in a September 1930 article submitted to *Harper's Magazine*, Murray conceded the challenges facing the League's work. The article, entitled "The Real Value of the League," explained that the

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[67] Pencil editing in original text.

[68] "A Message to the Schools of Great Britain. For Armistice Day, 1929." Murray MSS, 120:61

challenges were considerable. “The League started with a distracted world, not yet at peace and not making the thoughts that lead to peace,” Murray wrote. “It had as its material the nations as they then were, and led by the statesmen as they then were. There is not, there never can be, any other material possible.” While he admitted that those who took part might have had their “prejudices or ambitions or ignorances of one country or another,” he pointed out that they were “the same men, the same countries, as before.” Despite these limitations, however, he thought there was tremendous growth recognizable at LN meetings. He continued:

> The extraordinary thing is that, met together in the atmosphere of Geneva, with the eyes of fifty odd of nations upon them, they do show a sensitiveness to the general opinion, and a consciousness of their duty not merely to their own voters at home but to a wider constituency. The nationalists become less nationalist, the violent drop their violence, but both will boast of their concessions and not of their victories; and almost every man goes home to some extent a missionary for a new cause to which most of the home constituents are not yet awake.[69]

Even in trying to provide support for the League of Nations, he revealed the main issue: while individuals may have been ready to enact change, their nations were not. The article also illustrated his hope for an international community where standards of behavior were applied and a sensitivity to compromise maintained. However, it is clear that he still placed more emphasis on the opinion of Great Powers as leaders in such communities.

Early the following year, in 1931, due to rising criticism about French influence within the IIIC and the controversy sparked by the conflict between Zimmern and Luchaire, the institute was significantly reorganized. French diplomat Henri Bonnet

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[69] Gilbert Murray. “The Real Value of the League” September 1930. *Harper’s Magazine*. Murray MSS, 208:183.

replaced Luchaire as Director. Writing on 9 February 1931, CICI member and former French Prime Minister Paul Painlevé revealed just how significantly popular opinion had turned against the IIIC within the wider League body, which thought it was unduly influenced by the French Government:

> The Committee was much surprised to learn of the motives attributed to them. They have no consciousness of ever having had in view any object other than the efficient fulfilment of the task entrusted to them by the League of Nations. My colleagues are also convinced that, when the re-organisation of the Institute is completed, the results will afford striking evidence of the scrupulous impartiality with which they are endeavoring to maintain a fair balance between the different forms of culture, in so far as that is possible within the limits of the small number of posts available in the Institute.[70]

With a new IIIC director intent on addressing such charges of partiality, the CICI also thought it prudent to provide new regulations for staff. In the report to the wider League about the IIIC's overhaul listing staff duties: "The officials of the Institute must always bear in mind the essentially international character of their duties."[71] However, considering Gilbert Murray wrote that same month to British politician Arthur Henderson that, despite Great Britain's lack of financial support for the CICI they had "insisted on a drastic reform of the Institute on English lines," it seems that partiality likely only leaned a different way across the English Channel.[72]

Great Britain, of course, was not the only country facing the challenge of drumming up support for peace. For instance, though the United States did host a national committee of intellectual cooperation, the US government was resistant to making

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[70] Paul Painlevé to League of Nations Secretary-General. 9 February 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 14.

[71] "Draft Staff Regulation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation". International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. 27 February 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 29.

[72] Gilbert Murray to Arthur Henderson. 24 February 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 24.

official connections. This was illustrated in February 1931 when Henri Bonnet asked a member of the American Consular Service—who was sympathetic to the goals of intellectual cooperation—if it was possible to set up an official liaison between the US Government and the IIIC. In reply, the American Consular Service member noted that it was unlikely, but that he could "at least inform the Department of your activities."[73] Such "interest" without official support was a challenge that faced many national committees.

Part of this lack of interest stemmed from isolationism, but for some countries who had limited influence within the CICI, it probably seemed like a poor political investment. Murray, writing in March 1931, noted the imbalanced power in the League, though without apparent concern. Responding to a Mrs. Matheson who wondered how much power each country had in influencing League policy, Murray wrote: "The League is never entirely subservient to any nation, but different individuals and nations have at different times great ascendancy there." In a clear indication of his biased British point of view, he continued:

> Sometimes Great Britain is especially powerful owing to her comparatively disinterested position… France is normally very influential, but loses influence when she becomes nationalist. During the Ruhr occupation, for instance, she had almost everyone against her. The recent Nazi successes, on the other hand, greatly damage the influence of Germany.[74]

Not only did he believe that Great Britain's powerful position was appropriate within the League, but as France and Germany "damaged" their reputations in the early 1930s, it only fueled his sense of British superiority. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Murray thought that Great Britain's "comparatively disinterested position" ideally suited

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[73] Prentiss B. Gilbert to Henri Bonnet. 2 February 1931. UNESCO, A.I.31.

[74] Gilbert Murray to Mrs. Matheson. 20 May 1931. Murray MSS, 210:41.

them to have greater influence within the LN and CICI. James T. Shotwell would make a similar argument for the United States based on rhetoric of American exceptionalism.

While the LN did respond to criticisms regarding their limited view of internationalism by carefully including a range of different nationalities to increase diversity, this did not change the balance of power. Women and members from non-European countries—with the notable exception of the United States—were added into committees in a type of quota filling or balancing of groups and nationalities. For instance, in March 1931, LN secretariat official Armi Hallsten-Kallia contacted Murray for suggestions concerning whom to appoint to spaces recently occupied on the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth. She mentioned that they had recently appointed a Chinese member who would be particularly helpful in addressing "the problem of League instruction in distant countries." Hallsten-Kallia suggested the appointment of an Indian member for the same reason.[75] "If there is another Indian appointed by the Council," Murray replied, "it might for diplomatic reasons be worth while having him. But I should not lay any great stress on this."[76] Although a show of diversity was politically expedient, especially in cases where the topic of concern directly affected these groups, such attempts to fill quotas did not, as Murray's reply suggests, mean that those individuals would necessarily have any power to enact change. Indeed, even those countries with relative strength within the LN were not necessarily successful in convincing their own countries to support LN policy.

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[75] Armi Hallsten-Kallia to Gilbert Murray. 5 March 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 60.

[76] Gilbert Murray to Armi Hallsten-Kallia. 9 March 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 64.

Moral Disarmament

Though already a concern from the outset in 1922, the CICI's visionary goal of promoting peace was given specific direction and impetus by the Disarmament Committee with the use of the term "moral disarmament" in 1931. It was adopted as an official area of work after Poland made a declaration about it in the January 1931 Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. In the declaration, Poland noted the rising tension and embittered atmosphere in international politics, which they said "engenders a state of mind highly unfavourable to the reduction of armaments." Changing mentalities was the central focus of moral disarmament, which the Polish delegation noted had "been talked about for some time in the League" but no "practical" results had come of this discussion. They thought a number of steps could be taken, including to "arrest the hate-inspired propaganda," to "compel States to rectify false information about other countries" in public opinion and writing, and most ambitiously, "to have war propaganda recognised as a crime by the law of all countries." The Polish delegation felt that as long as propaganda became "increasingly violent" there was no hope of achieving material disarmament. Notably, Poland's formulation of moral disarmament relied heavily on censorship.[77] When discussed by the wider League, censorship was demphasized in favor of international amity. For instance, moral disarmament was considered by the LN as the "best methods of bringing about a moral *détente* in order to create an atmosphere favourable to the pacific solution of international

[77] LNP, "Moral Disarmament: Memorandum from the Polish Government," Official No. C.602.M240 (Geneva, 1931).

problems."[78] Notably, this definition is quite broadly envisioned and its lack of focus a clear indication of the need to gain the support of a range of different national members.

Taking up the work suggested by the Polish delegation, the CICI made its first resolution on moral disarmament later in 1931, arguing that money spent in armaments could be better spent supporting intellectual work. The CICI wrote, "the military burdens borne by the different nations render increasingly difficult the studies, the training and even the continued existence of an intellectual class, and thus hampers the intellectual progress of mankind." In this resolution, they directly linked their work instructing children about the League to the work of disarmament, since knowledge of the League's work was essential to moral disarmament.[79] That same year, the LN decided the CICI would work in conjunction with the Political Commission to draw up suggestions for the Disarmament Committee. One of the resulting reports, which stressed the importance of the press, education and cinema in peace efforts, highlighted areas that were already in the CICI's purview. The Disarmament Committee proposed that the CICI to consider ways governments might "ensure that education in all degrees, imparted by means of broadcasting or cinema, might be inspired with mutual respect and understanding between the nations" and also look into changing domestic legislation to facilitate the work of the press in promoting international understanding.[80] Since the CICI felt this was something they had been pursuing for many years, they saw the Polish proposal as a way to redouble their efforts in the area of education.

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[78] LNP, *Essential Facts about the League of Nations, 1933* (Geneva, 1933), 63.

[79] LNP, A.6(a).1931, 44.

[80] LNP, *Essential Facts about the League of Nations, 1934* (Geneva, 1934), 70.

It took the CICI almost a decade after the term moral disarmament became popular in the early 1920s for it to be officially used in their work. The CICI's formulation differed significantly from that suggested by the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation. As Gilbert Murray wrote to fellow British League member Robert Cecil on 26 January 1931: "I have just been sending a message to the Christ and Peace people, saying that peace will not come by mere aloofness and abstinence from war, but only by the full recognition of mutual duties between nation to nation of cooperation and of brotherhood."[81] He was happy to use the same term the FoR had used in 1922, but his disdain of their "Christ and Peace" methods was clear. Unlike the FoR's focus on Christian morality, the CICI's formulation of moral disarmament rested on a combination of encouraging cooperation and threatening sanctions for those who stepped out of line.

Murray felt that Great Britain was ideally suited to take the lead in the LN and CICI because of what he viewed as their more neutral political position, as he had suggested in a letter explaining the relative influence of different nations discussed above. An interchange with a German League representative further illustrates this view. On 17 January 1931, Murray received a letter from German professor of law Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, which explained he had a number of negative experiences in Geneva as a German representative. However, Mendelssohn Bartholdy was glad that there were those who did not agree that Germans should be excluded and was pleased Murray was among them.[82] Murray gave Medelssohn Bartholdy his sympathies, noting

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[81] Gilbert Murray to Robert Cecil. 26 January 1931. Murray MSS, 209:143.

[82] Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Gilbert Murray to. 17 January 1931. Murray MSS, 209:131. Medelssohn Bartholdy was the grandson of German composer Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and of Jewish descent. The Nazi government forced him out of his position in 1933 and the following year he moved to the United Kingdom after he was forcibly emigrated. He died in 1936 of

that on occasion he had had uncomfortable experiences in Geneva as well. “I have sometimes received very painful impressions from debates of the assembly,” he wrote, “and in the early years, even from the proceedings of my own committee.” While he noted that the “Stimmung,” or mood, “of the Secretariat generally animated by the wish for peace and justice,” he did note that there were exceptions. Speaking of a situation revolving around the Quai d’Orsay, or French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and France’s Prime Minister Raymond Poincare, Murray wrote:

> In the early days of the [CICI] I remember a serious incident. Some of the committee wished to take some conciliatory or progressive step, but Bergson, under pressure from the Quai d’Orsay, did not agree. He explained to some of us in private that M. Poincare held a strong view on the matter. One of my colleagues said ‘After all, M. Poincare is not immortal,’ and Bergson, lifting his hand, said ‘Oh, if I could believe it!’[83] I think that represents fairly the unsatisfactory side of some of the league activities, but of course I fully realize that it is easy for those who are not suffering to preach patience.[84]

Judging by his audience in this letter—a German citizen—and the context of French and German tension following the First World War, the “conciliatory or progressive step” he described likely had to do with interactions between these countries. This reply also suggests a certain exceptionalism he assumed in his country, when he considers Great Britain transcending, or not “suffering” from, such a tense political environment.

Murray explained to Mendelssohn Bartholdy why he thought Great Britain was better situated to lead international affairs compared to France and Germany. “I’m afraid I become less democratic as the years pass," Murray wrote by way of apology before

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pancreatic cancer. See Horst Göppinger. *Juristen jüdischer Abstammung im „Dritten Reich”*. (Beck, Munich 1990).

[83] From the French: “*Apres tout, M. Poincare n’est pas immortel…Ah, si je pouvais le croire*!”

[84] Gilbert Murray to Mendelssohn Bartholdy. 21 January 1931. Murray MSS, 209:132.

launching into criticism. "Your Government could do infinitely better if it were not afraid of outbreaks of popular passion, and my French friends are always insisting quite sincerely that Briand and his associates are straining on the leash towards peace but are constantly held back by the latent forces of anger and fear, which are always ready to be stirred up in the French masses." In comparison, he felt that opinion in Great Britain—among both politicians and the public—was more politically neutral. He argued: "Here things are a little different: we used to be like that in the first years after the war, but our people have very short memories, and have relapsed into their ordinary condition of vaguely wishing everyone to be comfortable and not make a fuss."[85] To explain Great Britain's neutrality, he fell back on the tried and true national stereotype of keeping a stiff upper lip.

Additionally, Murray sought to court North American interest in intellectual cooperation by calling attention to what he called Great Britain and North America's "similar" intellectual goals. On 31 October 1931, Murray wrote in "Interdependence," the journal of the Canadian League of Nations Union:

> IDEAS, like diseases, pay no attention to political frontiers, and unlike diseases, fly easily across oceans and continents. In much of the business of the League of Nations Canadians must often feel that they are too far off to give much practical help, but for the work of Intellectual Co-operation we want only what you can effectively give—your interest, your thoughts and your feelings. The great New Fact which this generation has to face is the INTERDEPENDENCE of Nations. The world is becoming more and more One Great Society, though it is still governed by some 60 separate National Governments, all much inclined to shout 'Me first, and the rest nowhere'! That, as sensible thinkers now know, is the road to ruin, the road that led to the Great War. To escape from that road the first step is Intellectual Co-operation.[86]

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[85] Gilbert Murray to Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy. 1 February 1931. Murray MSS, 209:147.

[86] Gilbert Murray. 31 October 1931. Murray MSS, 210:195.

To Murray, moral disarmament hinged on the ability to successfully form this "One Great Society," and the integrationist exchange of ideas was the best way to realize it. Forming connections of all sorts was what lay at the foundation of Murray's cultural internationalism.

Though they were in agreement about the need for intellectual cooperation, Gilbert Murray and James T. Shotwell disagreed on one important point: the role of the CICI in political matters. From its formation, the CICI had been carefully separated in the League structure from committees that dealt with governmental policy, and Murray was careful to continue this legacy. Up until 1931, Shotwell had been very critical of the CICI and had refused to take part on grounds that it was a forum for scientific and literary celebrity, with very few social scientists in leading roles. Writing to Henri Bonnet, Murray noted that he was pleased that Shotwell might be coming to represent Millikan at an upcoming meeting because he had "'the international mind' and a power of initiative."[87] However, when the CICI, working on Millikan's suggestion, requested he take Millikan's place in the upcoming meeting, Shotwell replied that if the CICI was unwilling to change its views he would not come. Despite this assertion, he accepted the role, but made it clear that he would use the time to argue for a reorganization of the CICI.[88]

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[87] Gilbert Murray to Henri Bonnet. 18 May 1931. UNESCO, A.I.40.

[88] Harold Josephson, *James T. Shotwell and the Rise of Internationalism in America* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1974), 191.

Murray refused his suggestions of reorganization but instead offered to form a special committee of social scientists.[89] While Murray's proposal did not seem to differ significantly from what Shotwell had originally suggested, Murray's refusal prompted a strong reaction from Shotwell.[90] This was likely due to a misunderstanding, but Shotwell was not pleased with the compromise and threatened to resign completely from the intellectual cooperation organization, and "dissociate" himself from the American National Committee. "I must," he wrote to Murray, "concentrate upon what seems to me the all-important problem of bringing the disciplines of the political sciences more and more into the study of international relations."[91] To Millikan, Shotwell wrote that he had "no other choice" but to resign from the committee "which I do with much regret, both because of the personal associations and because I think the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation is on the wrong track."[92] Bonnet wrote Shotwell saying he thought there had been some misunderstanding and counseling patience. "I am still convinced that not only are you right but, further, that your views will be adopted. The matter will certainly take rather longer than we would have wished," he cautioned. However, he also stressed that this change would mean increased representation for social and political scientists, not the overhaul Shotwell had initially imagined. Indeed, Bonnet wrote in a way suggesting

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[89] Gilbert Murray to James T. Shotwell. 16 December 1931. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[90] For instance, in a letter to British CICI member Eric Drummond, Shotwell seemed to be pitching a plan where high profile political scientists were added to the CICI and therefore be able to "form a sub-committee on the political sciences." See James T. Shotwell to Eric Drummond. 13 September 1931. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[91] James T. Shotwell to Gilbert Murray. 24 December 1931. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[92] James T. Shotwell to Robert A. Millikan. 28 December 1931. Shotwell MSS, 199.

such an overhaul had never been Shotwell's intention.[93] Responding to claims that the issue was a misunderstanding, Shotwell wrote the executive secretary of the US National Committee that he "couldn't agree" that he had misunderstood Murray's response and that the "opening paragraph was all that I needed to read."[94] While this seems to underscore the reactionary nature of his response, the conflict was already set in motion and Shotwell remained resolute. Serving as intermediary between Murray and Shotwell, Millikan urged Shotwell to reconsider and also warned Murray not to underestimate the importance of having Shotwell on the CICI. In fact, he suggested that if Shotwell was to break ties with the intellectual cooperation movement, US participation would likely drop precipitously, and the American National Committee could fold as a result.[95]

After Millikan's warning—which very clearly threatened a withdrawal of US support—Murray became more conciliatory but still refused to reorganize the CICI into a political committee. In reply, Murray pointed out to Millikan that the constitution of the CICI was "meant to represent ALL the branches of knowledge." Murray felt that to "make it predominantly a Committee of Political Science" would leave it ill-suited for the kind of work a political committee would require because it would be filled by historians, physical scientists, mathematicians and the like. He once again pointed out that Shotwell could address political questions through a subcommittee without prompting an overhaul in the CICI that would leave many members out of their depth. "On looking through the correspondence," Murray wrote, "I cannot help wondering whether some incident

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[93] Henri Bonnet to James T. Shotwell. January 1932. UNESCO, A.I.40.

[94] James T. Shotwell to J. David Thompson. 5 January 1932. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[95] Robert A. Millikan to Gilbert Murray. 7 January 1932. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

occurred without my noticing which in some way hurt Shotwell's feelings." If so, he hoped that Millikan could help him to "set it right."[96]

Shotwell, however, seemed placated and agreed to an arrangement not altogether different from what Murray had originally suggested. In a letter to Murray on 23 January 1932, he wrote in a way that made it seem his suggestion from the outset was simply to expand membership for political scientists, rather than the complete reorganization he originally, rather forcibly, proposed.[97] This was a quick reversal of attitude since less than a month earlier he had written that he "wholly" disagreed with CICI policy and that "a regard for intellectual honesty makes my resignation necessary."[98] It is not clear exactly what Shotwell sought to gain by threatening to leave. It is possible he simply resented what he viewed as a hasty dismissal, and the wound was soothed by Murray's attempts at conciliation. It is also likely that it was a common strategy for him, as he used it again the following year in a disagreement with the American League of Nations Association.[99] Of course, in any major organization, interpersonal conflict can have a significant impact, but in the case of an organization set up to be an example of international cooperation, such instances were particularly damaging. When individuals representing entire countries disagreed, the repercussions did not remain between only them.

Possibly keeping the conflict between Zimmern and Luchaire in mind, Murray also reminded Shotwell that the status of appointments to the League was not a simple

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[96] Gilbert Murray to Robert Millikan. 18 January 1932. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[97] James T. Shotwell to Gilbert Murray. 23 January 1932. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[98] James T. Shotwell to J. David Thompson. 28 December 1931. Shotwell MSS, 134, 135.

[99] Josephson, 215.

matter of picking the best person, but was often a political decision. This may have also influenced Shotwell's change of position. IIIC worker J. D. Montenach wrote to Murray that, while he agreed they should include more political scientists and they would soon have the opportunity to bring in some of the "persons of the highest reputation in this field," they were "not entirely free" in their choice "as questions of nationality will inevitably arise and the Council has already promised several Governments representation in the C.I.C.I." He continued

> I do not think I anticipate too much when I tell you in confidence that some members of the Committee whose term of office ends this year will have to be replaced. We very much hope that Professor Shotwell will consent to replace Dr. Millikan; but if such a case seems to be easy, as it is the privilege of the Great Powers always to have a national in the main committees of the League, the question becomes much more complicated when one comes to getting an equitable treatment to the smaller States. We must always avoid treating them as if their case is easily solved when the privilege of the Great Powers has been observed. We must act, on the contrary, with great caution, and therefore we cannot vary the application of rules and practice, as Professor Shotwell seems to think.[100]

Though Shotwell had the political backing and influence to ensure him a position in the CICI—despite years of being critical of its work—other countries were not so fortunate. Indeed, in the same letter that Montenach noted CICI members were not allowed to choose their replacements he also made it clear an exception would be made for Shotwell. The United States, as a Great Power, was guaranteed a seat at a table carefully set to support Great Power hegemony.

At least ostensibly, moral disarmament was meant to mend rifts. As Murray wrote in August of 1932, the CICI was attempting to address the wounds left by the First World War and moral disarmament was one of its "healing instruments." However, to expect it

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[100] J.D. de Montenach to Gilbert Murray. 26 January 1932. UNESCO, A.I.12: 186-88.

to work quickly was asking too much. "The story of a healing process," Murray wrote, "is always slow, unexciting, devoid of sudden incident." He cautioned patience for disarmament and especially the moral disarmament portion of its work. "Originating in the attempt to deal with the friction between Germany and Poland, it was at first treated as a trifle and almost an unreality," he explained. "But when the Committee, comprising of some 19 nations, sat down to work and come to grips with its subject it began to discover that 'moral disarmament' was not a trifle but one of the most important matters in the world." He asked his reader to consider why disarmament drags on or why "Nazis and Fascists and Communists rage and vapour and successfully prevent men of sense from coming together" to address it. "The obstacles," he argued, "are mostly not material but psychological." Indeed, he thought it was the one true obstacle between the "civilized world" realizing peace and that moral disarmament itself hinged on the success of the CICI to "keep up regular communication with the countries in most need of guidance."[101] While he does not provide a list of these countries, considering he was writing to a British audience and was the chair of the CICI, it is clear that Great Britain was not on his list. As a call to action, this article suggests that he envisioned Great Britain as a leader in this reform.

Like Murray, Shotwell also shaped the formulation of moral disarmament. It was Mary Emma Woolley, long-term president of Mount Holyoke College and the first woman sent as representative to the 1931 World Disarmament Conference, who introduced Shotwell to the term. She suggested he consider the proposal made by the Polish delegation to the LN to adopt an international agreement for the suppression of

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[101] Gilbert Murray. "Work for Peace: Another Side of Disarmament." Shotwell MSS, 205.

ideals that fomented war. As discussed above, this proposal suggested that each nation would take steps to prevent communications—in the press, cinema and radio—that would spark discord and hostility.[102] Shotwell did not agree with the proposal's focus on censorship, feeling this was the domain of individual countries. He also felt that such an emphasis on censorship was unlikely to be accepted by liberals and especially American liberals and if it were, "reactionaries" too often used it "even when founded for a good purpose."[103] He focused, rather, on the development of internationally minded individuals through education.

Shotwell was initially dismissive of the idea of moral disarmament, but warmed to it after some thought, and it became clear he would be allowed by the Disarmament Conference to propose a reassessment of its aims. "The term itself was unfortunate," Shotwell wrote, "for it seems to carry a suggestion of hypocrisy; at least, so it was interpreted by the hard-headed delegates of more than one country represented at Geneva. One can imagine with what feelings some of Poland's neighbors, especially the Germans, received this proposal." Poland had recently increased its expenditure on armaments, and it was in that way he felt it suggested hypocrisy. He continued: "They wanted first of all to see some practical evidence of this moral movement toward the international mind by a lessening of such armies as Poland itself had been so busily building up in recent years." Notably, Shotwell, did not mention the increase in armaments of his own country, but instead presented this reluctance in terms of a conflict between Poland and Germany.

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[102] LNP, "Moral Disarmament: Memorandum from the Polish Government," Official No. C.602.M240 (Geneva, 1931).

[103] James T. Shotwell to Arnold Wolfers. 13 November 1932. Shotwell MSS, 206.

While noting the resistance of Germany, his main concern was that it called for censorship, which he opposed. “Liberal minds,” he wrote, “are suspicious of government censorship, even when used for good purposes, because it nearly always tends to get into the hand of reactionaries.” Additionally, he pondered: “How could one distinguish between fomenting of war and the legitimate warning against real dangers?”[104]

Aside from suggesting “hypocrisy” and being based on censorship, Shotwell also disliked the connections between the “moral” and passive approach to peace taken by religious organizations. In notes for a speech about moral disarmament, his first main point was that “the term moral disarmament connotes negative pacifism and church theology!” Like Murray, he saw disarmament efforts separate from the church. He continued, noting that moral disarmament should instead not be about the “renunciation of war, but the positive support of law” and the active development of international studies programs. His speech conclusion was titled “why the United States should take the lead,” which included four points:

1. In line with democratic principles of justice in dealing with peoples, and depending upon the weight of public opinion.
2. Wilsonian Idealism the actual forerunner of any such idea.
3. Kellogg Pact demands it.
4. Our present organizations and educational associations have always stood for idealism and support for citizenship – Scouts, etc.[105]

As with Murray’s assumption that Great Britain was ideally positioned to lead the CICI because of their relatively neutral political stance, Shotwell made similar arguments

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[104] James T. Shotwell. “Memorandum on International Civics,” February 1935. Shotwell MSS, 171, 172.

[105] James T. Shotwell. “Outline for a speech on Moral Disarmament.” Undated. Shotwell MSS, 218.

about US traits that made *them* best suited to take the lead. While this list specifically addressed moral disarmament, it effectively sums up Shotwell's views of why the US was important to the wider intellectual cooperation movement.

Though the CICI did not officially use the term until the 1930s, when peace efforts were already obviously losing traction, the CICI had been pursuing the goal of peace through intellectual channels since its inception. Regarding the area of moral disarmament, a report of the CICI's fourteenth plenary session in 1932 stated, "directly or indirectly, all that [the Committee] has done in the last ten years tends towards moral disarmament, this being the aim and inspiration of all its efforts and all its work. It possesses a sort of prior claim to the intellectual part of moral disarmament, to the success of which it proposes to devote itself more than ever."[106] The CICI focused a large portion of their energy towards the goal of moral disarmament and by 1932 it was considered the "dominating question" the CICI addressed.[107]

In the words of Wellington Koo, "It is easy to drift into war, but peace can only be secured with resolute efforts."[108] As one American supporter, Methodist Bishop Charles Wesley Burns, noted, "the outlawry of war will come no faster than war is outlawed in the hearts of individuals. We must look to our own emotional and intellectual

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[106] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Fourteenth Plenary Session,* Official No. A.11.1932.XII (Geneva, 1932), 19.

[107] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Fourteenth Plenary Session,* Official No. A.11.1932.XII (Geneva, 1932), 3.

[108] LNP, *The League of Nations, A Vital Necessity in the Modern World: Addresses delivered on the occasion of the 100th Session of the Council, January 27th, 1938* (Geneva, 1938), 27.

attitudes before we can hope for world brotherhood."[109] Efforts of the CICI were meant to directly pursue peace through influencing public opinion. Rhetoric of cooperation in the interwar period was based on the actions of groups that transcended the nation-state. This language was directly linked to the conviction that peace could be promoted through the interaction of elites in intellectual and cultural circles, who would then guide public opinion through popular culture.[110] However, this same emphasis on the intellectual elite translated into one that favored the influence of the Great Powers within CICI work.

Shotwell agreed with the original moral disarmament proposal that there would need to be a change in mentalities before peace could be established, but rather than censorship, he stressed education in a new field he called International Civics. "The only way to rid the world of war is to provide adequate substitutes for it," he argued. "There is a strategy of peace as well as of war, and it must be studied in the same careful way and worked out for unimportant, trivial things instead of risking all on supreme issues." He felt such an approach would be best done in the safe environments of schools. "To enlarge the field of civics so that it included the international community is," he argued, "the surest way to secure a sane, well balanced judgment as to the place of any nation in it."[111] He drafted his own moral disarmament proposal that removed all mention of censorship and focused on International Civics. He also suggested, rather than placing pressure to conform through censorship, that countries would provide reports to the LN

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[109] Quoted in "Echoes from the Riverside Conference" *News Bulletin (Institute of Pacific Relations),* (Feb., 1928), 25.

[110] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1997), 60,

[111] James T. Shotwell. "Memorandum on International Civics," February 1935. Shotwell MSS, 171, 172.

explaining what steps they had taken to promote moral disarmament and international understanding. Additionally, he felt an important step to ensuring effective international relations was to require public officials to pass exams before taking office.

He was also concerned that in its initial form it would be quickly rejected by the United States. This was partly due to the increasing isolationism he noticed developing within his country. For instance, he wrote Murray on 15 February 1932 pointing that the peace movement was “almost completely submerged by a rising tide of nationalism” and that the “peace forces” had “lost courage and leadership.” He explained that the “extremists are becoming more extreme, and the middle-of-the-way people are frankly turning their interests from idealism to domestic economic questions.”[112] However, Shotwell remained optimistic in April that the challenges would actually serve to strengthen the peace movement. “Even if the French nationalists win in the next election,” he wrote to Murray, “and Europe comes to the very verge of a new cataclysm, I think there is a good chance that such a test of realities in the peace movement will enable us to act more intelligently and less in the mood of doubting idealism…but I admit that the obstacles at the present time seem at first glance overwhelming.” Speaking of the US and the financial strain of the Great Depression, he noted: “The country is so absorbed in its internal troubles that the problem of peace and war seems unreal and far away.”[113] Though still optimistic, he recognized the need to carefully draft his moral disarmament proposal in a way that would be acceptable to countries where nationalism was a “rising tide.”

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[112] James T. Shotwell to Gilbert Murray. 15 February 1932. Murray MSS, 383: 111.

[113] James T. Shotwell to Gilbert Murray. 28 April 1932. Murray MSS, 383: 112.

Shotwell wrote Mary Woolley in June 1932, apologizing for not initially giving the issue his attention despite her urging on more than one occasion. He explained that he had redrafted it to encourage US adoption and to make it an issue "not to be easily evaded" by governments. "I have found," he explained, "on many occasions that my European colleagues are tempted to regard us as using technicalities for pretexts in order to escape responsibilities." He addressed this in his proposal, as well being careful "not to give offense to the French," who were notorious in US and British public opinion for their resistance of progressive measures, in the hope that "something real come out of this proposal." He placed great faith in his moral disarmament draft, commenting that if it was accomplished along the terms he suggested then "history will not record the failure of the [1931-32] Disarmament Conference even if the technical experts do not agree as to the ratios of military and naval armaments."[114] However, when he turned it over to the Disarmament Committee they removed what he thought were the two most important aspects: international civics and examinations for public office.

He sent his suggested draft protocol to Woolley, who forwarded it to the US and British delegates to the 1931-32 Disarmament Conference meeting in Geneva. In a letter sent 21 July 1932, Woolley explained that she discussed his protocol with members of the US and British delegations, including British delegate and feminist Margery Corbett Ashby, and they had formulated a "Declaration" based on his suggestions. "Although it does not go as far as the American Delegation would like," she explained, "we consider it a distinct achievement…"[115] They revised his suggestions and removed international

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[114] James T. Shotwell to Mary Woolley. 2 June 1932. Shotwell MSS, 204.

[115] Mary Woolley to James T. Shotwell. 21 July 1932. Shotwell MSS, 204.

civics and the suggested reports. According to Shotwell, it was Woolley's suggestion to remove international civics because he had included the phrase "examinations for public office," and she felt it unlikely the US would agree to such a restriction.[116] Woolley claimed that it was at the suggestion of Corbett Ashby.[117]

Shotwell was displeased and responded by contacting US Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur, writing that he was "longing" to see the line calling for examination for public office back in the proposal. He was careful to note that any work the CICI did would "not politically involve your Department," but would cooperate with it.[118] When Wilbur replied with interest, but no concrete action, Shotwell cast a broader net and wrote other countries in an attempt to garner their support. He contacted German diplomat Albert Dufour-Feronce in August 1932, hoping that it would be possible to expand the reception of the moral disarmament proposal, commenting that he thought it was an essential "element in the creation of the international mind" and he would "be very sorry to see the proposal emasculated or ultimately dropped."[119] Similarly, he wrote German delegate Dr. Arnold Wolfers, who recognized that because the original proposal came from the Polish delegations that Germans might be "inclined to scoff at it, regarding it as an effort to substitute a hypocritical and unreal suggestions for actual steps towards disarmament," but still felt it was an important part of creating international

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[116] James T. Shotwell to Joseph P Chamberlin. 10 August 1932. Shotwell MSS, 204.

[117] Mary Woolley to James T. Shotwell. 25 August 1932. Shotwell MSS, 204.

[118] James T. Shotwell to Ray Lyman Wilbur. 9 August 1932. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[119] James T. Shotwell to Albert Dufour-Feronce. 20 August 1932. Shotwell MSS, 206.

understanding.[120] In January 1933, he wrote Pierre Comert in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he could "get the support of the entire educational system" in the US for moral disarmament, urging Comert to convince his country to adopt it. He closed the letter commenting that he had "always been a heretic about disarming by arithmetic."[121] He received a tepid response from these inquiries, which might have had something to do with the popular title of the "Anglo-American Proposal" for the redrafted version of moral disarmament. Additionally, after Japan's occupation of Manchuria starting the previous September, it was clear support for disarmament was rapidly eroding. Despite this, Shotwell was eventually successful in convincing US Secretary of State Henry Stimson of the validity of his moral disarmament protocol and through Stimson's influence was able to convince the League's Disarmament Committee to accept many of his suggestions. Shotwell was pleased with this turn of events, but his optimism would not remain for long, especially after he saw one of his most favored aspects, examinations for public office, was never reinstated by the Disarmament Committee.

Though disarmament was obviously losing traction in 1933 to the point it was lambasted in political cartoons, those invested in it were still attempting to drum up support. Writing in the *Pittsburg Press* on 31 March 1933, journalist Anne Weiss summarized the goals of moral disarmament within a call to action: "We must learn to disarm our minds; substitute faith for suspicion. We must adopt a higher code of morals in our international relations."[122] This appeal coincided with a plea made by Mary

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[120] James T. Shotwell to Arnold Wolfers. 15 November 1932. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[121] James T. Shotwell to Pierre Comert. 12 January 1933. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[122] Anne Weiss, "Dr. Mary Woolley Sees Hope for Peace Plans Despite World's Chaos," *The Pittsburg Press*, 31 March 1933.

Woolley to maintain faith in disarmament and to inculcate in the next generation this higher moral code. "They must be trained from infancy," Woolley argued, "in this new code of international relations. Our children's minds must be trained to new feelings in regards to the settlement of disputes." The battle cry of "to the battlefield," she continued, had to be replaced with the call of "to the conference table" and on this evolution rested "the hope of civilization."[123]

Such an educational approach aligned with the CICI's formulation of moral disarmament, but such appeals were not sufficient to maintain support of the initiative. Though the CICI adopted the goals of moral disarmament as soon as it was proposed in 1931—while also claiming it had already been pursuing the goal for almost a decade—the League's Disarmament Committee was not as willing an audience. In a May 1933 letter marked confidential, Corbett Ashby wrote Shotwell that the General Commission was still stalling the efforts of her Moral Disarmament Committee. "Most members of the Committee," she explained, "have considered it useless to discuss moral disarmament, while the main purposes of the Conference, material disarmament, security and control seem unrealisable."[124] Mary Woolley also struggled to maintain the interest of the United States, despite her efforts to call for the nation's patience, faith and support.[125]

In June 1933, the Disarmament Committee adopted a moral disarmament proposal, but by then many of moral disarmament's supporters, including Shotwell, had

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Margery Corbett Ashby to James T. Shotwell. 39 May 1933. Shotwell MSS, 204.

[125] See, for instance, Mary Woolley. "What was Accomplished at Geneva?" *Federal Council Bulletin* (October, 1932). Shotwell MSS, 204.

lost interest.[126] The protocol they adopted included Shotwell's emphasis on international civics, but excluded required reports and examinations for office.[127] While Shotwell was able to briefly gather patronage for moral disarmament in the form of Stimson's political pressure on the Disarmament Committee, this did not lead to broad US support. In an August 1933 letter to fellow US National Committee member Alice S. Cheyney, Shotwell noted that the CICI remained "a mystery" for many people of influence in the US and "is not warmly supported in certain quarters."[128] Despite efforts made by Shotwell, Murray and Bonnet, such apathy was the most common reaction to their efforts to increase support for the CICI in their home countries.

This was despite initial reports that same month received by the US National Committee from state superintendents saying they endorsed moral disarmament and would positively represent the League in their curriculum. Delaware, for instance, said it would be one of their "main objectives."[129] A study of school textbooks in Japan and China, with the support of Chinese LN delegate Wellington Koo was undertaken by the CICI in early 1933 and reported on in June, but political developments stalled any efforts to revise textbooks in support of moral disarmament goals.[130] Japan had just left the League that May, and Germany was soon to follow suit in October. Analysis of these

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[126] Josephson, 200. See Shotwell MSS, 237.

[127] Josephson, 198.

[128] James T. Shotwell to Alice S. Cheyney. 9 August 1933. Shotwell MSS, 206.

[129] Helen Clarkson Miller. "Outline of Syllabi Received to Date." 22 June 1933. Shotwell MSS, 207.

[130] See LNP, "La Discussion Sino-Japonaise en Matiere de Manuels Scolaires." 10-11 July 1933. UNESCO, B.38.1933.

women working with the CICI provides a glimpse into what it was like to take on international cooperative work with men, many of whom did not appreciate what they brought to the League's intellectual cooperation movement.

Moral disarmament efforts struggled along hopefully for a while after Japan's exit, but Germany's decision to withdraw from the disarmament commission was a death knell for both material and moral interwar disarmament efforts. In a July 1934 memo to US National Committee members, Shotwell explained that moral disarmament would no longer be on the US National Committee's agenda. "Failure of the Disarmament Conference," he explained, "renders it necessary to reconsider the whole subject." He felt that the broad terminology would have to be abandoned and instead the CICI would need to "deal with its elements separately." Those separate elements were the essential foundation of moral disarmament, including education, the cinema and radio.[131] "Each of these subjects," he argued, "offers a wide field for positive action and will gain rather than lose by being considered apart from the others." Though Shotwell's efforts to make moral disarmament a binding expectation of behavior and to launch international civics had borne little fruit, his vision of an education-based approach was more widely useful to organizations such as the International Bureau of Education. This organization, working in close collaboration with the CICI, had been pursuing similar goals and also latched on to the idea of moral disarmament. A discussion of this organization and its ties to the CICI will be a main focus in the following chapter.

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[131] James T. Shotwell. "Memorandum by the Chairman: Moral Disarmament." 3 July 1934. Shotwell MSS, 207.

As support for moral disarmament evaporated, Murray and Shotwell continued to disagree. In a 1934 wireless talk on the League's "Radio-Nations" channel, Shotwell posed the question, "How can history and economics, for example, be broadened so as to deal with world problems, instead of remaining fixed within the boundaries of single countries?"[132] His answer, of course, was international civics, which he viewed intellection cooperation and the work of the CICI as central to addressing. "Political science," Shotwell concluded, "is a field in which men of different nationalities work on similar problems under different circumstances. There is everything to be gained by bringing them in contact with one another."[133] He felt the CICI's main role should be to bring those studying politics and the political challenges facing the world into contact—not just intellectuals interested in sharing scientific bibliographies or protecting museums. His emphasis on politics is clear. However, unlike Shotwell, Murray saw value in any situation where intellectuals from different nations effectively collaborated, even if that collaboration did not directly influence political decisions. The problem lay in the fact that the relative influence of countries within the LN international forum was not equal and strongly favored the Great Powers.

Writing in 1935, Temperance Elizabeth Smith noted criticisms of the term "international" that suggest contemporaries recognized the limitations of the League's form of the term. Smith would later serve as executive secretary to the United States National Committee, and she secured this position after writing a lengthy overview and

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[132] James T. Shotwell, "International Outlook in the Social Sciences," *Educational Survey*, (Dec. 1934), 110.

[133] Ibid., 113.

analysis of the CICI for a Master's degree at Claremont College in California. Her 1935 thesis addressed some of the main criticisms directed at the CICI, which included perceived improper claims to internationality due to European and US dominance of the work. This was especially a concern in relation to the Institute in Paris and the Educational Cinematography Institute in Rome, since both were almost entirely supported by the national government hosting them. She noted that some people accused these institutes for not being "imbued with an international objective," and that they instead were "the tools of excessive national influence."[134] After arguing that the CICI had mitigated these issues within the institutes by being careful to staff them with a range of nationalities, she addressed the issue of internationality in a way that actually served to underscore these criticisms.

She argued that "the rule at Geneva is the rule of courtesy" and, while not all members might agree on a proposal, they nevertheless came to consensus. This resulted in some "satisfactory and unsatisfactory aspects for everybody," she declared. "It was observed," she wrote, "that, because of a greater similarity in cultural background, the Anglo-Saxon contingent of the Committee, have a similar way of looking at the problems of intellectual co-operation, often quite different from the viewpoint of either the Latins or the Orientals." The example she used is revealing and supports this chapter's argument that the CICI was heavily influenced by the United States and Great Britain. As she reveals, one of the main criticisms leveled at the CICI was that it was unduly dominated by Great Britain and the United States. In the CICI's defense, Smith noted situations

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[134] Temperance Smith. "A Study of the International Organization for Intellectual Co-operation within the Framework of the League of Nations," Master Thesis. (Claremont College, 1935), 266.

where even Great Britain and the United States had conceded to the desires of other countries. Her first example was of the United States, which "felt that for the Committee to consider the problems of scientific property was a futile sort of thing at best and only a grandiose scheme." They considered intellectual property something to be addressed by individual countries and that tracking claims internationally at the time would have been very difficult. They still, however, provided their support.

That she followed this example with one where countries with *less* power in the committee gave way suggests she was unable to find another significant situation where the Great Powers did not hold sway. In this second example, she folded India and Japan into one group of "Orientals." Indeed, she separated spheres of influence by Europeans, the United States, "Latins," and "Orientals"—suggesting that Asian and Latin American countries did not have anywhere near the same level of influence as the Great Powers. She wrote that "the Oriental group" was quite keen for the CICI to support the adoption of Esperanto but accepted the CICI's decision to instead focus on the study of practiced languages.[135] Notably, her comparative example explained how India and Japan had to give way in a vital area related to effective communication—one that placed them at a distinct disadvantage. The status quo of LN official languages (French, English and German), heavily favored the Great Powers.

As war loomed closer, national support in the remaining Great Powers waned, including the United States, which had never given the League of Nations its official support at any point in the interwar period, despite the existence of a US National

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[135] Smith, 276. For the CICI debate about Esperanto see LNP. "Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Second Session." Official No. C.570.M.224 (Geneva, 1923).

Committee of intellectual cooperation. In March 1939, a little over five months before Germany invaded Poland, the CICI sent out mass letters asking national committees to share "the best passages of the history text-books in their respective countries." This was towards the goal of calling attention to the "constructive aspect of the question" by providing exemplary samples for future textbook editors.[136] Though he had previously supported such a positive approach to moral disarmament, Shotwell replied on 25 March 1939 in a letter marked "Personal" to IIIC director Henri Bonnet, that he would be "frankly bothered to present" it to his associates. He argued that because anyone who could effectively weigh in was too busy to do so meant that the CICI would only get "second rate people" to address such a study. He continued, looking at it from a "practical standpoint" and claimed "American history teaching is so far removed from contact with Europe that the whole suggestion seems unreal when viewed across the Atlantic." Indeed, he thought it was not "a pertinent request for American historians" and hoped that they would "not be asked to contribute." He closed the letter saying he was sure Bonnet would understand: "I've learned in the course of a long life that sometimes disagreement is a much more friendly thing than agreement in matters where there is no real possibility of achieving results."[137] While he ostensibly refused on grounds that it would be unlikely to achieve any result, the subtext was one of differing national interests and US isolationism. Isolationist rhetoric in the interwar period was used selectively, leading many scholars to use the term "independent internationalism" to describe interwar US policy. However, with another World War looming, the United States had

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[136] Henri Bonnet to James T. Shotwell. 10 March 1939. Shotwell MSS, 163,164.

[137] James T. Shotwell to Henri Bonnet. 25 March 1939. Shotwell MSS, 163,164.

been towing a strong isolationist line for several years, especially after President Franklin Roosevelt likened international aggression in Europe to a disease and called for a "quarantine" of Europe and a separation of the United States from its conflicts.[138] Although the US National Committee was still a part of the CICI in 1939, it is clear that Shotwell had internalized this view.

Murray remained more optimistic, and even in May 1939 he was still doggedly attempting to garner the monetary support of the British Government for CICI work. Towards this end, he was still attempting to "get Intellectual Co-operation put on a more popular basis in England. The Government will not help us, and the National Committee is merely a learned body without funds…" This continued to vex him because he was convinced there were "circles we have not yet touched" who could benefit from the "raw material" the CICI provided. "However," he wrote, recognizing the significant challenges he faced, "it may all come to nothing."[139] In this, he was correct. National tensions continued to increase and several months later, after the 1 September 1939 invasion of Poland by Germany and subsequent declarations of war against France and Great Britain, the Second World War officially began.

While the CICI had been pursuing peace in intellectual channels from its inception in 1922, their official use of the term moral disarmament was a late addition and rather desperate attempt to stem the "rising tide" of nationalism and its competing interests. Even though the members of the CICI were sincere in their hope that moral

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[138] Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Quarantine Speech." 5 October 1937.

[139] Gilbert Murray to James T. Shotwell. 5 May 1939. Shotwell MSS, 175, 176.

disarmament could attain peace, they were unable to garner any significant support for it beyond official proclamations of the League of Nations that by the 1930s held little actual sway. To the public, moral disarmament seemed, to borrow from David Low's imagery, as a "face-saving" veneer on a lost cause.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed some of the major disagreements within the CICI, as well as the significant influence of competing national interests had on its work. The formulation of internationalism in the interwar period was contested and mutable. In the context of the League of Nations, European interests held significant sway, and therefore internationalism in this context mainly meant cooperation between European nations. However, this chapter has argued that, in the case of intellectual cooperation, the United States was also considerably influential. Indeed, moral disarmament within the CICI—though initially proposed by Poland—was largely an Anglo-American conceptualization. However, in each of these cases, dominating opinions and influences remained concentrated in the Great Powers. Countries with less political power were accordingly less influential within the intellectual cooperation initiative. In the case of the CICI, though many countries took part, the United States and Great Britain were disproportionately influential. Gilbert Murray justified this influence by claiming Great Britain was ideally suited to take the lead in the LN and CICI because of their comparatively "neutral" political position in Europe. James T. Shotwell and the American National Committee based their justifications on the assumption that the United States was best able to represent the views of all of the Americas, pointing to a long history of idealism and commitment to principles of justice. That these assumptions

were contested is not surprising. Additionally, while Murray sought to increase American involvement in the CICI, Shotwell selectively chose to take part on grounds that some issues were only of European concern. At the heart of all of the issues discussed in this chapter were competing interests. For a committee formed with the express goal of providing an example of how individuals and the nations they represented could effectively work together in harmony, such competition ran counter to their stated mission, and, as illustrated in the example of the conflict between Zimmern and Luchaire, negatively affected their public image.

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Chapter Three: "In the Hearts of the Teachers Lies the Destiny of the World"

> To those who courageously strive to change what we do to children under the guidance of the dead hand. For what we have done to children in the name of education has planted the seeds of resentment and frustration, - has made all of us what we are today. So war begins in the nurseries, and in the chancelleries the choicest product of our system in perplexed predicament promote and provoke future wars.
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> Porter Sargent*, Between Two Wars,* Dedication, 1945

It only took two words left out of the League of Nations (LN) Charter to quash the hopes of American educationalist Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, who was sent by President Woodrow Wilson as an American representative to the Paris Peace Conference. She spent much of her time at the Peace Conference unsuccessfully lobbying for education to be included in the LN Charter.[140] Although she felt provision had to be made for education in order to promote understanding among nations, members of the LN council resisted efforts to form a committee for education within the LN. This resistance eventually led to the popularly accepted view that "national education lies outside and will always lie outside the competence of any official committee of the League."[141] Although when drafting the resolution that would form the basis of the LN Gilbert Murray was careful to include provision for women, he blocked the formation of an international office of education linked to the League by omitting the words "and

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[140] See Charles F. Howlett and Ian M. Harris, *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace Since the Dawn of the Republic* (IAP, 2010), 69. For more information about Andrews and her role in international education, see Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (Routledge, 2014).

[141] Quoted in Gwylm Davies, *Intellectual Co-Operation Between the Two Wars*. (London: Council for Education in World Citizenship, 1943), 12.

education" that had been in the draft version. This had been a long-held goal of women such as Andrews, and while one was formed later by prominent figures in Geneva in 1925 as the International Bureau of Education (IBE), these women had hoped such an organization would exist directly under the auspices of the League of Nations.

As historian Joyce Goodman noted: "The suppression of the words 'and education,' and with it international women's organizations' aspirations for an International Bureau of Education, hinged around notions of national sovereignty and self-determination." These areas, especially in an organization that had been carefully set up to leave Great Power hegemony unchallenged, were similarly not contested by the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI). "An International Bureau," Goodman continued, "collecting information about the 'progress' of education in different countries opened the League to the charge that mapping out a scheme of education would lead to 'interference' in national education systems and so move towards the creation of a 'world state.'"[142] As this chapter will discuss, the CICI was essential in the formation of the IBE, but it worked with the IBE as an affiliated organization, rather than as one officially part of the LN agreement between signing nations. Both institutions would work together towards the goal of moral disarmament, but in a formation already narrowed by fears of a "world state." Before the CICI even began working in connection with the IBE, their efforts had already been limited in scope by competing national interests. While continuing an analysis of challenges associated

[142] Joyce Goodman, "Women and International Intellectual Co-Operation," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, Vol. 48, no. 3 (2012): 358.

with competing national interests, this chapter will also discuss the formation of the IBE and the many informal networks that contributed to the rise of international education.

Despite the setback in the formation of the LN, education was an essential component of moral disarmament and, while hobbled from the outset, it was an important part of the CICI's efforts towards establishing a lasting peace. In the area of education, the CICI worked in coordination with national committees to form national education centers which would help with the revision of textbooks, reorganize national education (the Chinese system was of special interest to the CICI in the 1930s), and instruct youth in international relations as well as the aims of the League of Nations. Still, while nation-states were generally willing to accept outside intervention in areas such as health, for example in controlling disease, governments were more resistant to reform efforts in national education. Although ideas flowed transnationally across national borders, when it came to the implementation of international education, national agendas won out, especially as the Depression took its financial toll in the 1930s and governments such as Germany stressed nationalism as a way to promote solidarity. As in other areas of the CICI's work, national agendas severely limited minor utopian efforts made to promote peace education. The IBE experienced similar limitations, but despite these challenges, both of these institutions were essential in the interwar development of a coordinating center for international education. In comparison to an emphasis on material disarmament, the CICI focused on winning the hearts and mind of others, which included what the rising generation was exposed to in school and their daily lives. Rather than a focus on the material aspects, the CICI attempted to address cultural production. They

felt it was important to be careful what was included in textbooks and what children were exposed to in films because of the type of negative behaviors they could engender.

Writing while the Second World War raged, American educationalist and CICI member Isaac Kandel reflected on the importance of dealing with nationalism before internationalism could be considered. In his 1944 book *Intellectual Cooperation: National and International,* he argued it was a lack of attention to national concerns that challenged internationalist education in the interwar period. "Not only have differences of national character been ignored in the movements to promote international understanding," he maintained, "but adequate attention has not been given to the differences in the organization of national systems of education and the content of methods of instruction."[143] He pointed not only to the failure of politicians to "utilize the intellectual resources of the world for the preservation of peace" but also the inability of the LN to view education as anything more than wholly a national concern, regardless of IBE efforts. "In the end," he argued, "time was to show that education misused could be a greater danger to the world than any dangerous drug, and that the ideal of social justice as the basis of peace could not be attained without education."[144] Essentially, where the LN and the IBE fell short was in the successful navigation of international politics and the counteraction of narrow, nationalistic ideology.

CICI efforts in education began at the outset in 1922, but were expanded when the CICI worked in conjunction with the IBE. In 1925, three years after the formation of the

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[143] Isaac Leon Kandel, National committee of the United States of America on international intellectual cooperation, and Columbia University, *Intellectual Cooperation: National and International* (New York: Teachers college, Columbia university, 1944), 19.

[144] Ibid., 2.

CICI, the IBE was founded by Ecuador, Poland and the Canton of Geneva as a private, non-governmental organization located in Geneva. Both national governments and organizations were accepted as members of the IBE organization after paying a fee. Before the IBE was officially formed, the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) served as a centralizing agency and meeting ground for the developing IBE. While the IBE's general aims centered on the support of education and research, like the CICI, it was also concerned with the maintenance of peace. Although an international bureau of education had been considered for many years before the League was formed, the IBE was the first true execution of such ideas. The IBE was not formed in a vacuum, but was a result of a lengthy process of discourse that evolved within and across national boundaries. The concept of international education spread not only through formal networks, such as institutions and organized events like conferences and World's Fairs, but also through personal connections and the migration of published works.

International education garnered considerable scholarly attention after the interwar period and scholars have expanded our understanding of its development considerably in the last two decades.[145] Most useful to the study of League of Nations

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[145] See, for instance: Emil Lengyel, "International Education as an Aid to World Peace," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 20, no. 9 (May 1, 1947): 562–70; David G. Scanlon, "Pioneers of International Education, 1817-1914" *Teachers College Record* Vol. 60 No. 4 (1959), 209-219; Eckhardt Fuchs. "Educational sciences, morality and politics: international educational congresses in the early twentieth century" *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 40, No. 5 & 6 (Oct. 2004), 757-784; David M. Ment. "Education, nation-building and modernization after World War I: American ideas for the Peace Conference" *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 4, No. 1 & 2 (February, 2005), 159 – 177; Joyce Goodman. "Working for Change Across International Borders: the Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship." *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Feb. 2007), 165 – 180; Charles F. Howlett and Ian M. Harris, *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace Since the Dawn of the Republic* (IAP, 2010); Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth,

educational initiatives has been the focus on international connections.[146] In the interwar period, these connections arose in the form of international organizations as well as private interactions between individuals. Like much of League of Nations historiography, study of education in relation to the LN has suffered from the emphasis of failure narratives. However, the influence of the IBE and CICI in the formation of formal and informal international networks of education should not be undervalued, which is often a result of coloring LN history as one of disappointment. As historian of education Eckhardt Fuchs argued, "The league's function as the main point of reference of virtually all kinds of educational movements should not be underestimated. Its central location in Geneva – as the seat of the IBE…and the League being practically the capital of international education of this time – facilitated its work."[147] The IBE served as both center and mediator for international education and effectively launched education to the international plane, while still directly involving governments in transnational exchange: where interactions between other nations helped form new approaches to education. However, this process was not without its challenges.

International Education

The same competing national interests in attempts to form an international center of education in the interwar period plagued the precursors of the IBE. As educationalists

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Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks 1900-1960 (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[146] See Robert Sylvester. "Mapping International Education," *Journal of Research in International Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2002), 90-125; Eckhardt Fuchs. "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s" *Paedagogica Historica* , Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2007), 199–209.

[147] Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s.," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (April 2007): 209.

David G. Scanlon and J. Shields pointed out in 1968, "international education can be traced to antiquity."[148] However, the first man to directly envision a framework for international education was Marc-Antione Jullien. As he stated in 1794, "In the long run, education alone is capable of exercising a decisive and radical influence on the regeneration of man, the improvement of societies, true civilization and the prosperity of States. Each generation, if entrusted to teachers worthy of their mission, should be the more perfect continuation of the generation it replaces."[149] Based on these ideas, Jullien published his pamphlet *Outline and Preliminary Consideration for a Work on Comparative Education* in 1817.[150] It was because of Jullien that "comparative education" became a part of the science of education. In the midst of the French Revolution, Jullien actively supported education as a means to bring about social change. Jullien, disillusioned with politics after his experience in the French Revolution, turned exclusively to education as the key to social change.[151] At the turn of the century, he began focusing his energy solely on education, writing several pamphlets before his well-known 1817 publication. His attempt to develop a "science" of education led to his

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[148] Scanlon and Shields, quoted in Sylvester, "Mapping": 93.

[149] M.-A. Jullien, quoted in Jacqueline Gauther, "MARC-ANTOINE JULLIEN ('JULLIEN DE PARIS') 1775–1848: From loss of faith in politics to a mystical faith in education?" *Prospects: the quarterly review of comparative education* Vol. XXIII, No. 3/4, (Paris, UNESCO: International Bureau of Education, 1993): 759.

[150] Marc-Antoine Jullien, *Esquisse et vues préliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée*, 1817.

[151] Although Jullien was initially in favor of the Revolution, fifteen months in jail gave him not only the reason, but also the time to rethink his political views. While still against absolute monarchy, he also began to write critically of revolution. His unpopular change of opinion left him under such pressure he obtained a post in 1796 in the Army of Italy. He continued voicing unpopular views, however, and was eventually demoted to supply services – a change which only further exacerbated his disillusionment with politics.

forward-thinking view of creating comparative education. The aim of his 1817 work was to compare educational systems throughout Europe, to set up a "Special Commission on Education" and an "Educational Institute," and to found an "Educational Newsletter."

While Jullien met with little success in creating these institutions, his work did influence educators, who pursued international forums to discuss education. The World's Fairs gave them that chance. The first international educational congress was hosted by the United States in Philadelphia for the World's Fair of 1876. During the meetings, participants decided to make an educational congress a permanent fixture at World's Fairs, with the first formal International Congress of Educators held in Brussels in 1880. These congresses were the grounds on which individual ideas migrated through international channels. It was in 1893, for instance, when American psychologist and educator Stanley Hall presented his concept of "child study" at the International Congress of Education in the Chicago World's Fair. Not long after, Germany and Great Britain founded child psychology associations.[152] The international scientific congresses that coincided with World's Fairs set the groundwork for international educational congresses and began the process of developing an international community of scholars.[153] Expanding this community would later be one of the main aims of the CICI.

Education as the key to progress is a fundamental aspect of liberalism. The ideas underpinning international education in the early 20th century arose from the influence of Classical Liberalism in the 19th century. Education in the 19th century was a force for national identity and an important way nations helped support their war effort during the

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[152] Fuchs, "Educational Sciences": 772.

[153] Ibid, 758.

First World War. This important role of education in supporting nationalism explains the CICI's emphasis on using it as a tool for cultural internationalism. However, this meant that they were working against the most common use of education in the interwar period. At the same time they were making a call for international education, it is also a tool of militarism, Jingoism, and nationalism. It was essential for the creation of national identities, especially for those countries throughout Europe and Latin American that were newly formed and were building a national identity shortly after the First World War.

Writing almost seven decades after Jullien, and no doubt affected by the presence of international congresses, Dutch author Herman Molkenboer published his pamphlet, originally written in Dutch in 1891, *The Permanent International Council of Education*.[154] Although no direct link exists between Jullien and Molkenboer, the latter was no doubt influenced by a culture that had absorbed comparative education as a possibility, which was observable in the formation of educational congresses. Drawing upon the existence of Chambers of Commerce, which had been used for centuries, for inspiration, Molkenboer wondered why educationalists could not follow this example and create a "Permanent International Council of Education." Such a council would also include experts who would advise national educational authorities. He drew upon the Council on Education in the United States as a viable example of how a federation of states could be guided by one body. His plan did not take root, however. As he stated in 1890 after his movement collapsed: "The governments are waiting for the educationists

[154] See Herman Molkenboer, *Der Bleibende Internationale Erziehungsrat* (Bechtold, 1891).

to take the initiative, and the educationists are waiting for the governments."[155] When his plan was revised under the title of the "Kurnig Plan" in 1904, it also failed to be implemented. Although German author Kurnig met with some success as he disseminated Molkenboer's plan (with no mention made of Molkenboer) in the form of short pamphlets that read like advertisements, the almost two-thousand members his "Centre" had recruited by 1910 did not end in the formation of an international center for education.

Writing near the same time as Kurnig, Hungarian educationalist Francis Kemény actively built on the ideas of Jullien and Molkenboer as he promoted his plan for an International Institute of Education. Of special interest to Kemény was cultural internationalism, which was likely influenced by his experience as a Hungarian subject under the rule of the Habsburg Empire. As he later wrote in 1914 of his early views: "We know 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 any nation."[156] However, just as the IBE would maintain in their vision of international education in the 1920s, he believed the autonomy of the nation should not be compromised. In his notably transnational view, he thought internationalism and nationalism need not be opposed. In fact, he argued that if internationalism was set up in opposition to nationalism it would only cause a reaction that would hinder cultural internationalism, which could only be developed through international education.

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[155] Herman Molkenboer, quoted in Pedro Rosselló *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education,* (Geneva, 1944), 22.

[156] Francis Kemény, *L'Enseignement international. Histore. Etat actuel Avenir*. Bureau international de Documentation educative (Ostend, 1914), quoted in Rosselló, 25.

In 1905, he argued for the establishment of an international bureau of education. He identified six characteristics of international education that would be instrumental in the development of cultural internationalism. First, he focused on an understanding of the condition of national education in each country, then the use of organizations in which at least several countries benefit, such as conferences, and efforts aimed at uniting educational practice. In the social realm, he emphasized international education based on universal human rights, the counteraction of chauvinism through peace education, and, finally, to work against racism, inter-racial education.[157] Kemény also proposed that an International Review of Education, published in French, German, and English, be disseminated across the globe. When he submitted his plan to the Ministry of Public Instruction at Budapest, the organization recognized the need for such a publication, but did not feel that they could undertake it. It would take the First World War to launch such an idea as not only desirable, but also necessary.

The appearance of international schools also illustrated the changing attitude towards international education, years before the establishment of the League of Nations. Although the impact of these schools was limited and they are more an implementation of international reform, rather than a cause, their formation and spread is indicative of the transnational movement of ideas in international education. The pattern followed in these schools migrated transnationally, notably from secondary schools Abbotsholme and Bedales in the United Kingdom to Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium and Holland. The underlying notion of Bedales was that "International goodwill is to be encouraged in

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[157] See Francis Kemény, "Institut International Pédagogique" in *Bulletin officiel du XIVe Congrès universel de la paix: tenu à Lucerne du 19 au 23 septembre 1905* (Büchler & Company, 1905).

every possible way."[158] In 1910, Paul Geheeb formed the international school Odenwaldschule in Germany. Characteristic of this school was the lack of assigned grades and grade-levels and an overarching objective of educating cultured, internationally socialized students. Towards this end, he treated nationality as "incidental" and "non-essential."[159] When Denmark established a secondary international school in 1921, it was with funds from Danish, English and American contributors.[160]

In the early 1900s, Edward Peeters, a contemporary educationalist and friend of Kemény, was the first able to move beyond conceptualizing an international educational organization as a possibility to a reality. After his love of carrying out reform did not fit well with his initial career in the army, he turned to education with a position as assistant master of the Aténée Royal, a secondary school for boys in Ostend, Belgium. Soon after, he obtained his teaching diploma and applied his zeal for reform to education. Difficulties encountered with publishers prompted him to found his own publishing firm in 1908 and after a successful reprinting of Rousseau's *Emile*; he began to make connections with educationalists abroad. These connections prompted him to publish a small quarterly bibliography that reviewed recent educational works, which by 1909 became *A Review of Information Relating to Education and the Teaching Profession*. Although he had the support of Kemény, and a few other members, and the patronage of the Roumanian, Bulgarian, Tunisian and Haitian departments of education, without widespread

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[158] Cited in Sylvester, "Mapping": 101.

[159] This goal would place him in opposition to rising Nazi ideology, which later caused him to flee Germany in 1934. However, he did not abandon his enterprise and was responsible for the 1937 founding of the École d'Humanité in Switzerland. See Dennis Shirley, *The politics of progressive education: the Odenwaldschule in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[160] International Folk (Peoples) High School in Helsingor, Denmark

international support he was forced to abandon his bureau in 1914. The start of the First World War and the following years of conflict completed the ruin of his undertaking.

Along with Kemény and Peeters, several other important figures were working on making international education a reality shortly before the First World War. E. Lebonnois envisioned both an international bureau of vacation courses and an international bureau of teaching of foreign languages that eventually led him to envision an International Institute of Education at Caen. Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston was influential in the formation and organization of the International Conference on Education that was set to convene in 1914 but was aborted because of the war. As Andrews argued in 1908, "The teacher of the twentieth century is an international figure, and he can never perform his highest function until he is imbued with this international consciousness. He should stand shoulder to shoulder with his fellow-teachers in the world for the achievement of a higher civilization."[161] That same year, Andrews had formed the American Peace League, which promoted the teaching of "international justice" as a means to promote peace. Walter Scott, also from the United States, introduced a bill to Congress to create an International Board of Education. Like Peeters' plan, these were all halted by the outbreak of war.[162] The efforts of these early pioneers revealed that the support of numerous national governments was required in order to make international education possible; educators working on their own had little impact.

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[161] Andrews, quoted in Fuchs, "Educational Sciences": 775.

[162] David G. Scanlon, "Pioneers of International Education, 1817-1914" *Teachers College Record* Vol. 60 No. 4 (1959): 209.

Regardless of the long history of international education before the First World War, education was not included in the League of Nations Covenant. However, many who had been actively campaigning for international education before the LN tirelessly worked to bring education within the purview of League efforts. One of those striving towards this goal was Dr. Andrews. In 1918, Andrews presented to the Inter-Allied Conference for the League of Nations a resolution for the creation of an international bureau of education. This unofficial conference adopted the resolution and sent her on to present it to the "Big Four" in 1919, but they never discussed the resolution. Indeed, the word "education" did not even appear in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It was not until almost two years later, in 1921, when an international bureau of education began to look feasible. The work of the CICI in the area of intellectual cooperation and child welfare made an opening for education possible in League work. By 1925, the LN had formed the Child Welfare Committee, which also helped justify the establishment of the IBE in the same year. However, there was still confusion regarding the intended aims of an international bureau of education, let alone its structure. Would the IBE form positions in relation to international politics or remain neutral? Would it support a specific political ideology? Would it have a religious affiliation? Would it show preference to internationalism at the expense of nationalism? While the IBE never officially answered these questions, it did claim neutrality, though later, as the Second World War loomed, it began to align itself if not with democracy, at least against fascism. Additionally, although the IBE generally gave deference to national politics, its main goal was promoting cultural internationalism as the means to bring about peace.

Along with Andrews, among the founding members of the IBE were Edouard Claparède, Pierre Bovet and Adolphe Ferrière. The latter presented his overview of "New Education" in 1924—a movement that was central to the goals of the IBE. New Education formed near the end of the nineteenth century in various European countries and the United States. Besides Ferrière, among the supporters of the "New School" were Paul Geheeb as well as Maria Montessori of Italy, John Dewey of the United States, and Cecil Reddie in England. Unlike many of the educational movements that preceded it, it was based on moral, social and political principles. In the 1924 issue of the *Educational Yearbook*, published by Teachers College, Columbia, Ferrière explained New Education to be one that respected the individuality of the child.[163] The educator would train a child to "supremacy of the spirit" with special allowance for the individual interests of that child. Individuality, however, would not mean an allowance of "selfish competition," but an emphasis on cooperation and service to the group. "New education," Ferrière explained, "trains in the child not merely the future citizen capable of fulfilling his duties to his relations, his nation, and humanity as a whole, but also the human being conscious of his human worth."[164] Again, this movement was transnational in that it transcended the nation-state, but did not seek to supersede it.

A number of contemporary, national institutions also studied international education and its organization. Among the most influential was the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia that published the *Educational Yearbook* starting in 1924

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[163] For a full explanation of the characteristics of New Education see Adolphe Ferrière "The New Education Movement: An International Movement" in *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia*, Columbia University Teachers College (1924), 599 - 698.

[164] Ferrière, 600.

and ending in 1944. The United States Office of Education, located in Washington, D. C., actively researched the educational systems of other countries, as did the University of London Institute of Education. The New Education movement established an extensive international network through the cooperation of national journals and organizations, as well as congresses. Journals from countries such as France, Germany, England, Italy and Bulgaria were all in direct contact with one another because of the New Education movement.[165] The LN's publication, the *Educational Survey* (1929-1934), later renamed the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching* (1935-1938), also supported the New Education movement.

Although the previous chapter established that the goals of the Great Powers limited LN internationalism, promoting cultural internationalism was at the center of CICI educational efforts. Though education was left out of the LN Covenant, teaching international cooperation was central not only to the goals of many LN officials, but an important concept they planned to pass on to their own children. Erroneously regarded as the "first" international school, the International School of Geneva, founded in 1924, was formed primarily by parents from the League, with a large number from the International Labor Office. These parents worked in conjunction with Adolphe Ferrière and German scholar and peace activist Elisabeth Rotten.[166] The school taught primary and secondary students in both French and English. Like the international schools that preceded it, the

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[165] Fuchs, "Educational Sciences": 782.

[166] Rotten was an important figure in the New Education Fellowship as vice-chair for German speaking countries and editor of NEF's German language journal *Das Werdende Zeitalter* In 1914 she also co-founded Bund Neues Vaterland (New Fatherland League). See Kevin J. Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era: Creating International Fellowship Through Conferences 1921-1938." *Paedagogica Historica* Vol. 40, No. 5 & 6 (2004): 733-755.

International School of Geneva was centered on educating for an international community. As one report stated, “The school has deliberately set about the task of breaking down the narrowly nationalistic prejudices and building up sympathetic understanding of individuals and groups of other cultures,” the school board explained. “This is achieved most successfully in courses in social science designed to treat modern civilization as a composite of the contributing elements from all the nations now in existence.”[167] Like many LN efforts, the International School of Geneva attempted to subvert national sentiment in favor of international cooperation, but without actually challenging the supremacy of the nation-state.

While it did not overturn national supremacy, archival records reveal the CICI did serve a centralizing role in the formation of international education. For instance, American educationalist G. W. A. Luckey, was able to forward his 1925 pamphlet “The Vital Need of a World Bureau of Education” to the CICI through his connection with American biologist Vernon Kellogg, who put him in touch with CICI member and Polish historian Oskar de Halecki. In turn, Halecki made use of his relationship with British educator and CICI member Alfred Zimmern in order to introduce Luckey to the IBE committee. As Luckey wrote, “the object of my plan is not to multiply organizations, but to correlate and combine them” and the IBE committee, which met at the IIIC at the time, was just the organization that Luckey argued the world needed.[168] Of course, Fannie Fern Andrews had already made a strong, though unsuccessful, case for such an organization

[167] Cited in Sylvester, “Mapping”: 103.

[168] G. W. A. Luckey to Oskar Haleki. 19 December 1925. UNESCO, B.IV.4.

within the auspices of the League of Nations and even her efforts were part of a much longer history of attempts to form an international bureau of education

Propaganda and the Challenge of Nationalism

The methods of peace and war propaganda in the interwar period were in most ways similar. As with other forms of minor utopia, the movement held within it the contradictions that would ultimately destroy it. While the LN may have had a peace-making goal, the differences were only in "degree" from the propaganda supporting efforts of, for instance, fascism.[169] In both cases, education played a central role in propaganda campaigns, albeit the LN was using this toward the ostensible goal of world peace in an organization heavily influenced by the Great Powers, whereas fascist use of education supported the goals of a specific nation-state. Essentially, the CICI hoped that, in order to prevent war, individuals could have both a national and international sense of citizenship. They could both identify with their country of origin and have a coexisting sense of belonging to an international community. In the CICI's view, patriotism, or national citizenship could, and would, coexist with international goodwill.

The promotion of cultural internationalism through education was a principal area of consideration for the CICI because the Committee believed the most radical change of views would be achieved through youth. The CICI utilized the promotion of textbook editing not only as a way to ensure that national histories did not malign other nations and possibly advance hostilities, but also as a way to fundamentally change depictions of war in national histories. The CICI considered this step essential to the goal of peace, or

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[169] See William E. Marsden, "'Poisoned History': A Comparative Study of Nationalism, Propaganda and the Treatment of War and Peace in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century School Curriculum," *History of Education* 29, no. 1 (January 2000): 29–47.

moral disarmament. Swiss historian Gonzague de Reynold argued that although the term "moral disarmament" did not enter the rhetoric until the early 1930s, it had been a goal of the CICI from its inception. In his view, the CICI began directly encouraging national committees to support its efforts towards moral disarmament in 1925 with the proposal raised by Julio Casarés of Spain concerning the revision of school textbooks.

In their July 1925 meeting, the CICI adopted this proposal after some debate over the likelihood of it working. Swiss member Gonzague de Reynold pointed out that previous efforts had been made by those after the First World War who were infused with what he called "international romanticism" and who were convinced that they could "change at a stroke the methods of teaching history and to give their methods a purely pacifist and international character."[170] While pacifism was not their goal, the CICI felt they could effectively "free national teaching from the false judgments and errors which have crept in, more by ignorance than malice, and which mask or disfigure the true aspect of other peoples by attributing to them characteristics which make them unrecognisable and even odious." The Casarés resolution, as the CICI textbook editing process was called among members, followed a process of application, with months in between phases to allow a country to address the issue. First, someone from a country would need to consider it "desirable that a foreign text concerning its country and intended for use in schools should be amended" in order to prevent misunderstanding and then request their national intellectual cooperation committee to submit an application including a draft amendment "on the desired lines." The national committee would then decide if it was a

[170] LNP, "Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Sixth Session," 20 August 1925. C.445.M.165.1925.XII, 14.

worthy request and make "friendly and private" contact with the publisher to propose changes to the textbook. Such requests had to be limited to "fact" and those relating to "personal views of moral, political or religious" issues were "strictly prohibited."[171] After the resolution was also adopted by the wider League, this process expanded to one where the LN representatives of the country were also notified and part of the process. In this way, political pressure was applied in order to maintain reputation with the League.

While also dealing with the issue of preventing misunderstanding, the CICI felt such efforts also needed to be complemented by encouraging cultural internationalism. One way they did this was through the promotion of international student/teacher exchange and an international curriculum. Reporting on a committee meeting of the CICI in 1926, The American Association for the Advancement of Science noted the importance the CICI placed on the exchange of students and professors between countries. The American Association pointed to the words of US delegate Dr. Vernon Kellogg to highlight the significance of international scholarship. "In my opinion," Kellogg stated, "no more important step toward fundamental development in internationalism has been made in recent times than the multiplication of international scholarships for the élite of the younger generation of scholars."[172] To facilitate international scholarship, in 1926 the committee discussed the encouragement of less stringent passport regulations, less expensive visas, the formation of international student associations and travel discounts to international students. Also in their purview were the

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[171] Ibid., 13.

[172] Quoted in "The Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 64, No. 1649 (Aug. 6, 1926): 132.

establishment of information offices in universities and the implementation of courses in internationalism.[173] In 1928, the exchange was expanded to secondary school teachers, which *The British Medical Journal* compared to the exchange of public health workers by the Health Organization, calling both "equally fruitful."[174]

The fear of propaganda, however, severely limited the support the CICI received from individual countries. For instance, Gilbert Murray repeatedly expressed frustration concerning the lack of support he received from the British government for education initiatives. Writing in 1927, after nearly a decade of trying to garner support for the LN, he still found it difficult to convince the British public—which he thought "no doubt tends to be over practical"—that the CICI was "achieving definite and useful results." Though less optimistic at this point, he still thought that there was real interest in education in Britain, especially in a conference of experts on the subject, and this interest merely needed to be cultivated.[175] However, in the following two years he was only successful in securing the "sympathy" of the British government, which did not come in the form of tangible support, such as funding for the IIIC.

While still hopeful and convinced of the need to think transnationally, Murray recognized the challenges facing the CICI in a 15 April 1929 memo to Committee members. He suggested some of the topics that they might discuss in their July 1929 meeting. "In the first place," Murray wrote, "considering the high hopes with which the Commission was inaugurated and the comparative lack of success in realizing those

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[173] Ibid.

[174] "Intellectual Cooperation" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 68, No. 1770 (Nov. 30, 1928): 547.

[175] Gilbert Murray to Julien Luchaire. 25 February 1927. UNESCO, A.I.12: 322-23.

hopes which, through no fault of its own, it has experienced, I cannot but feel that the Commission should make an attempt upon some problem of more general international import likely to arouse wider interest and sympathy." He thought they could pursue topics such as the ill effects of increased specialization "involving not only a decrease in general culture but also a weakening of the spiritual links which bind nations together." While this alarmed him, he recognized the limits of what the CICI could do to address this. He continued: "Of course the Commission could do little more than institute an inquiry in various countries and publish a report without taking up a position; but this report might be of great interest to all scholars, professors and administrative educational bodies, as well as a practical stimulus to intellectual co-operation between nations." He recognized that the CICI's role was largely one of providing national and international education organizations with information, but thought that it was only a matter of time before the approach to teaching history would change. "Sooner or later," he argued, "as Europe gradually realized its essential unity, it seems inevitable that History will be studied in each country less from a national and more from an European point of view." While he felt that "such a change of direction in the teaching of history" was likely better studied by historians during international conferences and then the CICI could continue their work, he thought it was a "subject which should not be entirely forgotten."[176] That he only discusses a European unity is a telling indicator of the CICI's main sphere of influence. He also thought they must take a long view and continue to work towards this goal and the smaller projects that could ultimately support the suppression of national

[176] Gilbert Murray. "Memorandum by the Chairman concerning the future work of the Committee." 15 April 1929. Murray MSS, 281: 84-89.

history in favor of European. His vision of displacing national histories within curriculum in favor of European history was an extremely difficult hurdle, even within his own country of Great Britain, which opposed even the use of an official text of British history, let alone one that emphasized European unity.

Although Murray wrote the *Manchester Guardian* on 9 December 1929 that the British Local Education Authorities had agreed to include the aims and work of the LN as part of school curriculum, a letter written only three days earlier had delivered very bad news. On 6 December 1929, Maxwell Garnett, secretary of the British League of Nations Union, wrote Murray to say that the British Education Committee had reaffirmed it was opposed to an official textbook of British history that included a discussion of the League of Nations and its work. The British Education Committee believed "that teachers should be free to select their teaching material from any and every available source."[177] Murray's frustrations with his government's lack of financial support bubbled over in a personal letter to Labour politician Arthur Henderson in 1931. He explained that the League of Nations Union wanted Great Britain to no longer "stand conspicuously aloof from the work of Intellectual Co-operation" and thought that the government's lack of financial support led Germany also to hold back. He noted that while British individuals and organizations had been active in the work, placed him, an Englishman, as President of the Committee on Education of Youth in the Methods and Spirit of the League, and had insisted on "drastic reform of the Institute on English lines" they continued to "refuse to contribute a penny to the expenses." Aside from putting him, as President, "in an awkward position" he thought it gave the impression the English were "indifferent to

[177] Maxwell Garnett to Gilbert Murray. 6 December 1929. Murray MSS, 207:142.

artistic and intellectual things." Even more alarmingly, he thought, it allowed the League's "opponents to argue that Great Britain does not really care about the spirit of the League or the educational work."[178] While he was concerned about such a public image, lack of financial support from his home country continued to trouble him and certainly, as he suspected, did not go unnoticed by other CICI member countries.

In 1929, while the CICI again noted that each nation was "sovereign unto itself in its conception of the teaching of history," it was still concerned about nationalism and it argued that "the undue spirit of nationalism in the majority of the present handbooks should be abandoned."[179] Again at the urging of Casarés and towards the aim of educating for cultural internationalism, starting in 1929, a series of Educational Surveys[180] were commissioned by the CICI in order to better understand the contemporary nature of education in various countries, the steps needed to promote internationalism in those countries and the impact of efforts towards that goal.[181] A year later, former CICI deputy Mariano Cornejo once again stressed the importance of cultural internationalism. He argued that the goals of peace in CICI efforts differed from those of the Council and the Assembly of the LN because they were aimed at "freeing culture" from "individual and national" mindsets that led countries and individuals to "arrogance and intolerance in respect of the other peoples." He pointed out that at times even

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[178] Gilbert Murray to Arthur Henderson. 24 February 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 24.

[179] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Eleventh Session,* Official No. C.342.M.121.1929.XII (Geneva, 1929), 53.

[180]See League of Nations Educational Surveys 1929-1938.

[181] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Eleventh Session,* Official No. C.342.M.121.1929.XII (Geneva, 1929), 73.

scholars considered it their "duty" to "lend their fame to cover up the errors of their country."[182] In the CICI's view, this tendency had to be reversed and education was the most important sphere in which to bring about this change.

Murray was also concerned and wrote in a letter to British liberal politician Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan arguing that it was "almost impossible to preserve the internationality" of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) when France was heavily contributing to the work, other nations were making considerable contributions and Great Britain and Germany "almost ostentatiously refuse to subscribe a penny." He thought leaving other countries to provide funding for the educational policies British members spearheaded within the LN was a significant error in their foreign policy.[183] While the sting of personal embarrassment brought this issue to the fore, it does illustrate that, just as Molkenboer had noted in 1890, educationalists and governments were still out of step with the value they placed on international education. Lack of funding continued to plague the CICI's efforts in education and the British government was not the only one withholding financial support. For instance, the American National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation ran into similar problems of budget constraints. Namely, in 1931, during the Depression, they were unable to secure funding from the US government for the exchange of secondary school teachers.[184]

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[182] LNP *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Twelfth Session*, Official No. C.428.M.192. 1930. XII (Geneva, 1930), 20.

[183] Gilbert Murray to Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan. 24 February 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 25.

[184] J. David Thompson to Albert DuFour. 28 January 1931. Murray MSS, 280: 73.

In a letter sent on 25 March 1931, which warned that the CICI had to be cautious not to overextend itself, Gilbert Murray suggested that instead of trying to make an inquiry about intellectual life of as many countries as possible, they should instead focus on educational systems in a select few. He suggested they focus on European countries, but they could also consider drawing some comparisons, such as the "reciprocal influences of European and Japanese culture." He thought it could be part of a series studying "the context between higher and lower civilisations and the problem of discovering ways in which the higher may improve the lower without corrupting it."[185] Unfortunately, as long as the mindset of "higher" and "lower" with the possibility of "corrupting" influences existed in the interchange "high" and "low," little could be done to inculcate an international mind.

Later that year, in September, Murray sent a letter revealing another stumbling block to peace—recognizable even in the interactions between the Great Powers—that involved separation of "high" and "low" based on disparaging terminology. As Murray wrote: "However, my motive in writing is to mention to you a woman who would be very good as a secretary in the Disarmament Conference—daughter of Sir Patrick Agnew, League of Nations, very good linguist, married to a Frog, whom she seems to have divorced or put to death, competent all round and a woman of the world."[186] This passage reveals two significant issues. First, it reveals how even a figure who daily supported the need to avoid misunderstanding between nations, was nonetheless apt to use disparaging slang in his personal correspondence. The term "Frog" is a slang, denigrating term for the

[185] Gilbert Murray to J.D. Montenach. 25 March 1931. Murray MSS, 281: 79-80.

[186] Gilbert Murray to Philip Noel Baker. 4 September 1931. Murray MSS, 210:137.

French and in this section Murray seems to be providing a flippant endorsement for divorcing or putting to death said Frenchman. Second, it highlights one of the many roles women took up in relation to disarmament, which often went unnoticed and unattributed. That this woman had divorced or "put to death" her French husband, was likely an important qualification for her being a "woman of the world." It is doubtful that had she sloughed off an English husband it would have gone without negative commentary, but Murray seems to approve in the event it was a Frenchman.

Not only were continuing national stereotypes a significant challenge to their work, but gathering information about the state of textbooks also proved increasingly difficult after those who provided the CICI with information faced backlash in their home countries. For instance, in a letter from J. David Thompson, executive secretary of the US National Committee, to Henri Bonnet in January 1931, it was clear that providing evidence of national histories that might incite conflict was a sensitive undertaking. Thompson cautioned Bonnet to not make public the work the Commission of the American Historical Association had taken up to study national historical textbooks. "Because of the mixture of nationalities in our population," Thompson wrote, "the reform of historical textbooks is a very delicate matter and the writers who have attempted to be truthful rather than nationalistic have been violently attacked by unscrupulous politicians and so-called patriotic organisations."[187] While such challenges were considerable, the CICI continued to call for similar studies in all member countries. However, participation would not expand as long as those who participated were prone to public censure and attack.

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[187] J. David Thompson to Henri Bonnet. 28 January 1931. Shotwell MSS, 153, 154.

Publicly, however, the CICI talked of textbook editing in terms of success. In his opening statement of the Thirteenth Session of the CICI in 1931, Murray noted that some progress had been made in the area of textbook revisions. He affirmed that while a documentary report had found that in "nearly all" the countries studied, world history books were written in a "narrow nationalist spirit," such depictions were no longer considered by many countries to meet "educational requirements."[188] The CICI worked to eliminate from history textbooks (and later geography textbooks, atlases and dictionaries), any phrases which could lead to conflict and prejudicial misunderstanding. Such misunderstandings worked against the ultimate goal of "accustoming the rising generations to regard international co-operation as the best method of conducting world affairs."[189] For instance, looking back on their work in this area while the Second World War raged in 1941, Henri Bonnet, despite the start of another World War, still argued that textbook editing had made important contributions to peace education. In an interview with the executive secretary of the American National Committee on 21 March 1941, Edith Ware paraphrased that he thought "the French and Germans had gotten together very well in their attempt to define what should be taught concerning so-called dangerous periods in history, e.g., the War of 1870." The success had been reported in 1933.[190] "He said," she wrote, "that they had even found formulas for teaching the beginning of the war in 1914 in such a way as not to prejudice one country against the other." The

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[188] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Thirteenth Session,* Official No. C.471.M.201.1931.XII (Geneva, 1931), 13.

[189] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Fifteenth Plenary Session*, Official No. A.14.1933.XII (Geneva, 1933), 5.

[190] And later in connection with La Conférence internationale pour l'enseignement de l'histoire (1935-39).

"footing of equality" he described as an important part of their success in the early 1930s had evaporated by 1941, when, according to Bonnet, the Germans were "attempting to force the French" to write in history textbooks "that the Germans were never the aggressors."[191] However, that Bonnet stressed textbook editing had been a success at the very time his home country of France was under occupation by the Germans is a telling indicator of how effective he thought it could have been—or at least how invested he had been in the work.

It was not only institutions who recognized the danger of historical misinformation in textbooks. Informal networks were also important in this work and the CICI provided a forum for individuals to discuss and seek information about textbooks. For example, in 1933 Roland T. Patten, editor of a small local Maine, US newspaper, was advised to contact the IIIC by the World Peace Foundation because they felt the IIIC would be best able to answer his inquiries. He had asked other places but had not "as yet received a sufficiently helpful answer." He wrote: "I am convinced the textbooks in American schools give an entirely wrong idea of the reason for the entry of the United States into the World War. I presume that textbooks in Germany, France and England or elsewhere are equally erroneous, all no doubt presenting a standard prejudice in favor of the country where the books are used." He felt that each country likely misrepresented the reasons for their entry in the First World War, which might lead to further conflict. He asked the IIIC to furnish him with examples of historical writing on this topic from other countries' textbooks. "When suitably informed I shall be glad to do my part, as an

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[191] Edith Ware. "Conversation: Questions from Princeton in regard to French-German collaboration in regard to revision of History-Text." 21 March 1941. Shotwell MSS, 127.

editor and public speaker, at correcting that unfortunate situation."[192] Letters such as these likely bolstered the CICI's conviction that by providing a central location for discussion and an informational resource they could affect change.

Despite such support, the official publications of the CICI and IBE also reveal tension between international and national interest. The March 1933 volume of the *Educational Survey* was exclusively dedicated to training teachers on how best to give instruction regarding not only the structure of the LN, but also its aims. The disclaimer included in the preface of this volume is illuminating, especially when one considers that it was an overall aim of the CICI to educate for international goodwill. As the introductory note stated, "the fundamental aim of national education is to prepare the younger generation for their future career in the land of their birth… its ultimate goal must be the training of useful citizens." However, while recognizing that nation-states were wary of international influences in the sphere of education, the introduction claimed: "no country can elude the facts of international life. In these days it is no longer possible for each State to tread its own particular path."[193] No doubt a result of the relative impotence of the CICI, the volume also maintained that "national freedom of educational policy must be strictly respected."[194] However, this statement was shortly followed with a contradictory one that better reveals the true aim of the CICI in the area of education. In the view of the CICI, the success of the League would not only affect

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[192] Roland T. Patten to the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. 10 November 1933. UNESCO, I.II.1. Patten also wrote the IIIC in 25 March 1933 and included American textbook sections about WWI for their records (see UNESCO, I.II.1).

[193] LNP, *Educational Survey*, Vol. IV, No 1 (Geneva, March 1933), 5.

[194] Ibid., 6.

public opinion, but would have the result of changing outlooks of international organizations in general. They hoped that this would "lead to a convergence of educational efforts and a *beneficial rivalry* between individuals and the State."[195] Towards this aim, teachers needed to be prepared to promote cultural internationalism through careful training. As Dr. William Russell, dean of Teachers College, Columbia, noted in the 1933 volume, "the school cannot accomplish any purpose in the mind of the pupil unless already there has been achieved a similar purpose in the mind of the teacher." [196] International goodwill had to begin with those in the position to best cultivate such sentiments in the young. "We are all international," Russell continued, "but we do not know it. It is the function of the teacher and the teacher-training institution to bring this to light."[197]

Beyond training teachers, who would then educate students, toward an international mindset, the materials of education also had to be regulated in order to align with CICI goals. The CICI felt the tendency to show "arrogance and intolerance in respect of the other peoples" had to be reversed and education was seen as the most important sphere to bring about this change. [198] "Patriotic they may be," Russell argued in 1933, "they may love their own land beyond all else; but this must be based positively on virtues at home, and not upon evil gossip about others or the belittling of neighboring

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[195] Ibid., 7. Italics are mine.

[196] William Russell, "The Training of Teachers in International Understanding and International Goodwill," E*ducational Survey*, Vol. IV, No 1 (Geneva, March 1933): 81.

[197] Ibid, 85.

[198] LNP *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Twelfth Session*, Official No. C.428.M.192. 1930. XII (Geneva, 1930), 20.

states."[199] Following the First World War, it became painfully obvious just how interdependent nations had become when networks of alliances brought much of the world into war. However, it was the CICI's aim that by calling attention to this interdependence, and having it taught as a reality of life to the rising generation, war could be avoided. Additionally, competition based on "evil gossip" and "belittling" was a recipe for further conflict and the CICI felt that removing such instances fell under their stated mission.

How tension could spark conflict became all too apparent as Germany began to separate itself from the LN. Gilbert Murray, writing 9 September 1933, a little over a month before Germany left the League of Nations, wrote about German Ewald Banse's book *Wehrissenschaft* (Military Science) that glorified war based on ethical value, with some alarm. "It seems hardly right or consistent with our self-respect," Murray argued, "as a serious League Commission to allow this atrocious propaganda, and direct breach of the unanimous [Casarés] Resolution, to be carried on without protest."[200] Henri Bonnet, director of the Institute, outlined the procedure for such a protest, which first involved contacting the German National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and referring to the Casarés resolution. Six months would have to then be given in order for Germany to respond with a plan of action and if they did not do so, the CICI could refer the issue to the League Council.[201]

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[199] LNP, *Educational Survey*, Vol. IV, No 1 (Geneva, March 1933), 88.

[200] Gilbert Murray to J. D. Montenach. 9 September 1933. UNESCO, I.II.1

[201] Henri Bonnet to Gilbert Murray. November 1933. UNESCO, I.II.1.

The following month—the same month that Germany left the LN—the Nazi German government did decide to prohibit the book because of the negative foreign attention it attracted. Banse remained in his post as chair of military science at Brunswick Technical College, despite this ban. Murray wrote 20 October 1933 that he hoped the German decision to leave the LN would "not upset things" while at the same time finding the prohibition of Banse's book "most amusing."[202] German historian Margarete Rothbarth, who worked for the IIIC's "German service" as a sort of liaison between the Institute and Germany, also appreciated this development. She was quite pleased that the German government had "repudiated" Banse's ideas, but pointed out that since he was still a professor of military science he could still spread his ideas through his students. "I wonder," she wrote, "whether the second step will be to forbid him to communicate his ideas verbally."[203] However, the Casarés resolution—as nothing more than a mutual compact between League of Nations members—held no binding effect on Germany after they left the LN. Despite this, *Wehrissenschaft* was not reissued under Nazi rule, even after war broke out.

Like other areas of CICI work, textbook editing was also a Eurocentric concern. As British educationalist Frederick J. Gould pointed out in a memo to the CICI during the same year, whereas he thought the "grand aim" of education "should be a universal co-operation of heart and mind" he thought that textbook editing initiatives had "shown a tendency to a somewhat narrow association with European races." While he agreed with the sentiment of textbook revision, he argued: "I doubt if an intelligent Zulu, or Nigerian,

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[202] Gilbert Murray to Gustay Kullman. 20 October 1933. Murray MSS, 309:40.

[203] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. 23 October 1933. Murray MSS, 309:41.

or Arab, or Hindu peasant, or Chinese farmer, and Malayan trader, etc (and these represent very many millions) would put the same emphasis as Paris and Geneva do on the problem of revision of school books." Not only was Gould emphasizing the Euro-centric nature of this work, but also the different properties of what Murray called "higher" and "lower" civilizations. Gould also thought that this would likely only result in the formation of a "superficial etiquette" in international relations. "Even in intervals of war," he maintained, "the speakers '*pourparlers*' revise their customary language, and use polite terms; then resume the war!"[204] Using the term *pourparler*, or preliminary negotiations, effectively emphasized what he viewed as the ineffective nature of the venture.

Despite Gould's insightful commentary on the limits of textbook editing—and faced with increasing international tensions—the CICI continued their efforts. By 1935, the revision of textbooks had expanded to include the promotion of including "as large a space as possible" to the history of other nations and the prominence in history textbooks to "facts calculated to bring about the realization of the interdependence of nations."[205] The word "calculated" is especially interesting in this context, since it seems to imply a certain amount of willful selection of the "facts" which, as a process, might have been similar to the nationalistic leanings they were attempting to overcome. However, the power that the CICI held in the area of textbook editing was only the power of suggestion. Like the League itself, it had no teeth.

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[204] Frederick J. Gould to CICI. 1933. UNESCO, I.II.1.

[205] LNP *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Seventeenth Plenary Session,* Official No. C.290.M.154.1935.XII (Geneva, 1935), 12.

As one 1935 report stated: “The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has always paid special attention to the rising generation. In particular it has endeavoured to imbue the instruction given in the various grades with a spirit of mutual understanding and to make young people realise the international aspect of the great problems of to-day.”[206] Despite this emphasis on cultural internationalism as a way to solve the “great problems” of the day, what moral disarmament through education was quickly associated with after the start of the Second World War was the defeat of France. While the CICI was not pacifist, the movement itself was tied to the failure of the French to mount a successful defense. The wartime French government, known as Vichy after the town it moved to, specifically blamed such movements for the fall of Paris. For instance, in a conversation with Edith Ware, in March 1941, Henri Bonnet was still concerned about the “problem” of history textbook and felt that “there must be obliteration of Nazi text.” However, he also noted that “it is very difficult to talk of world citizenship to the French” because “the French of Vichy blame the reforms in history text in France for the failure of France.” He showed her a clipping from the French press blaming “Pacifist tendencies of the League for the inability of France to withstand the Germans.”[207] Such a view, though it has been challenged by historians, effectively stalled textbook editing initiatives.

The promotion of internationalism, as a general League goal, was supported by specific nation-states, but also implemented in ways unique to their national sensibilities

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[206] LNP *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Committee on the Work of its Seventeenth Plenary Session,* Official No. C.290.M.154.1935.XII (Geneva, 1935), 4.

[207] Edith E. Ware. “Bonnet’s Recent Discussion in Washington.” 19 March 1941. Shotwell MSS, 127.

and national goals. Historian Mona Siegel addressed what she thought were misunderstood aspects of French history: pacifism, nationalism, and moral disarmament in the interwar years. Arguing against common depictions of the 1940 "Strange Defeat" at the hands of the Germans, Siegel challenged the assumption that moral disarmament and pacifism led to a decline in national sentiment, and thus a quick defeat in 1940. Siegel used a variety of sources, such as the personal writings of teachers, textbooks and school policy, to support her argument that pacifism did not cause a degradation of French nationalism, but that teachers placed moral disarmament and pacifist teachings firmly in patriotic, national rhetoric. As one 1929 lesson read:

> On Monday [November 11] we celebrate the holiday of peace, which recalls the end of the long and terrible war of 1914-1918. On this day, think of the 1,500,000 dead who gave their lives to save us. The League of Nations is in Geneva. Its role is to prevent the return of another scourge as horrible as war. France wants peace, it has always aided and supported the weak…it has always tried to bring all people closer together. Damned be war, and may universal peace unite all men![208]

While this statement effectively illustrated how teachers generally addressed war in French primary classrooms, according to Siegel, moral disarmament, as taught by French teachers, was not to blame for the 1940 defeat. The pacifism taught in French schools the interwar years was militant pacifism. As normal school director Max Hébert wrote in 1931, "In the current state of our civilization, along with the new forces of peace, symbolized in the institutions of the League of Nations, armed forces remain necessary for the very defense of peace and justice." As the Fellowship of Reconciliation pointed out in 1922, this approach was essentially a form of hoping for the best, but arming for

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[208] Cited in Mona Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 157.

the worst. Hébert continued: “It is the duty of educators to make their students understand why they will one day be soldiers, citizen-soldiers.”[209] In France, international cooperation and moral disarmament, while taught as ideals to cultivate for world peace, were not promoted at the expense of nationalism.

While Vichy’s blame may have been misplaced, it was nonetheless a potent deterrent for other countries. After the Second World War, not only were textbook editing initiatives tied into this severely damaging association, so was the term moral disarmament itself. Indeed, the term fell out of favor after the outbreak of the Second World War because of its connections to not only the League of Nations, but also France’s defeat and Vichy’s subsequent blame.

Conclusion

As the interwar history of LN education reveals, promoting transnational thinking was not an easy task. Competing national goals, as well as insufficient motivation were central to how long it took to form an international centralizing organization. As this chapter has argued, these same limitations plagued the work of the IBE and similar work in the CICI. Fears of propaganda, rivalry between nation-states, and an unwillingness in national governments to fund the CICI’s education work all severely limited their progress. However, the CICI was essential in the formation of the IBE and therefore the first true realization of a centralizing body for international education. This chapter has used the example of textbook editing to illustrate the specific use of these networks within the context of the CICI. Textbook editing was central to moral disarmament

[209] Quoted in Siegel, 184.

efforts made within the movement and, while limited by national agendas, did provide a platform for discussion of national histories on a then-unprecedented international scale.

The outbreak of the Second World War, although it did not destroy the IBE (it continues to this day), did crush the League of Nations in its pre-war structure. However, the Second World War did not completely sever the links made in the interwar years in the areas of education and intellectual cooperation. In 1942, while the war still raged, the United Kingdom hosted the Conference of Allied Ministers in Education, which led to a United Nations conference in November of 1945 centered on the establishment of an educational and cultural organization. Thirty-seven countries, including the United States, which was conspicuously absent from the League of Nations, founded the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).[210] Two main pre-war organizations were folded into UNESCO: the CICI, including its executing agency the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC), and the IBE. The CICI and IBE worked as separate, cooperative organizations until they were combined into UNESCO.[211] That these institutions merged following the Second World War is illustrative of their close working relationship in the interwar years.

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[210] Germany and Japan would not join until 1951. Spain, 1953. The USSR, 1954. China, 1971.

[211] The IBE remained autonomous and kept its Geneva headquarters. Notably, UNESCO, though clearly a United Nations institution, settled in Paris, the same as the IIIC.

Chapter Four: Anti-War Film and Fascism

The influence of film was significant in the interwar period. In a 1924 report, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) director Julien Luchaire likened the "latest film from Los Angeles" to the influence of the Bible and the Qur'an. "This new and extraordinarily efficient instrument of intellectual action is intrinsically international," he argued. "The mere possibility that the cinema might become a great universal art should earn the attention of all who have the intellectual future of humanity at heart."[212] Such international goodwill, the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (CICI) hoped, would prevent any future outbreak of war. Although film had been used effectively by national governments as propaganda to support their war efforts during the First World War, the CICI believed it also had the power to engender anti-war sentiment. However, as was the case with moral disarmament and the textbook editing initiative, hopes regarding the internationalizing potential of film were directly challenged as another World War loomed, the sound film undermined the international character of the medium, and—faced with worsening economies and rising threats—nation-states cultivated patriotic fervor to support governmental aims.

In 1924, the French government offered to house a cinematographic institute in Paris that would work closely with the already established IIIC, but mounting criticism that intellectual cooperation was unduly influenced by the French caused the CICI to seek funding elsewhere. While Italy would ultimately take up the funding for such an institute, inquiries and studies about film were undertaken by the CICI for several more years

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212 "Relations of the Cinematograph to Intellectual Life," Quoted in William Marsten Seabury, *Motion Picture Problems* (New York, 1929), 237-9.

before an institute was officially formed. In 1928, the Italian government founded the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), with its seat in Rome at Villa Torlonia. Soon after, the IECI formed an international journal that published submitted articles, editorials and reports called the *International Review of Educational Cinematography* (*IREC*). The IECI encouraged the production, exchange and distribution of educational films, as well as the study of all aspects of its effect on viewers and audience reception. Italian politician, jurist, CICI member and president of the IECI Alfredo Rocco, explained the Institute's work as the effort "to find out everything that is going on in the world in connection with Educational Film; to make known everything that may help towards a wider diffusion of the Educational Films; to carry on unceasing propaganda in support of the idea."[213] While the goals of the IECI were very broad, this chapter will focus on one main area: anti-war film as a minor utopian moment. The following chapter will address another important focus of the IECI concerning the moral censorship of film.

The CICI was trying to mediate cultural production. To work internationally to attempt to change mentalities was a unique—and challenging—approach to peace. With the rise of new types of media, including film and radio communication, the option to reshape public opinion seemed like it could be a reality. Of course, education and film were ultimately very effective tools for militant nationalism. While ostensibly a limb of the League of Nations that worked closely with the CICI, the IECI was heavily

[213] LNP, "International Educational Cinematographic Institute: Report by M. Alfredo Rocco, President of the Governing Body of that Institute" in *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Eleventh Session,* Official No. C.342.M.121.1929.XII (Geneva, 1929), 77.

influenced by fascism. Benito Mussolini took a special interest in the IECI from its opening and attended weekly film screenings. Presidents of the institute were also high-ranking individuals in the Italian fascist regime.[214] While this did not directly affect the content of League films, it did limit the influence of the institute and ultimately led to its comparatively short-lived tenure. Although the IECI remained open until 1938, it was largely inactive after 1935. Fascist influence is increasingly observable in the writings of the institute in the 1930s, especially the closer it time it was to 1937, when Italy left the League of Nations (LN). However, the IECI made a true effort, especially when the institute was first formed, to gather and consolidate international attitudes towards film. In 1928, the fascist president of the IECI, Luciano de Feo, was offset by the inclusion of German, American and British members in the first board of directors.

This chapter assesses the impact of fascism on the work to the League of Nations film initiative. This context will provide an important foundation for discussing anti-war film in this chapter and the development of moral film censorship in the following one. This chapter argues that while the IECI was undoubtedly fascist, its journal still accommodated a wide range of cultural and ideological contributions, opening an important field for debating the influence of war films. Because of their broad definition of what constituted "educational" film, the IECI accommodated discussions of how film of all types, including commercial films, could educate viewers. This broad definition made space for a debate about children's exposure to war films and sparked a number of surveys aimed at studying their influence. Half a decade before the rise of the mass survey, and before the technique of sampling, the IECI took on the impressive task of

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[214] Christel Taillibert, *L'institute International du Cinematographe Educatif* (Paris, 1999), 99-100.

gathering thousands of survey responses from children regarding children's film preferences and the influence of film on their development. This chapter illustrates how the IECI used these findings to transform a debate about the possible anti-war effect of film to one that ultimately supported patriotic warfare, thereby quashing the CICI's minor utopian hope for anti-war film from within.

Historiography

Only a handful of recent works have addressed League of Nations film, but they very effectively argue the undoubtedly fascist nature of the IECI. While topics such as Soviet and German propaganda or Hollywood's support of consumer culture have been well researched, a satisfactory scholarly examination of the IECI has been neglected. As Zoë Druick, Canadian professor of communication, pointed out in 2007, the IECI, an organization which lies at the "centre of these issues," has largely remained absent from serious research in film studies. Druick tackled the question of why the IECI's legacy had been "erased from the field of film studies."[215] She noted that its location within fascist Italy might have caused the IECI to be effectively pushed into obscurity. As Druick pointed out, "for the most part, film studies has opted to cleanse film history of its taint by both official politics and the institutions designed to apply political aims through education."[216] The "taint" of fascism no doubt has had an influence on why the IECI has received, until recently, little attention from historians.

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[215] Zoë Druik, "The Rome Institute of Educational Cinematography, Reactionary Modernism, and the Foundation of Film Studies" *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, Vol 16, No 1 (2007): 80.

[216] Ibid., 81.

Much of this work has focused on the influence of fascism. Historian of communication Jürgen Wilkes challenged the common negative depiction of the IECI as a propaganda organ for Italian fascism, with the example of the Institute's influence on German Jewish film theorist Rudolf Arnheim.[217] Arnheim worked for the IECI in Italy as a researcher from 1933 until the institute closed in 1938. In 1934, when the magazine *Cinema Quarterly* accused the institute of being a propaganda service for Mussolini, Arnheim went to the IECI's defense. "I have been working for over a year in the Institute," he stated, "I am a foreigner and I believe myself unbiased. In all cases I have been in a position to observe that it was Luciano de Feo's endeavor to secure the collaboration of outstanding men in all countries and to make use of the material supplied by them in the spirit of international objectivity." Of Italian motivation in funding the IECI, he noted, "because it would enhance Italy's prestige in so important a factor of modern life as the film had its international headquarters in Rome."[218] While prestige was certainly a factor, Arnheim overestimated the IECI's "spirit of international objectivity." Though the following two chapters take a similar approach as Wilkes in pointing out that women were able to take advantage of fascist ideology in order to take part in the debate surrounding the influence of film on children, this does not change the underlying fascist propaganda efforts of the IECI.

It was no accident that Luciano de Feo, the president of *L'Union Cinematografica Educative* (LUCE)—an Italian agency charged with production of film "for the purposes

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[217] Jürgen Wilke, "Cinematography as a Medium of Communication: The Promotion of Research by the League of Nations and the Role of Rudolf Arnheim," *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (1991): 337.

[218] Arnhiem, 1935, quoted in Wilke, 351-2.

of beneficence and national patriotic propaganda"—was also appointed by Mussolini as president of the IECI. Mussolini viewed film as "*l'arma più forte*" (the strongest weapon) in his propaganda campaign.[219] No doubt also because of Italy's desire to thoroughly study this "strongest weapon," the IECI took the role of gathering international views towards film seriously. In order to analyze these views, one of the IECI's first tasks was to assemble a list of various educational film institutions, groups and publishers to make them aware of the formation of the IECI. The institute sent out almost nine thousand letters to locations all over the world.[220]

In the early work of the IECI, the power of film to support cultural internationalism was highlighted. "By the cinema language frontiers and even the limits of civilizations are overcome," the first article in the first edition of the *IREC* proclaimed. The editors continued: "it is indispensable that the Governments should recognise the high educational and moral power possessed by the new organization to develop sentiments of international solidarity and pacification amongst the peoples by means of a deeper reciprocal knowledge of their customs, traditions, and their way of thought and of living."[221] However, only a few short years later, articles emphasizing the importance of nationalism displaced this utopian narrative of the power of film. Indeed, as more aggressive nationalism came to prominence in the 1930s, the League's preference for

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[219] Quoted in Richard Maltby, "The Cinema and the League of Nations" in Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby, eds. *"Film Europe" and "Film America": Cinema Commerce and Cultural Exchange 1920-1939* (Devon, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 96.

[220] Taillibert, 153.

[221] Louis Dop, "The Role and the Purpose of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute" *International Review of Education Cinematography*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July, 1929): 21-22. *International Review of Education Cinematography* hereafter cited as *IREC*.

international cooperation in the production and distribution of film fell out of favor. This was illustrated in a 1933 article of the *IREC* where Italian author Alberto Consiglio maintained that it was "the duty of the modern state to influence the character of cinematographic production directly and to impose certain limitations within which the views of life must be kept. There must not be a conflict with the views of the state."[222] The French Republic—influenced by Enlightenment ideals—Italy's goal to create a "New Man" under Mussolini's fascist government, and the influence of the "American Way" in the United States, were all clearly distinct in their motivations regarding film and its content during the 1920s. However, in one way they were similar: they each supported their own nationalist agendas.[223]

IECI goals went beyond gathering knowledge and included studying the power of the cinema to influence public opinion. "We should wonder," said LN worker Fayette Ward Allport, "if films faithfully reflect thought about the nation or if our national thought stretches simply to reflect them."[224] The assumption that national thought *would* "stretch" to conform to the ideas of film was basic to League efforts in the area of cinematography. Additionally, war films, even those considered more theatrical than educational, were considered by some to be of clear value in anti-war education. This sparked a debate in the *IREC*, discussed later in this chapter.

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[222] Alberto Consiglio, "The Social Function of the Cinema," *IREC*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (November, 1933).

[223] See Christel Taillibert, "De l'idéologie d'État au film d'éducation : itinéraire comparé de la France, de l'Italie et des États-Unis dans les années vingt," *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal. Littératures, Histoire des Idées, Images, Sociétés du Monde Anglophone*, no. Vol. IV - n°3 (September 1, 2006): 29–43.

[224] IIIC, *Le Role Intellectuel du Cinéma* (Paris, 1937), 267.

Although the ultimate lack of neutrality of the institute is a vital consideration, it is important to note that it was still influential in both Europe and beyond. For instance, by 1932, France, Germany, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Holland, China and Chile all had national film committees associated with the IECI, though one could argue that these countries were just as interested as Italy in studying how film could be effectively used for propaganda. Additionally, the British Film Institute was indebted to the work of both the IECI and LUCE. However, as the Depression wrecked economies, nationalism began to overtake sentiments of international cooperation. With Italy's 1935 invasion of Abyssinia, and resulting LN economic sanctions, support for the IECI quickly dissipated. A few months after the invasion, in December of 1935, *Intercinè (*as the *IREC* was then called) ceased publication. *Intercinè*, unlike the *IREC*, had not maintained a commitment to dialogue and articles remained in their language of origin. The final publication of the IECI was *Cinema*, which was only published in Italian for national consumption. Although the Institute remained open until 1937, it was largely inactive. By the time it ceased publication, the *IREC* had over two thousand subscriptions and can still be found at quite a number of libraries.[225]

However, while influenced by fascism and subsequently short-lived, the IECI did provide an environment for transnational exchange. Questions about the influence of film on children, which were mainly being addressed in the United States and the United Kingdom in the interwar years, were given an international forum through the *IREC*. The *IREC* was published in multiple languages and, although circulation was limited, was therefore available to a wider international readership. Like broader LN efforts, the IECI

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[225] See Druick: 85.

was not ultimately successful in preventing war, but it was based on a system of transnational exchange that, while limited, created transnational connections among intellectuals. For instance, Rudolf Arnheim's tenure as researcher for the IECI helped shape his views towards film, which informed his influential writings on art, psychology, and visual perception.[226] The *IREC* attracted the contribution of a wide range of individuals; in part due to degree Italian Fascism could accommodate cultural and ideological diversity.[227] Women used this international platform to insert their voice into the debate over anti-war film, as well as moral censorship (discussed in the following chapter).

The International Educational Cinematographic Institute

In the context of the League of Nations, film became the technological medium that encompassed efforts made in a variety to areas—from health and social conditions, to the shaping of public opinion. In League formulation, it was closely tied to broader social issues such as morality and education and was considered a powerful medium for social and educational development.[228] The League provided an international platform to discuss film and modernization, carefully billing itself as extra-governmental to avoid claims of self-interest. While the League carefully projected non-self-interest, Italy was far from a disinterested when they offered to fund an institute to consolidate League film

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[226] See Rudolf Arnheim *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye* (Berkeley: University of California Press , 1954), *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), and *The Power of the Center: A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[227] See Jacqueline Reich, "Mussolini at the Movies: Fascism, Film, and Culture," in *Re-viewing Fascism* (Indiana University Press, 2002), 2-6.

[228] Druik, 82.

work. Italy had multiple motivations, including the desire to compete with the French IIIC, displace German and French dominance of the European film industry, and improve how other countries viewed them as a modernizing force.[229]

Towards these goals, the IECI set about the task of gathering any and all materials associated with educational cinematography. It was not long before they had a collection considered to be the largest in the world. Among this collection were fifteen thousand pamphlets published between 1890 and the latter part of the 1920s. The Institute also subscribed to 742 newspapers and periodicals and actively collected any yearbooks, books and catalogues published on the topic.[230] The IECI's collection of films was also rumored to be extensive, but because the archive was lost during the Second World War, it is difficult to know just how many films were in its library. Arguably, this collection was necessary to support the sweeping goals of the IECI, which sought the daunting task of "collecting everything in the world" in order to examine:

> …the nature of cinema as related to the social life of today; the influences of the cinema on the spiritual and mental state of children and young people; precocious criminality and morbid exaltation; the development of abnormal nervous and psychic powers; the development of sensual tendencies; the influence of the cinema on the mentality of country folk and uneducated persons in general…on the formation of a civic, political, religious and national consciousness… on the formation of manners, habits, standards of living, extravagance, luxury, character, etc…. Our Institute desires…to attack all of these problems systematically, with the help of qualified experts…to carry out enquiries throughout the world, even in the remotest countries; to make a world investigation into the exact views held by all the principal students, psychologist, philosophers, teachers, criminologists, sociologists, etc. …We hope thus to secure…an effective system of cooperation with the great cinema industry in

[229] Taillibert, *L'Institut international du cinematographe educatif*, 99.

[230] Druick, "Reactionary Modernism": 84.

researches designed to bring about the constant improvement in the type of film produced.[231]

In other words, the IECI wanted to study cinema as commodity, art, educational tool, and, no doubt carefully inserted in the center of their goals, regime builder.

Although the exact goals of the IECI may have been overly broad, it started setting out its ideas from the inauguration in a monthly multilingual journal entitled the *International Review of Educational Cinematography* (*IREC*), later renamed *Intercinè* in its final year of publication. The publication ran from 1929 until 1935 (two years before Italy left the LN in 1937) and was published in Italian, Spanish, French, German and English. A variety of contributors, including politicians, academics and technical innovators, debated the role of film in contemporary life. In addition to these contributors, the *IREC* published reviews of documentary films, extended studies on the effect of film on viewers, especially children, as well as reports of film's use in the areas of education, health, and work efficiency. Readers were also kept informed of the proceedings of international film conferences.

In the preface to the *IREC's* first publication in July 1929, the goals of the IECI were clearly outlined as not only studying the effect of film, but how film could be used to promote closer relations between countries and educate the populace. The IECI noted in this preface that reports "from far India and torrid Africa" described the cinema "as the most powerful means of propaganda and culture" and that these reports, as well as the continuing debate over film legislation, would be closely considered. Indeed, from the outset the IECI emphasized that the influence of film on illiterate populations proved "the

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[231] LNP, "Communicated by M. de Feo, Director of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute," Child Welfare Committee, Fifth Session, (Geneva, 1929).

evident importance of this new instrument of civilization, the need of it that is being felt everywhere as a medium of science and knowledge." They continued, commenting that it was necessary for "all nations to take an interest in it with a view to directing it towards the maximum welfare of the peoples."[232] The IECI aimed to provide a consolidated field of debate for all nations in the development of cinematography.

As mentioned above, although film was a widely considered topic of interest to the LN, it was not until Italy volunteered to fund a film institute in 1928 that it had an official central location for study. While Italy provided funding for the IECI, it was not located in Geneva, but rather in Rome. This was not without precedent. As previously explained, its close intellectual complement, the CICI, established the office for the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in a Paris location in 1925. Just as in the case of the establishment of the IIIC in France—discussed in chapter one—the IECI's establishment in Rome indicated that Italy had motivations beyond providing a neutral ground for studying international film concerns. Indeed, in an article immediately following the preface of the July 1929 edition of the *IREC*, the autonomous nature of both the IIIC and the IECI were emphasized several times by *IREC* editors.

In the article "The Role and the Purpose of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute" French agriculturalist Louis Dop argued that the formation of the IECI—under the inspiration of Benito Mussolini—was a direct result of the "tendency more and more marked in the different peoples to direct their various efforts and conceptions toward a collaboration and a cooperation which becomes every day more close between the nations" in order to "establish the foundations of the kingdom of peace

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[232] *IREC*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July, 1929): 11.

amongst the men of goodwill."[233] However, after establishing the autonomous nature of all other such organizations, including the IIIC, he stated that while the IECI would maintain close working relations with the League of Nations he placed heavy emphasis on the IECI's autonomous nature. He stated that, "like all other special organisations already in being, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, is juridically distinct from the League of Nations. It has been created by the Italian State in order to develop an international collaboration in the educational field by means of the educational film."[234] As was in the case with the establishment of the IIIC in France, the IECI enhanced Italy's prestige and hosting it in their own country underscored Italy's autonomy. At the same time, the location helped explain Italy's considerable influence on the institute's work. While competition with the 1924 bid for a French film institute that would have been set up in Paris under the guidance of the CICI was one motivation, opening up an educational film institute in Rome helped solidify Italy's position in competition with France and Germany for dominance of the European film industry. The country was especially keen to consolidate their professed influence in cultural production and organization.[235] An institute studying educational film helped improve Italy's international reputation as a modern country advanced beyond its neighboring nation-states.

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[233] Louis Dop, "The Role and the Purpose of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute" *IREC*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July, 1929): 12.

[234] Ibid, 19.

[235] Druick, 84.

Film and Anti-war Education

Within the context of the IECI, the term "educational" was broadly defined. Depending on the context, it could refer to the education of children and adults, but could also mean moral education or even scientific progress. This vague formulation allowed for the discussion of all types of film, including commercial, and may mislead present day readers accustomed to clearly defined film genres and a separation between educational and commercial film. Of most concern to the IECI was the power of film to influence social development. The CICI and IECI recognized the power of visual stimulus to encourage international attitudes in young people. "For some time past," stated a 1935 CICI report, "all who consider one of the bases of international organisation to be a real knowledge and intelligent understanding of the different national outlooks have realized the importance of performances which appeal primarily to the eye." The report compared the use of the cinema to that of broadcasting because "maximum advantage" could be attained when trying to promote cultural internationalism.[236]

Films supporting anti-war sentiment were of special interest to the League, though as the *IREC* reported several times over the years (discussed below), the influence of war films was not reliable. In 1925, after production in Great Britain with Hans M. Neiter as director, the LN adopted and began to disseminate its first film entitled *Star of Hope*. This film was widely disseminated by the LN to schools and viewed by a large number of children.[237] The twenty-minute film outlined both the evils of war and the benefits of the

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[236] LNP, *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report on the Work of its Sixteenth Plenary Session*, Official No. C.399.M.156.1934.XII (Geneva, 1934), 41.

[237] C. M. Wilson, "The League of Nations on the Screen," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1930): 717.

League of Nations and was sent with a pamphlet for teachers suggesting ways to use it in their curriculum. The content mainly consisted of cobbled together scraps discarded from a range of information film reels with the addition of "cleverly drawn diagrams and maps" complemented by stills of documents procured from the British Imperial War Museum and from international organizations such as The Save the Children Fund.[238] The film was later remade in a longer form in 1926 under the title *The World War and After* also directed by Neiter.

In addition to promoting *Star of Hope*, for *IREC* readers who believed in the power of film to instill anti-war sentiment—either through education about peace or by instilling a horror of war—the *IREC* pointed out films they thought would be particularly helpful. For instance, the IECI felt the 1929 film *Pitiless* was of "incontestable social value" because it depicted the "horror of the war that disseminated death and destruction on the fields of battle."[239] Other LN films mentioned by the *IREC*, but now lost, included a film supporting League efforts against drug trafficking in the 1920s entitled *Drowsy Drugs*.[240] Films utilized by the League's International Labor Organization, were of a more general educational nature, such as *Reinforced Concrete*, *Modern Lighting*, *The Romance of Oil*, *Apple Time in Evangeline's Land*, *Underwear and Hosiery*, and *Fresh from the Deep*, a film about fishing, all focused on labor and consumption.[241]

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[238] "The League of Nations on the Screen: Five Years Educational Experiment," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1920): 718.

[239] "Notes Taken from Reviews and Papers," *IREC*, Vol. 1. No. 3 (September, 1929): 358.

[240] "'Drowsy Drugs': Educational Film," *IREC*, Vol. 4, No. 11 (November, 1932): 883.

[241] "The Cinema as an Auxiliary to the Scientific Organization of Labor," *IREC*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September, 1929): 338-41.

Motherhood and *Baby's Birthright*, which discussed breast-feeding, centered on family care issues and reproduction. These films presented accepted social values, such as in the case of *Motherhood*, directed in 1933 by Jean Benoit-Lévy and Marie Epstien, which campaigned against the practice of voluntary childlessness. *Motherhood* will be discussed at length in the following chapter. The *IREC* addressed far too many films to assess here, and so I have focused on those discussed in relation to anti-war film, patriotic warfare and children's reaction to films.

The IECI not only reported on protracted studies and surveys done by other institutions and groups, but also took part in empirical surveys of education and the cinema. These surveys were enacted by the IECI half a decade before the mass survey became popular in the United States during the mid 1930s. The IECI's first survey was ambitious in nature with a total of twenty-four thousand questionnaires distributed through schools to children in Italy. The daunting task of sifting through all of the responses overtaxed the personnel resources of the Institute and led them to take on future efforts on a less extensive scale.[242] This first study asked questions relating to the emotional states provoked by films, physical fatigue, war sentiment and frequency of attendance. Later surveys asked students, both in Italy and abroad, to discuss their preferred types of films and favorite stars and polled them on the connection between literacy and the understanding of film. These were not related to content analysis of any particular set of films, but studied audience response to certain film genres, such as war, gangster or cowboy films.

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[242] See Wilke, "Cinematography as a Medium of Communication": 343.

Reports in the *IREC* concerning the possible anti-war value of war films—by showing the true cost of war—were more common in the early years of publication. This hope in the power of film to engender anti-war sentiment, however, was short-lived. In 1929-1931, contradictory articles lauding the benefits of war films to support peace agendas and those cautioning that they actually served to exalt war in the minds of viewers stood side-by-side in the *IREC*. After 1932, more emphasis was placed on the power of film to support war (rather than anti-war) sentiment. Beginning in 1929, the *IREC* had disseminated a number of inquiries through questionnaires published in the journal. Replies were received and analyzed by the IECI and the most interesting quotations were published as a response.[243] In this way, a much broader range of national and cultural views towards the influence of film were given voice in the *IREC*. These studies revealed that war was a popular cinematic theme for adults as well as children. Similarly, the 1929 LN report "Children and War Films: An Enquiry" found that there was a strong correlation between watching war films and anti-war sentiment in children. "It is one thing to know about war and to be told of its evils, quite another to envisage it as something real and appalling," the enquiry stated. "War films, however, censored, modified, doctored, or distorted, come to children as a revelation. They are the first glimpse of modern war as a real thing…"[244] According to the study, what was more important than the theme of war in films was the way it was depicted. Films that lauded

[243] For instance, see "A World Enquiry," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March, 1930): 241-46 and "The Cinema and the School," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (May 1931): 445-54.

[244] LNP *Educational Survey* (Geneva, July 1929): 22-3.

war had the effect of making it more popular to young viewers, whereas those that focused upon the consequences of war garnered anti-war sentiment.

When editors of *IREC* reported on this 1929 LN study, they noted that while they considered it valuable, they also stressed that the study only reflected the opinions of the children of certain families in Yorkshire, England and was “not necessarily the universal viewpoint.”[245] The unattributed *IREC* article pointed out that of the 1100 children who responded with anti-war sentiments, some pointed out the positive effects “war brings out,” for instance, “50 pointed to patriotism and 28 to the development of character.”[246] The IECI argued that the responses of the students reflected the pacifist teaching of the area’s schools and that the minority of students in favor of war cited excitement, glory and patriotism as their reasons. The article closed by once again stating that more studies had to be conducted “in all countries that took part in the war” in order to gather a “volume of opinion which, though neither fundamental nor final for adjudicating a social problem of such immense scope and magnitude, may influence the thought of future generations through the life and thought of the children of to-day, who will grow into the men and women of to-morrow.”[247] Considering the first IECI survey had only been sent to Italian children, it is telling that the *IREC* editors criticized the LN on grounds of its limited scope. How were English children’s responses less representative than Italian? National competition and disagreement with the goals of the Fascist state seem to be the obvious answer.

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[245] “Children and War Films,” *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March, 1930): 289.

[246] Ibid., 290.

[247] Ibid., 291.

During the same year, as part of their study tracking what interested children about film in Switzerland, the IECI found patriotism to be a common reason for the popularity of war films. The editors shared what they called a "characteristic answer" for this theme:

> The war subjects are especially interesting; they show how one ought to behave, even in the most difficult moments, in order to serve one's country. We learn there to know the life of the soldier at the front and the damage cause by the war; we see the mines laid by the enemy.[248]

While these initial surveys established the popularity of war films, it was not clear if war films created an aversion to war in children. As a 1930 article in the *IREC* stated, "All those concerned with the study of social problems are unanimous in regarding the question of the influence of the screen on the minds and education of children and young people as the most crucial of all questions connected with the cinematograph."[249] They may have been unanimous in considering the influence of film on children an important matter, but contributors to the *IREC* were certainly not unified in their views of whether or not children should be exposed to war films.

While a topic of concern from the start of the IECI, a debate was sparked in the September 1930 *IREC* issue concerning whether or not children should see films depicting war. French writer Marianna Hoffman, while recognizing the possible ill effects of the cinema, emphasized its educational value in her *IREC* article. She argued that "commercial films frequently have a disturbing effect upon the minds and emotions of young people. They confuse the judgment, dull the moral sense and by the power of

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[248] André de Maday, "An Enquiry Respecting the Cinematograph Made in the Schools of Neuchâtel, Lausanne and Geneva", *IREC*, Vol 1, No 6 (December, 1929): 659.

[249] "The Cinema and Children," *IREC*, Vol. 2, Is. 1 (January, 1930): 43.

suggestion lead to acts of crime." Indeed, she wrote that, because of the common emphasis on sensuality, for young girls they could be a "training-ground for the streets." That said, she still felt: "Nevertheless, children cannot and should not be prevented from seeing pictures, which can be of very great educative value."[250] Writing a month later, Swiss contributor and film scholar Eva Elie more strongly stated this case in relation to war films in her article "Should War Films be Seen by Children?" She noted that this question was still under debate, with censorship in some countries even prohibiting "an impartial document" such as Léon Poirier's 1928 documentary film *Verdun*.

Elie argued that in too many cases the choice was left to parents, who were more apt to allow their children to watch comedic presentations of war. She viewed the choice of the comedic representation as a mistake: "No doubt, laughter and gaiety are as necessary for children as they are for adults, but what idea of war will the men and women of to-morrow derive from all these scenes of 'fun in the trenches' with Charlie Chaplin in the midst of it, *if the other side of the picture is not shown*?"[251] When she mentioned "fun in the trenches" she was referring to the 1918 film *Shoulder Arms!*, which depicted actor and film director Chaplin, a private in the army, doing heroic deeds, fighting back and routing the Germans in comedic fashion.[252] Rather than comedic representations, Elie thought children should views films such as King Vidor's *The Big Parade* (1925). She felt the latter to be one of the first war films to show the cost of war, including death and dismemberment. Elie felt that scenes of sadness and loss connected

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[250] Marianna Hoffman, "Children and the Cinema," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (September, 1930): 1075.

[251] Eva Elie, "Should War Films Be Seen by Children?" *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (October, 1930): 1177. Italics in original.

[252] Chaplin wrote, directed and starred as "Doughboy" in the film.

to certain war films would imbue children "with the spirit of peace nurtured by hatred of slaughter" and submitted a formal recommendation that the IECI should take on the task of searching out films that would provide such an education.[253]

The editors of the *IREC* added a very lengthy note to her recommendation pointing out the "delicate" nature of such a suggestion and maintained that an empirical examination of the question would have to be undertaken before they could successfully answer her title question. They did, after many disclaimers, write: "War is not heroism alone. It is also tragedy, death, destruction, however inevitable these may be. And when it is combined with sentiment or an artificial plot, it loses its aspects of truth and even confuses and misleads the spectator." The IECI wrote that the documentary war film "might perhaps within certain limits be shown to children and young people accompanied by the necessary comments," but they were not sure this would be the case with the dramatic film. The *IREC* editors were also careful to repeat that the question would "remain unsettled" until studies assessed the value of war films in a variety of countries and different social factors.[254]

In January 1931, another Swiss contributor and school headmaster, R. Duvillard, made a case for increased state censorship and disagreed strongly with Elie. He wrote: "Madame Elie's article shows—quite unintentionally, I admit—the impossibility of deciding for others what is educational and what is not." He argued that questions of film selection were the responsibility of the father, as head of the family. He continued: "They must be prepared, she says, to face the struggle for life and death that human laws decree.

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[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid., 1179-80.

This is an opinion, not a fact." He felt that it would be impossible to study the effect of the war film on children, especially considering that children were "incapable of analysing their feelings."[255] The *IREC* editors again intervened with a lengthy note, pointing out that Elie had been writing specifically about war films and that Duvillard did not propose a "practical solution" to the problem of moral censorship. They called for empirical study and asked readers to write in with their opinions about what they thought was the essential question: "is Government film censorship advisable or is it not?"[256] With this intervention they very effectively channeled the discussion to consider a wider debate: how to deal with the competing national views regarding state film censorship.

Although she did not answer the question posed by the *IREC*, Elie did take umbrage at Duvillard's dismissal of her views. She challenged Duvillard's argument that it should not be up to the state what a child should view or read; pointing out this was a "strange opinion" for a headmaster at a state school with a prescribed curriculum. If history texts could be assigned, then why not films, she challenged. "In the past," she wrote, "history, except for certain happy peoples, has meant mainly a long list of battles, victories and defeats, but without that counterpart essential to an understanding of the whole truth—*the price of glory*. Animated records of war can make good this omission and inspire a love of peace by showing the horrors of war."[257] She argued that they should use every means available to destroy war, "including the faithful picture of war itself. The method is not a new one. Medical science has long applied it under the name

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[255] V. Duvillard, "The Censorship of Films for the Young," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1931): 137.

[256] Ibid., 140.

[257] Eva Elie, "Casus Belli," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (June, 1931): 556-57. Italics in original.

of homoeopathy."[258] While supportive of this method, it is telling that Elie did not endorse children viewing films such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930). Presumably, she would have been familiar with the film, especially since it had been listed over a year before in the *IREC* as one of the films that make war "more comprehensible" and lauded as an anti-war film. The April 1930 *IREC* article had noted: "Mr. Carl E. Milliken, in a speech delivered to the Mother's Club at Brooklyn, said that the horrors of war exhibited in these films were a splendid argument in favour of the ideas of peace and universal harmony."[259] While US National Committee member Millikan had directed his support of the anti-war benefits of the film to a group of mothers, Elie was not vocally supportive of showing *All Quiet on the Western Front* to children. The 1930 film adaption of Erich Maria Remarque's book of the same name, directed by Lewis Milestone, depicted war from the perspective of a German soldier and focused on the physical and mental strain of the war. Though it is difficult to say exactly why she did not endorse the film, it may have been because it portrayed war *too* realistically for children.

While Elie did not take a stand on the question of whether or not state censorship was advisable, she did suggest that parental oversight had not been effective. She also reiterated that she had not mentioned state censorship and that her argument concerned the question of whether or not children over the age of ten should view war films from a list vetted by the IECI. In an editorial note, the IECI pointed out once more that they were "on extremely delicate ground," but hoped that other contributors would be as eager to

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[258] Ibid., 557.

[259] "The Documentary Film," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1930): 496.

add to the debate and that other questions might spark such lively discussion. The editors noted that the IECI would not "wash its hands of the question of war-films" and that a study was currently underway of the impressions of war-films on Italian children.[260]

This study would have a profound effect on Elie and fundamentally changed the tone of her writing in the *IREC*. This 1931 investigation was built on previous IECI work started in 1929 as well as new survey responses. Though Elie was correct that films like *The Big Parade* could appeal to children, they did not come away with the horror of war she had hoped, but rather an appreciation of war films. In the IECI's 1931 study of the preferences of some 2,800 Italian children, boys and girls listed films such as *The Big Parade* as a common favorite and shared reasons for their preferences such as "Because you see soldiers at war."[261] Contrary to Elie's arguments, the promised 1931 IECI study of Italian school children found that war films exalted war in the minds of youth. Their responses found that while boys were more generally in favor of representations of war, girls were in favor when heroes were shown "defending hearth and home."[262] Boys were more often in favor of going to war than girls, with one respondent commenting: "I want to go to war even if I have to die. It is beautiful to fight and die for one's country."[263] Notably, the study claimed that these feelings were part of a basic patriotism and a thirst for heroism and argued that the latter might be channeled into areas such as science and exploration. These studies better aligned—compared to the "pacifist" LN study addressed

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[260] Ibid.

[261] "The Answers of 2.800 Piedmontese Children," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (June, 1931): 560.

[262] "War Films Arouse Feelings Liable to Exalt War," *IREC*, Vol. 4, No. 1. (January, 1932): 123.

[263] Ibid., 127.

above—with the regime building goals of Italy and were therefore more favorably reported in the *IREC*.

Although before the 1932 study of Italian schoolchildren's reactions to war films Eva Elie had held a "burning conviction" that children should be exposed to such films in order to instill in them a horror of war, the results of the enquiry caused her to radically reassess her views.[264] Her response to the study also reveals how nationalism could very effectively quash utopian hopes in the interwar period. The *IREC* published Elie's August 1932 letter to the IECI director in which she responded to their findings and very publicly acknowledged in what ways she had been proven wrong. She wrote that while she had expected war films to "inspire in children above all else a strong sense of terror of warlike phenomena," she thought no one should condemn these children for their "heroic sentiment," but instead should applaud Italy for its strength. [265] She argued:

> The offer of limitless and conditionless peace must not signify the creation of cowards capable only of trembling for their own safety. The Italy of to-morrow shows itself strong in the strength of its children, for it is certainly not by hiding one's head in a sack, forbidding patriotic hymns for the love of peace, banning war and cancelling the Word from questionnaires that the conflicts of mankind can be avoided."[266]

While she still held out a small hope that the war film might still do some good when it showed the horrors of war, she made a considerable change in her opinion:

> But if the film exalts on the other hand the sense of heroism in defence against an aggressor, why not rejoice in such a proof of vitality? To do otherwise would be to confess oneself a degenerate, and indicate a return to that Sybaritism that destroyed nations vanquished by laziness or excessive sentimentalism. To the

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[264] Eva Elie, "Casus Belli," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (June, 1931): 556.

[265] Eva Elie, "Open Letter to the Director of the I.E.C," *IREC*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (August, 1932): 604.

[266] Ibid., 605.

> honour of the white race it may be said that civilization has not yet brought us to this, and the children of Italy are the living proof of it.[267]

Though it is not clear what non-white races she is referring to in her reference to sybaritism, or pursuit of pleasures, such a statement would have been found a willing audience in a political regime committed to opposing racial degeneration through increased reproduction.[268] After this letter, she no longer wrote in the *IREC* in support of children seeing war films and focused instead on more technical subjects, such as dubbing, and a general consideration of the power of the cinema to influence public thought.[269]

The IECI also considered the matter settled and, as was the case with all of Elie's contributions about war-films, they added a lengthy editorial note about the implications of their findings. While stating that their "inquiry had no other result" than to show that war should be avoided and believed that the answers they received "abundantly" proved this to be the case, they added an important qualifier: "To recognize that a conflict between peoples is a source of patriotism, and creates the desire to defend one's country to the last coincides with the conception of Madame Elie, distinguishing between a war of defence and a war of conquest or aggression." Being a pacifist, they argued, did not mean being a coward; war should be banned only "to a certain limit, a limit dictated by

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[267] Ibid., 606.

[268] Natasha V. Chang, *The Crisis-Woman: Body Politics and the Modern Woman in Fascist Italy* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 118.

[269] Elie continued to write about the role of the cinema in social development beyond the interwar period. See Eva Elie, *Puissance du Cinema* (Geneva, 1942).

conscience, the sense of duty and sacrifice" to one's country, home and family. [270] They continued:

> The war film has therefore lost or given up a great part of the objectives which it started out to achieve. The opinions of writers we have cited at the beginning of our inquiry, which receive another confirmation from Eva Elie, have shown that the ultra-pacifist attitude brought to a fanatical conclusion evokes no sympathy with the masses. The people understand the tragicalness of the phenomenon. They can also understand that the hundred per cent renouncement, even if it is worthy of the sanctity of Christ, is not human, lacking as it does the flesh and blood appeal of the human body.[271]

They added that there were limits to the amount of suffering the public would accept in films and that children understood that "war is necessary when the country demands it." Indeed, they argued, war films were unable to present war without showing acts of courage and sacrifice and these very rightly evoke feelings in young children because they are "the noblest of human virtues."[272] Although the IECI was careful to mention at the beginning of their editorial note that they felt children understood the horror of war, the rest of the article very clearly outlines their opinion that war was just—and therefore should be considered honorable—when supported by the government. Elie did not challenge this view. Later IECI studies found the same result: war films did not produce pacifist reactions in children, but instead exalted war through patriotic fervor.

The IECI continued in the vein of supporting patriotic warfare, and as the ostensibly international organization was increasingly influenced by the rising specter of fascism, such utopian anti-war hopes were increasingly muted within the *IREC*. Soon

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[270] Editorial Note, Elie "Open Letter to the Director of the I.E.C," *IREC*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (August, 1932): 604.

[271] Ibid., 605.

[272] Quoting Jules Destree. Ibid., 606.

after Italy's 1935 invasion of Abyssinia, they ceased publication. The IECI remained open until Italy left the LN in 1937, but their only publication circulated nationally, was solely published in Italian, and supported the goals of the Fascist state. Not only was the minor utopia centered on anti-war film crushed by the rise of fascism, but an important platform for the kinds of important transnational conversations that helped lead the development of film was silenced.[273]

Enquiries undertaken by the League of Nations showed similar results: film itself was popular among children and the war film was especially popular with boys. The question of the influence of film on youth continued to occupy the League of Nations, even after Italy left in 1937. By 1938, in the IECI's absence, the LN's Child Welfare Committee felt the need to address the influence of film on children and looked back over the previous decade to assess its impact. "Within little more than a generation," the Committee argued, "the cinematograph has developed from an ingenious toy into an important institution in the life, not only in every urban community, but also to an increasing extent of all but the remotest rural areas. Its development has been so rapid that it is still difficult to assess its cultural and social influence."[274] The 1938 report was based on information gathered directly from the governments of forty-six countries, several LN committees and compiled with the help of A. C. Cameron, a Governor of the British Film Institute, and American professor of educational research Edgar Dale.[275]

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[273] In 1937 one of the greatest comedic anti-war films, Jean Renoir's The Grand Illusion, was released. This film addressed important questions of nationality, class and the effects of war, but since the institute was fully fascist at this point, they were no longer part of the international conversation.

[274] LNP, "The Recreational Cinema and the Young" (Geneva, 1938): 5.

[275] For a full list of countries and committees see "The Recreational Cinema and the Young": 6.

While the influence of film remained ambiguous, the study gathered important information about child attendance at the cinema, claiming, "the majority of film enthusiasts are said to be young people."[276] The League continued to grapple with the issue of the possible negative effects of film on children and international amity.

Other studies suggest the preference for war films, especially among boys, remained throughout the interwar period. Regarding inclinations in taste among youth, the 1938 Child Welfare Committee report "The Recreational Cinema and the Young," found that "War and adventure are very popular with the boys. War is rather more popular with boys of 8-10 than with those of 11-14. With girls, war films are definitely unpopular."[277] Noting the differences in film tastes among female and male respondents had the additional benefit of underscoring the "natural" tendency of women as moral censors of the family—discussed in the following chapter—and supported League, and IECI, views in this area.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how a debate surrounding the possible anti-war benefits of film was effectively transformed through IECI studies and *IREC* commentary into one that supported patriotic warfare. In 1930, Eva Elie had held a strong hope and desire that war films could prompt a horror and rejection of war, but by 1932, she wrote in support of patriotic fervor and justified warfare. While this reversal can be at least partially explained by the mounting war tension of the early 1930s, the IECI played a significant role in this transformation. The narrative of Eva Elie's contribution to the

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[276] Ibid., 8-9.

[277] LNP, "The Recreational Cinema and the Young", 14.

IREC revealed the influence the IECI could wield in changing the pacifist goals of some of its readers. In a span of only two years, Elie transformed her opinion from hoping war films would prompt a horror and rejection of war, to lauding Italian schoolchildren for their patriotism—thereby supporting the IECI's formulation of justified warfare.

The goal of "collecting everything in the world" led to a number of contradictions in the material published in *IREC*; the cloak of international cooperation was an ill fit over fascist ideology. Notably, while the journal included results of studies that expounded on the negative effects of war films on child viewers, the IECI considered war to be "the most important of all social phenomena" and an important supporter of patriotism.[278] Articles extolling film as a medium to promote international understanding appeared with other articles promoting films that had Eurocentrist or Imperialist agendas. While this seems like a contradiction of aims, it highlights the transnational nature of the journal. International and national goals were both evident in the *IREC*.

Underlying many LN efforts was the problem of maintaining the sovereignty of national cultures, which was reflected in *IREC* publications. Once silent film gave way to sound, and national language overtook what was considered by the CICI to be the visual equivalent to Esperanto in the early film era, the international debate was further complicated. National themes were supported in national languages. In the early days of *IREC* publication, the international nature of the medium was highlighted and its power to foster understanding was the main narrative of articles. However, the IECI was heavily influenced by Italian Fascism and as the Great Depression took its toll, the tone of the

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[278] "The Documentary Film," *IREC*, (April, 1930): 496.

institute’s work, including that of its international contributors, became increasingly nationalistic.

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Chapter Five: Women and Film Censorship

"In every woman there is a mothers heart," the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI) declared in the preface to its 1931 journal. "It is then impossible to refuse women their natural function as educators, at least in as much as social life is concerned."[279] The "natural" role of women as the moral compass of a home was mentioned numerous times in the mouthpiece of IECI, the *International Review of International Cinematography* (*IREC*). However, this idea especially gained traction in the December 1931 issue when women's organizations such as the International Council of Women contributed articles claiming film censorship to be the natural domain of women. Indeed, women taking an active role in addressing the moral influence of film aligned with Fascist Italy's view of women as mothers of the nation. This chapter argues that while the location of the League's film institute in Fascist Italy limited the impact of its work, it also created an opening for women and a platform for their ideas in the debate surrounding the impact of film on children.

While the IECI's main focus was on educational film, the institute also studied commercial films. Of special concern was the influence of such films on family cohesion and the development of children. In this the IECI shared a common concern with reformist women's groups, including the International Council of Women, discussed later in this chapter, but also women's groups in the United States who were applying pressure to the Motion Picture Producers of America to lift Hollywood films to a higher moral quality. These same women's organizations found a willing editorship in the *IREC* and a welcome reception for their contributions. For instance, Chair of the Cinema Committee

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[279] Preface, *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1931): 1069.

of the National Council of Women (US), Mrs. Ambrose A. Deihl, wrote in the December 1931 edition that the "Unit of Civilization is the family" and staked out women's claim in the important role of regulating the influence of film in "their" sphere.[280]

Gender roles in the 1920s were in flux, which caused many nations and international organizations to emphasize "ideal" roles for women as they related to family and to protect the status of motherhood. The New Woman, Flappers, college enrollment, an explosion of all-women's organizations—all of these threatened the traditional formulation of the family. Women were very publicly outside traditional gender roles and much of what is described in this dissertation was the backlash as organizations such as the IECI attempted to reestablish "ideal" roles for women. What roles women in the public sphere during the First World War and after were *far* more vibrant than the narrative suggested here due to the marginalization of women within the CICI and the dominant message of the organization that supported reestablishing traditional formations of the family.[281] Maternalism was an area that effectively opened fields of participation for women in the international political sphere. It was a central strategy for women to claim a public space, but it also included limitations on the extent women could participate. This chapter will discuss those limitations.

The First World War had not only left the European countryside devastated, but it had considerable negative impact on the rural population. The daunting task of restoring

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[280] Mrs. Ambrose A. Deihl, "The Moral Effect of the Cinema on Individuals," *IREC*, Vol 3, No 12 (December, 1931), 1123.

[281] See Margaret R. Higonnet, *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (Yale University Press, 1987); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War* (Routledge, 2012).

both the population and infrastructure of these rural areas was made more difficult by plummeting birth rates, widespread alcoholism and the spread of disease. On top of these troubles, it was a common worry that rose-colored depictions of urban settings in many popular films, such as Paris in Rex Ingram's 1921 film *The Four Horseman of the Apocalypse*, caused many to migrate out of rural areas.[282] The fear of resulting food shortages, if such an exodus continued, was another motivation for the LN and individual nation-states to control the content of film available to viewers.[283] However, while the negative effects of unchecked representations in film were a concern, the potential power to support European rural development in educating for hygiene, parenting and agricultural methods proved to be a powerful motivation for nation-states to develop rural film programs.[284]

The International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (CICI) and IECI believed that film had an "immense influence" on the "moral growth of young people and on the evolution of national consciousness" towards the goal of international cooperation.[285] As such, an important concern was also the censorship of film to protect

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[282] As Madam Desnoyers argues to her husband in favor of moving from Argentina to France, "We owe something to our children. Chichí could make a more suitable marriage in Paris and Julio study art. Why should you not return to your country?" *The Four Horseman of the Apocalypse*, Metro Pictures Corporation, 1921.

[283] Zoë Druick. "The International Educational Cinematograph Institute, a Reactionary Modernism, and the Formation of Film Studies", *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2007): 82.

[284] See Christel Taillibert, *L'institute International du Cinematographe Educatif: Regards dur le rôle du cinema éducative dans la politique international du fascism Italian*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999): 12-36.

[285] LNP *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes of the Twelfth Session*, Official No. C. 428. M. 192. 1930. XII (Geneva, 1930), 77.

this growth. The CICI referred to efforts to address this as moral censorship. Within the IECI, studies lauding the educational value of film were closely interwoven with concerns about its negative effect. The IECI felt an important aspect of maintaining the best interests of all people was to guard against possible negative effects of film on children and family through moral censorship. As was the case in their wider education movement, which included textbook editing, the CICI recognized the importance of youth in their education efforts, viewing that age group ideally suited to be inculcated with the principles of international cooperation. The International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography held in Rome in April of 1934, made a statement regarding youth commenting that the cinema was directly aimed at this goal. It closely aligned with the CICI's views in this area and what efforts they had made over the twelve previous twelve years. As the resolution stated: "efforts must be made in every country to forbid the presentation of any subject encouraging cruelty, crime or immorality, as well as anything which may harm the efforts directed towards civilisation and better understanding among the peoples."[286] The CICI firmly believed that by limiting such negative impressions and by relying on children's assumed natural innocence and desire for peace, they could be developed into peaceful adults with an international mindset.

Of course, the CICI was not the only organization concerned with censorship and many nations had their own set of policies to restrict film. For instance, in the United States, the Motion Picture Production Code, commonly called the Hays Code, was established by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) starting with "The

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[286] *International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography* (Rome, 1934), 27.

Don’ts and Be Carefuls” of 1927. This code outlined a number of prohibited depictions (“Don’ts”), such as profanity, white slavery, suggestive nudity and the “Willful offense to any nation, race or creed.” Restricted depictions (“Be Carefuls”) ranged from improper uses of the US flag to prostitution, and included improper depictions of “the institution of marriage.”[287] This 1927 version was formalized by the MPAA in the Hays Code starting in 1930. During the same year, China began publishing its own film censorship laws enforced by the National Film Censorship Committee.[288] Although Italy was the only country that required a mother to be one of the three members of its film censorship board, other European countries felt that women should take a central role as moral regulators in relation to children and film.[289]

During the interwar years, nation-states recognized film as a powerful tool in education and for control of public opinion. Both were central to nation and empire building efforts. In their more optimistic hopes for the role of cinema, the CICI viewed it as a potentially potent tool for promoting international understanding and goodwill. The regulation of film, because of its perceived impact in almost all areas of life, therefore became a concern for the intellectual cooperation movement. Educational film was a central League concern in a variety of areas, from labor, health, and communication to the formation of national and international public opinion. Because of its association with

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[287] Jon Lewis, *Hollywood V. Hard Core: How the Struggle Over Censorship Created the Modern Film Industry* (NYU Press, 2002), 301-02.

[288] See Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema* (Psychology Press, 2004).

[289] Reich, 3.

both formal and informal education, film was also an important tool for working-class education, as well as child welfare and development.

While the ability of film to entertain, and possibly educate, was established by the end of the First World War, film drew criticism from church groups and film theorists over its influence on children, especially upon their moral and social development.[290] A 1928 report published by the League of Nation's Child Welfare Committee argued that "the child acts under the influence of a film and reproduces mechanically, so to speak, the example given on the screen."[291] As illustrated by the broadly defined IECI areas of study cited in the previous chapter, the influence of film on child delinquency, crime, sleep patterns, sexuality, and morality were all in question. In the United States, uncertainty over the influence of film on children was addressed in a series of studies supported by the Payne Fund between 1929-1933 entitled "Motion Pictures and Youth." The thirteen studies published in the series all focused upon three main considerations: film content, audience composition, and the impact of film on children.[292] As the preface of the 1933 Payne study *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime* stated, "Motion pictures are not understood by the present generation of adults. They are new; they make an enormous appeal to

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[290] For instance, in addition to the Payne Fund studies, see Henry James Forman *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935) and Raymond Moley, *Are We Movie Made?* (New York: Macy-Masius, 1938).

[291] LNP, "Report on the Cinematograph Question" (Geneva, 1928): 6-8.

[292] See W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1933).

children; and they present ideas and situations which parents may not like."[293] Articles in the *IREC* made very similar arguments.

During this time, those studying film assumed a passive, rather than active, audience. While passive audience theory has been largely replaced by active audience theory—which assumes a free willed and engaged viewership—those studying film in the interwar period believed viewers would be easily manipulated and controlled by what they viewed on the screen. While the debate over film's influence on children still rages, the assumption that an audience would directly copy scenes from films, and therefore film would wield a terrible and dangerous influence over viewers' lives, has been abandoned. However, early film theorists followed what is now termed the "Hypodermic Needle Theory," arguing that film had a direct, immediate and powerful effect on audience behavior.[294] With an underlying assumption that children would reproduce what they saw on the screen, any violent or amoral acts were of special concern and served as a strong foundational argument for film censorship in the interwar years.

The IECI was very interested in tracking the impact of film on audiences, especially children. This was partly due to the ostensible goal of promoting cultural internationalism. It was also influenced by the propaganda goals of the Italian fascist state, as well as fears regarding the influence of film on the development of children's morality. In a 1929 *IREC* article titled "Concerning the Cinema," CICI member Jules

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[293] Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Houser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), v.

[294] This theory was further strengthened by the mass hysteria caused by the 30 October 1938 broadcast of H. G. Wells' "War of the Worlds." This broadcast suggested that a passive and gullible audience could be manipulated by the media.

Destrée argued that because of its "international character, film excludes nationalist passions, all doubtful or contestable affirmations, all inaccuracies of the truth." However, he still felt that—especially in the area of historical presentations—it was very important to control its content. He pointed out that of course it was important that it not offer "bad counsel" but thought that this was successfully addressed because all "civilised" countries had laws "repressing outrage to morality." As such, he felt what was then necessary, and most important, was to repress "scenes of violence and artifice that may become deplorable examples."[295] However, as Destrée continued to develop his views, he favored not only repression, but also anti-war education.

The Role of the Mother

The IECI also felt it was essential to promote the involvement of women as mothers of the nations, in the formulation of children's views towards patriotic warfare. While they welcomed participation of women in the *IREC*, the IECI felt the most ideal way women could do this was in their role as mothers. Although, in his debate with Eva Elie, R. Duvillard had argued that it should fall to the head of the family, or the father, to serve as moral censor of films, the IECI had already decided that, while fathers did play their part, this role was best taken up by women and especially mothers. In fact, it was of special concern to the IECI that women fulfill their role as mothers, rather than choosing to remain childless. As alternatives to the American dramatic film presenting women in roles that challenged the family order, films appealing to women to take up their reproductive roles, such as the 1929 Jean Bonoit-Lévy and Marie Epstien film *Maternité*

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[295] Jules Destrée, "Concerning the Cinema" *IREC*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July, 1929): 31-2.

(*Motherhood)*, were of special interest to the IECI. While the co-directors were not part of the IECI, the themes of the film were very appealing to the fascist institute. In fact, the April 1930 edition of the *IREC* lauded *Motherhood* for "waging one of the worthiest battles of modern life" by calling attention to "a social problem of vital important of the Nations and the race," namely women voluntarily not having children.[296]

The message of this film was twofold: 1) to illustrate the superiority of the countryside over the city for the mental well-being of the populace and, 2) most importantly, to emphasize a woman's role as mother and the essential importance of reproduction. The film compared a hedonistic family from the town to a family from the countryside "with all its native energy" and urge to "increase and multiply." The choices of a woman from each family illustrated their vital differences. One woman from the country, Marie, had many children and relived "her own youth and life in their youth and their cares and joys." In contrast, city-dwelling Louise had "never known the love of children" and ultimately, "lest she be destroyed," had to devote "herself to helping others, through good works on behalf of motherhood."[297] Marie led a wholesome rural life of productive labor while Louise led an idle and frivolous one in the city, with a small dog as companion and an increasingly strained relationship with her husband.

After the death of her beloved dog and the desertion of her husband, Louise moved to Marie's native town and through an interaction with Marie's son began her development towards redemption: she began to think and act like a mother. In the end, she devoted herself to supporting poor mothers, though her life, while better than her

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[296] "Inauguration of the I.E.C.I. Library and Hall," *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1930): 452.

[297] Ibid.

previous indolence, was still presented as a lonely existence.[298] As the *IREC* stated, "In their generous optimism," the authors of *Motherhood*, "convinced that there is a mother's heart hidden in every woman's breast, still point out the road to redemption to this unhappy woman."[299] However, while a woman could find some fulfillment in taking on a mothering role, she could not be truly happy, at least in the view of the IECI, unless she was a mother in truth.

It was no coincidence that an emphasis on a woman's role as mother was highlighted in the *IREC*. As Zoë Druik pointed out in her 2007 article, the "vision of a domestic woman fighting to improve the nation one family at a time dovetailed with the fascist vision of women as mothers of the nations, not to mention as moral censors."[300] While the effects of the cinema may have been unclear, the role of the mother in combating negative moral effects was not ambiguous to the IECI.[301] War is often legitimized through appeals to manhood, the need to defend vulnerable women and children, the duty of the son to their father (or leader), and the direct correlation between masculinity and national strength. Similarly, family and motherhood have been a common theme associated with the role of women and correlated with the strength of the nation. The need to stress the role of the mother rose out of the fact that many women

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[298] See "Social Propaganda Films: Motherhood": 275-83.

[299] Ibid., 283.

[300] Druik, "Reactionary Modernism": 87.

[301] As Joan Scott would argue, power relations within and among nations have often been understood in terms of the relationships between male and female. See Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, (Columbia University Press, 1986).

were entering other spheres of activity. However, according to the IECI, the ideal role women could play in the development of film was as censors.

An essential part of this role included the moral censorship of the family. In Italy, film censorship boards, along with an official from the Department of the Interior and magistrate, included a mother.[302] In a 1929 discussion of censorship, German *IREC* contributor Ernest Seeger argued that national prestige, specifically in Germany, but in other nations as well, was negatively influenced by films that damaged national honor and therefore place a nation at a disadvantage in relations with other nations. The two main areas censorship addressed in order to protect national honor were films showing violence as well as "piquant views of feminine charms who are intended to arouse lascivious feelings in the spectator."[303] The life of a prostitute had to be presented as reprehensible and anathema to a happy, normal life. Any sort of deception in marriage was to be presented as a grave offence and never in jest, "which might be interpreted as a low valuation of matrimony."[304] This view was well aligned with the Italian Fascist emphasis on procreation as an important part of resisting racial degeneration and in support of expanded national influence.[305]

Expectations for women across Europe, especially during times of war, revolved around their role as mothers within the family unit. In wartime Britain and France, propagandists took great pains to portray motherhood as the essence of female national

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[302] "Film Censorship in Italy," IREC, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1930), 500.

[303] Ernest Seeger, "State Control of Films in Germany" *IREC*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July, 1929): 42.

[304] Ibid., 41.

[305] See Lesley Cauldwell, "Reproducers of the Nation: Women and the Family in Fascist Policy," in *Rethinking Italian Fascism*, ed. David Forgacs (London, 1986), 115.

identity and as the basis for any female patriotic contribution to the war effort. Whatever the upheavals of war, the gender order was to be maintained and the centrality of motherhood defended. Conceptions of femininity and masculinity were not just significant but interconnected, just as neither the military fronts nor the home front existed in isolation from each other. During war, these gender roles reinforced one another and emphasized a return to conventional gender relations. Attempting to reestablish gendered norms after war included an extension of this interconnection by valorizing the gendered roles of men bravely protecting the nation and women serving it by maintaining domestic stability.[306] Considering the many roles women had taken outside of the home during the war, and continued to do so afterwards, reestablishing these roles was a tall order for nations and institutions such as the IECI.

Motherhood was universal in wartime discourse, regardless of national boundary and it was essential to representing a unified national response to the First World War. Unity of men in the trenches was supposed to accompany a unification of women as mothers. During war, motherhood was each woman's primary role and a central expectation underlying the formulation of their national identity.[307] Although motherhood was actively used to support militarism during the First World War, it was elastic enough to also support pacifist sentiments in the interwar period. The image of women as vessels of moral sensibility was not a new representation and it is little wonder that this appeal was linked to the patriotic pacifist movements. While feminist pacifists were not

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[306] See Margaret R. Higonnet, *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (Yale University Press, 1987), 5-9.

[307] Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3.

biologically led to their ideals, they did use traditional gender roles as cultural leverage and to garner support for their cause.[308] Of course, the IECI's views were decidedly not pacifist, but they agreed that women were not only to use their moral influence on those around them, but were also supposed to pass on this sense of morality and the importance of human life to their children. Whether in war, or in peace, a woman's essential role was as a mother.

In the IECI's view, films that challenged this role were of far greater and immediate concern than films that glorified war. If the war film increased patriotic fervor, it worked in favor of the goals of the Italian Fascist state, but films that challenged the very base of Italian culture—the family—were a true threat. In a 1930 *IREC* study titled "Immorality, Crime, and the Cinema," the IECI argued that while film could have a negative influence, this was largely due to situations where aspects of life were presented with "false values" and therefore children began to "emulate false heroes and false prophets of the screen." While they recognized that both boys and girls could be negatively influenced by such presentations, their examples were all directed at women. "Cinematographic representation," the article argued, "by falsifying the concept of life in the exquisitely plastic mind of children, by forcing on them new sensations, and opening up new vistas of an unreal world, gradually destroys the respect due to women, the home, and the family." If women were separated from their roles as mothers or sisters, but instead depicted in "the freer aspect of the girl for whom life is just a matter of enjoyment," the study argued, "the elementary notions of morality which the child's

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[308] See Mona L Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1914-1940*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

upbringing gave him are overthrown."[309] The study summed up this argument by pointing out that if a girl was to break any of the Ten Commandments and be shown to lead a happy life it would foster immoral behavior. Considering that the default pronoun in this era was male, the use of "girl" further underscores the IECI's belief that women shown in situations that undermined their role as mother were highly detrimental and in turn undermined the strength of the nation. To the IECI, the protection of motherhood was essential and women played their most ideal role when they built up and protected the family—thereby supporting the goals of the fascist state.[310]

Editors of the *IREC* made it clear they felt that women were the natural guardians of morality and therefore the ideal figures to enact moral censorship.[311] Fathers were part of the triad approach the IECI suggested as ideal, which included father, mother and teacher. However, in their explanation of this approach they placed more emphasis on the role of the mother in directing child development. In the commentary to their inquiry "The Cinema and the School," the IECI noted that it was a father's duty to limit what his children viewed: "Instead of constituting harmless recreation, a film, if not properly chosen, will have opposite effects." For the mother, it was to curb a child's instincts, direct how their character was formed and ensure that they were "lovingly directed towards the pursuit of knowledge and the course of duty." The IECI did not clearly outline a father's role beyond placing a limit on what children could see, and a teacher's

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[309] "Immorality, Crime, and the Cinema" *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March, 1930): 323.

[310] Richard Bessel, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 79-80.

[311] "Social Aspects of the Cinema" *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1930): 363-4.

role was left unexplained. "A child's mind and character are formed by the father, the mother and the teacher; three forces which should act concurrently, each within its own sphere but the one is indispensable as the other," the *IREC* editors argued.[312] This commentary seemed to be especially aimed at the development of male children. Inquiry responses reveal the role film could play in the development of children, especially female viewers. "Its influence is strongest on very small children… It is suited for giving girls lessons in domestic economy."[313] Notably, in this article, the *IREC* editors clearly outlined the role of the mother as moral censor, while leaving the role of father and teacher as rather vague, though still an "indispensable" part of the triad.

The IECI clearly announced their preference for moral censorship in a volume of the *IREC* dedicated to the topic in December 1931. The "natural" role of women as the moral compass of a home was mentioned numerous times in the *IREC*, but this idea especially gained traction in the December 1931 issue when women contributed articles claiming film censorship to be the natural domain of women. For instance, Mrs. Diehl wrote that it was "natural" that women were concerned, because the "atmosphere" of the family "is women's responsibility. Women of all nations possess the legitimate right and insist upon expressing the right to study at first hand and exert pressure upon every agency influencing the character building of the family."[314] The IECI agreed and prefaced the volume by claiming that women could fulfill two important roles in the development of the cinema: to 1) "take care of those moral principles upon which social

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[312] "The Cinema and the School." *IREC* (August, 1931): 769.

[313] Ibid., 775.

[314] Mrs. Ambrose A Diehl, "The Moral Effect of the Cinema on Individuals," *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1931): 1123.

life is based" and 2) contribute to the educational and instructional development of the cinema.[315] At the same time, the IECI argued that there was a certain area in the development of cinematography where women could play a critical role: as educators and assistants in the moral aspect of social life. The IECI argued that a man was more likely to view the issue from a scientific point of view and a woman a more practical one and that the latter's "special qualities as sister, wife and above all mother" made her "especially suitable" to help guide the growth of cinematography.[316] They pointed to the specific example of censorship, and while they were careful to sidestep the question of whether or not state censorship was advisable, they argued that all forms of censorship involved women in the role of moral compass.

They added that women could apply their "level heads" towards the issue of educational film, which was "quite apart" from the political considerations of state and international diplomacy. If only men held judgment, they argued, life would be "hard and bitter" without any rest:

> It is therefore the function of women to smooth and soften this perpetual fight, hard and bitter, to which humanity is pledged. To recognize this quality in the women is to recognize her right to a profoundly human double function, to educate and to assist. And what unbounded influence women may have in the domains of international friendship and co-operation, to transform todays dream of peace and friendship into the reality of tomorrow![317]

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[315] Preface, *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1931): 1067.

[316] Ibid., 1068.

[317] Ibid., 1069.

With these words they officially, albeit with qualifications, supported the efforts of the women's organizations—including the International Council of Women, as discussed below—in the daunting task of improving film production through moral censorship.

Laura Dreyfus-Barney and the International Council of Women

The IECI was not alone in its concern. Faced with reservations concerning the influence of film on children, organizations such as the International Council of Women (ICW) emphasized the duty of the mother to protect her children from its possible ill effects. Founded in 1888, the ICW, like many women's organizations in the period, emphasized the universal needs of women around the world. However, similar to the CICI, the ICW was dominated by North American and European women.[318] The ICW maintained a committee on education throughout the interwar period and Dreyfus-Barney served as an education liaison to the League of Nations, which favored the ICW over other international women's organizations.[319] Representing the ICW, she served as Vice President of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organizations (PDCWIO). The PDCWIO claimed the right of women to an equal role in putting and "end to war" based on maternalist rhetoric. Writing to the League, they claimed:

> Women, who constitute half the population of the world, share with men in the economic burdens imposed by armaments and in the suffering and distress caused by war. They have made a recognised contribution to moral and social welfare

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[318] See Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[319] Marie Sandell, *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood between the World Wars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015).

> and as mothers they are specially concerned with the well being of the rising generation.[320]

In her role, Dreyfus-Barney was particularly interested in education, especially the cinema and broadcasting, which she felt were “two of the most powerful weapons at the disposal of the teaching profession throughout the world.”[321] She linked her international work directly to maternalism, commenting that “world affairs are home affairs.”[322] She brought her maternalist approach to bear not only her role as a member of the CICI, but also as a contributor to the IECI.

The ICW’s representative to the League of Nations, Laura Dreyfus-Barney was recognized for her work in the *IREC* starting in 1930 and continued to be featured over the life of the publication. Leading up to their formal declaration of moral censorship in 1931, in April 1930 the *IREC* reported on the increased participation of women in the cinema movement, which had culminated in the formal involvement of the International Council of Women. “While the cinema is steadily making greater progress throughout the whole world,” the article stated, “women are working to bring about systematic collaboration between the industry and existing national and international organizations aiming at the common weal.” The ICW, with Dreyfus-Barney as chair of the cinema section, was addressing the topic in their upcoming congress, with special attention

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[320] PDCWIO, “Memorandum on the Collaboration of Women,” Quoted in Carol Miller, "Lobbying the League: Women's International Organisations and the League of Nations," D. Phil. Diss., Oxford University, 1992, 243.

[321] Laura Dreyfus-Barney. Quoted in Suzanne Lommers, *Europe – On Air: Interwar Projects for Radio Broadcasting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 196.

[322] Laura Dreyfus-Barney. Quoted in Miller, 242-43.

toward suppressing custom barriers for educational films and facilitating the international circulation of these films. The article continued, in a rather patronizing tone:

> These hopes are already on the way to being realized, thanks to the work of the Rome Institute and the League of Nations. In any case, it is extremely interesting and significant that woman, who is the natural guardian of children and youth, should now be taking a stand that will serve as support and encouragement to the work we are carrying on.[323]

This line suggests that while women were the target of the IECI's campaign to promote moral censorship, the IECI doubted their ability to play anything but a supportive role in the formal organization of the movement, even if they were to play an important part in their role as individual mothers.

This lack of support is an example of what has been observed by many researchers as the double bind of using motherhood to enter the political arena. While appeals to motherhood could open up space for women, it also placed limits on their participation to areas of concern to "maternalism."[324] Often this meant overlooking the complexity of feminist thinking about the family by associating a concern with motherhood and the family with the political limitation of traditional domestic roles.[325] However, limitations in role did not mean women lacked political power, as historian

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[323] "Social Aspects of the Cinema" *IREC*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1930): 363-4.

[324] See, for instance, Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop Journal* 5, no. 1 (March 20, 1978); Claudia Nelson and Ann Sumner Holmes, eds., *Maternal Instincts: Visions of Motherhood and Sexuality in Britain, 1875-1925* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Elsa M. Chaney, *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America* (University of Texas Press, 2014); Angela Kershaw and Angela Kimyongür, *Women in Europe between the Wars: Politics, Culture and Society* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013).

[325] Susan Kingsely Kent, "Gender reconstruction after the First World War" in Harold Smith ed., *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century (University of Massechsetts Press, 1990), 66.*

Sian Reynolds illustrated in her study of French women in politics between the World Wars.[326] This dissertation takes a similar approach by also focusing on areas outside the realm of conventional politics where women held authority.

Despite a general lack of confidence from the IECI regarding how women could contribute outside of prescribed areas—as supportive staff and ideal mothers—many women served on multiple committees and peace organizations in the interwar period. Similarly, Laura Dreyfus-Barney dedicated her life to the peace movement and served on a great number of committees and in many organizations. For instance, she acted as the Vice President of the Peace Section on the ICW as well as the Liaison Officer between the ICW and CICI. She also served on the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of the Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations and was dedicated to the question of the role of film in education.[327] Like all members of the CICI, her dedication to peace was a product of her life experiences.

She was born Laura Clifford Barney 30 November 1879 in Cincinnati, Ohio to the prominent Barney family and her mother, Alice Pike Barney, was an artist of some note. Along with her sister, she was sent to a French boarding school in 1886. After a brief return to study in the United States, she moved back to Paris with her family in 1898 and spent most of her life in France. While continuing her studies in Paris, at the turn of the century she met Canadian Bahá'í May Ellis Maxwell Bolles and converted to the Bahá'í

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[326] Sian Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (Psychology Press, 1996).

[327] She also served on the Committee of French Associations for Education and Peace, the International Commission for Education by means of the Cinema and Radio, the Committee of Accord among the Great International Associations, the University of International Relations of California and the American Institute of Cinematography.

faith. Barney's lifelong commitment to women's rights and international peace contributed to her immediate acceptance of the Bahá'í teachings. Bahá'í was formed in Persia in the mid-1800s and emphasized the unity of religions and humanity. The faith's emphasis on unity in diversity, which included racial and cultural acceptance, appealed to Barney. In 1911, Laura Barney married a Frenchman of Jewish descent, Hippolyte Dreyfus, and they took on the married name of Dreyfus-Barney. She was fluent in English, French, and also Persian, which was essential in her work for the Bahá'í faith, not only through personal relationships with Persians, but through translation as well.

From the time of her conversion she was an ardent supporter of the Bahá'í faith as well as a philanthropist. Laura and Hippolyte traveled to the Middle East many times together, before and after they were married. She made numerous trips to the prison city Akka, Palestine (now Acre, Israel) to visit with the Baha'i Master, where he was confined due to religious persecution in Persia.[328] She spent many months over the next several years in Persia in the house of Abdu'l-Bahá, the son of the founder of the faith, where she studied Persian and was one of the Master's few allowed visitors. She and her husband hosted Abdu'l-Bahá in Paris, traveled with him in the United States to support the spread of Bahá'í in the West and visited him in Persia up until his death in 1921. During her 1904 visit, Dreyfus-Barney also arranged for Abdu'l-Bahá's secretaries to record answers to her questions, mainly relating to philosophy and Christian theology, which, with the help of her husband, she made into the book *Some Answered Questions* (1908). Her

[328] The entire family of Bahá'u'lláh, founder of the Bahá'í faith, were banished from Constantinople, finally ending up in the penal colony of Akka, Palestine. `Abdu'l-Bahá, son of the founder, was only allowed a few visitors at a time in Akka.

writings on the faith remain influential to this day. Her quiet, reserved nature was much admired by fellow Bahá'í.[329]

During the First World War, Dreyfus-Barney served in the American Ambulance Corps (1914-15), American Red Cross (in France 1918-19) and after the war worked extensively with the League of Nations and later United Nations. Like many interwar women active in international organizations, Dreyfus-Barney did not have children, though she strongly emphasized the importance of motherhood in her work. Her husband Hippolyte passed away in December of 1928. After his death, and that of her mother only three years later, she threw herself into her work for Baha'i and world peace.[330] Towards the goal of fostering better understanding between people she formed, and served on, the League's Liaison Committee of Major International Organizations. Additionally, she was also the only woman appointed to serve on the League's Sub-Committee of Experts on Education, starting in 1926. She also worked with the IECI to organize its first congress for women in 1934. In addition, she was a member of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on Teaching and the French Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

Laura Dreyfus-Barney, in her role as ICW liaison and as a member of the CICI, worked extensively in the area of film studies and, due to her religious background, was very concerned about the moral censorship of film. In 1930, she held the position of representative of the International Council of Women on the International Commission of Educational Cinematography and Social Education. During a meeting, she asked the

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[329] Mona Khademi, "A Glimpse into the Life of Laura Dreyfus-Barney" *Lights of Irfan*, Volume 10 (Wilmette, IL: Irfan Colloquia, 2009); 82.

[330] See *The Bahá'í World*, vol. XVI, p. 537.

other delegates to make known the views of the organization they represented in order to increase international understanding.[331] The commission expressed their support of the initiative to suppress custom barriers for educational films, in large part because of the role film could play in increasing understanding between peoples, but the commission also wanted to be sure that the producers were aware of the possible negative effects of film on children.[332] In the same year, while serving as treasurer on a French commission of the same topic, she took the opportunity to call the commission's attention to the necessity of a "clearing house" to gather national views and information about cinema. She thought it was imperative the CICI serve as a point of contact for international organizations studying film.[333]

Dreyfus-Barney considered moral censorship a very serious matter and actively campaigned for women's involvement. While the ICW had been addressing this topic for several years, the IECI provided coverage in the *IREC* beginning with the Conference of the Cinema and Broadcasting Commission held in 1931. This conference, they noted, was under the "spiritual leadership of Mme Laura Dreyfus Barney, who truly personifies the highest conception of spiritual life, combined with the highly developed common sense of practical existence. She revealed to us the infinite possibilities for feminine action which the Cinema presents."[334] With this, the IECI formally introduced one of the

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[331] International commission of Educational Cinematography and Social Education. 6 February 1930. UNESCO, B.IX.15.

[332] International Commission on the social and educational use of Films and Broadcasting. "Projet de Declaration" February 1930. UNESCO, B.IX.15.

[333] Minutes of the Gen. Assembly of the National Commission on the Social and Educational use of Films and Broadcasting. France. 26 June 1930. UNESCO, B.IX.15.

[334] Ibid.

moral censorship movement's most ardent supporters, notably highlighting her sense of practicality—an ideal they held in high esteem in the preface to the volume to the December 1931 *IREC* volume.

In that volume, Dreyfus-Barney stated the most public presentation of her views. In it, she reported on the results of the ICW's conference about film held in Rome and hosted by the IECI. She noted that conferences had been held in Geneva (1927), London (1929), and Vienna (1930), but it was not until it was held in Rome and "ripened by experience, study and discussion" and with the support of the IECI, that the ICW was able to formally set out a program of action to address the problems that the cinema posed.[335] For instance, as president of the commission discussing censorship, Dreyfus-Barney supported a resolution suggesting that films with historical inaccuracies provide subtitles before the start of the film listing what areas were falsely presented.[336]

The following year, Dreyfus-Barney called attention to a mother's role as censor in a 1932 *IREC* article "What Woman Can Offer the Cinema."[337] Echoing the IECI's argument, she felt women were most qualified to assess the effects of film on children and thought they played a crucial role in censorship commissions. She added: "I appeal also to mothers of families, to teachers, to all women in fact who according to their circumstances can contribute to a work which, if well directed, will be a great help for

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[335] Laura Dreyfus-Barney, "Considerations on 'The International Conference of Cinema and Broadcasting' held by The International Council of Women," IREC, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1931): 1071.

[336] Elsa Matz, "Film Censorship", *IREC*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1931): 1121.

[337] Laura Dreyfus-Barney, "What Woman Can Offer the Cinema," *IREC*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June, 1932): 471. Emphasis in original.

happiness in our houses, for social tranquility and a coming closer together of the peoples." In an editorial note reminiscent of Eva Elie's contributions relating to children viewing war films, the IECI added that a "woman who is conscious of her responsibilities is always on the side of the man who in the cinematographic field pursues educational and constructive aims."[338] Although in support of Dreyfus-Barney's views, the IECI was quick to emphasize the role of women as assistants, rather than leaders, in the development of cinematography.

Dreyfus-Barney disagreed with this sentiment, especially in the area of the technical film. "Women's work at the present day," she wrote in 1934, "is practically identical in extent with that of men." Indeed, she felt that women's interest in film rivaled that of men's.[339] She added that the "important part taken by women in the cinematograph world seems to show that they have a call for this field of social activity."[340] She felt it was the mother's duty to serve as censor and to prevent girls from seeing "love pictures," but instead, "see good films exalting the sentiments of motherhood and sacrifice." She did not say boys should be prevented from seeing specific types of films, but should be encouraged to see "pictures where noble sentiments are exalted."[341] In many ways, her views aligned with those of the IECI, but she did not agree with the marginalized role for women proposed by the institute. Indeed, there was

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[338] Ibid., 472.

[339] Laura Dreyfus-Barney, "Cinema, Technical Training and Women's Work," *IREC*, Vol. 6, No 2 (February, 1934): 104.

[340] Ibid., 106.

[341] Laura Dreyfus-Barney, "The Cinema and Education," *IREC*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (March, 1934): 186.

quite a difference between the IECI's expectations and what women felt they could and already *were* contributing. In her role as ICW liaison, Dreyfus-Barney herself took a role outside the "ideal," thereby challenging the IECI's formulation of women's contribution.

There were areas of agreement between the IECI and Dreyfus-Barney. Like the IECI, she also appealed to women's sense of patriotism. Just as Eva Elie had eventually realized, Dreyfus-Barney noted that viewing war films did not promote pacifist sentiment: "war films, for instance, do not give the results one might suspect. Despite the cruelty of death and the sufferings of the solders, the children, show in their reactions an admiration for the strong." Similarly, she found the violence in gangster and cowboy films to be similarly delightful to children, though pointed out that they had a "bad influence" on young minds.[342] She closed: "The woman's task in the matter of educational cinema is a serious one. It is an imperious duty which women must face, for often enough the future of a person or a nation depends on education."[343] Dreyfus-Barney called women to action not only on the grounds of taking up their natural roles as mothers, but also appealed to their patriotism.

In an article titled "The Cinema and Peace," published in the April 1934 *IREC* issue, Dreyfus-Barney reaffirmed her belief in the power of the cinema to encourage greater international understanding and goodwill, while also noting that with the advent of the talking film it became increasingly a national tool "when the word began to assume an equal place with the image." This was a danger to international understanding and she pointed out that the ICW had suggested in 1931 that films must avoid misrepresenting

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[342] Ibid., 187.

[343] Ibid., 188.

other nations and cultures. She gave examples of how films had aroused ill feeling, arguing that the same that was done by the CICI for textbooks must be done for films: "expurgate them, compile them with every care, and supply them with judicious comments."[344] Additionally, she encouraged her readers to share films that supported international understanding while at the same time reporting to the press films that were "anti-international" and stirred up "evil and revengeful feelings."[345] In her final *IREC* article, "Cinema and the Protection of Infancy," Dreyfus-Barney continued in a similar vein, once again calling for increased participation from women not only in formal censorship roles, but to be aware and active as moral censors for their family.

Dreyfus-Barney continued to work on questions of film censorship after the IECI formally closed in 1937and was very active in the peace movement. In the French Légion d'Honneur she was named chevalier in 1925 and officer in 1937. Unlike other CICI workers, discussed in the following chapter, Dreyfus-Barney's efforts did not go unnoticed and her personal wealth allowed her to weather the storm of another World War. As a US citizen, she was forced to leave France after the outbreak of the Second World War.[346] However, during the war she was a delegate on the French National Committee on Women to the Commission of Racial Affairs and continued her intellectual cooperation work in the United States as a special member to the American National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. She continued her work under the auspices of the

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[344] Laura Dreyfus-Barney, "The Cinema and Peace," IREC, Vol. 6, No. 4 (April, 1934): 253.

[345] Ibid., 256.

[346] As previously stated, the extensive archives of the IECI did not survive the war. Similarly, the personal letters of Dreyfus-Barney were destroyed during the occupation of Paris.

United Nations and was active in peace movements until her death in 1974 at the age of 94 in Paris.

Unlike Eva Elie (discussed in the previous chapter in relation to anti-war film), Dreyfus-Barney called for women's involvement and promoted their roles as moral censors, but she did not abandon her emphasis on the power of film to promote international goodwill. She did not agree that war was just, and based on Baha'i beliefs of universal unity of mankind, she continued to pursue pacifist goals even after the Second World War. Indeed, compared to Elie, it is likely that Dreyfus-Barney's more extensive involvement in international organizations beyond the IECI was central to her continuing commitment to pacifism. Notably, Dreyfus-Barney fundamentally disagreed with the IECI about the role of women in film studies. She felt their work was equal to that of men and did not see them relegated to supportive roles, but as important leaders. Her version of moral censorship departed significantly from the IECI's views, which was illustrated in their need to add qualifying—and often patronizing—editorial comments to her articles. However, the fact that these articles were even published underscores that the Fascist Italian state, though pursuing its own agenda, still left room for dissent in the *IREC*.

Conclusion

As this chapter has argued, the IECI was fascist, but still effectively provided an international platform to discuss film and women used this international venue to insert their voice into the debate over moral censorship. The IECI felt it was essential to promote the involvement of women in the formulation of children's views towards patriotic warfare. In contrast to Eva Elie, Dreyfus-Barney's participation in the *IREC*

revealed that not all readers were influenced by the IECI's fascist propaganda efforts. Indeed, though she disagreed with the IECI on the issue of women's influence in film studies and continued to support pacifist uses of moral censorship, her articles were still published in the *IREC*. This suggests the important platform it provided for women to debate the issue of film's influence on children, which opened up for them precisely because the issue was of special concern for the Italian institute. Indeed, the venue was still open enough to allow for voices of dissent. While they welcomed participation of women in the IREC, the IECI felt the best way women could participate was in their role as mothers. Dreyfus-Barney argued that women could lead on committees, as directors, and as important members of a wider discussion of film and its impact. There was a difference between expectation and practice. Indeed, the roles women actually played, and the ideology of the IECI did not align.

Film scholar Richard Maltby argued in 1999 that the *IREC* has been "condemned to obscurity not only by its present scarcity but also the arcane nature of its content. It is seldom that even the most dedicated scholar can unearth even a footnote to its output."[347] However, while studies of the *IREC* may be scarce, this chapter has illustrated that, at the very least, the journal provides an important archive for assessing women's roles in the development of film studies and the debate over its effect on children. What have also, sadly, fallen into obscurity are the educational films *IREC* reviewed and collected. Possibly all of these films, and certainly many, were lost in the Second World War. Unless these films are sitting in a basement or attic waiting to be liberated, researchers of

[347] Maltby, "The Cinema and the League of Nations," 106.

the IECI and educational films used by the League must be content with studying how these films were discussed at the time.

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Chapter Six: Celebrities and Hidden Histories

"I became a peon," Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral wrote of her experience working for the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) to fellow South American writer Victoria Ocampo.[348] Mistral was anything but a peon in her other work, but she was certainly made to feel one within the context of the interwar intellectual cooperation movement. She was an internationally renowned writer and had been central in setting up a new educational system in Mexico. The marginalization she experienced within the IIIC was significant and for someone so widely recognized, likely difficult. She was not the only woman to suffer from marginalization within the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI) and its institute. Women were not marginalized in interwar peace work, but they were certainly limited in the roles they could take within the CICI. Most of the women discussed in this dissertation were quite prominent, yet marginalized within this committee. This chapter explores this marginalization by providing comparative case studies of both celebrity and "silent" CICI workers. Analysis of these women working with the CICI provides a glimpse into what it was like to take on international cooperative work with men, many of whom did not appreciate what they brought to the League's intellectual cooperation movement.

The work of intellectual cooperation relied on the labor of individuals with multiple transnational connections, but this reliance in few cases led to public acknowledgement. Many of those taking up the work of intellectual cooperation led

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[348] Gabriela Mistral to Victoria Ocampo. 29 May 1939. Quoted in Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours: The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (University of Texas Press, 2009), 97. Mistral was an ardent maternalist, though like many others, she did not have children.

transnational lives that saw them not only traveling extensively, but also actively engaging with those from other countries and developing life-long international relationships as a result. Many members, even those without the political prestige of Gilbert Murray and James T. Shotwell—but rather the everyday workers—led such transnational lives. For instance, Temperance Smith, mentioned in the first chapter in relation to her Master's thesis written about the CICI, used her research of this international organization to launch a transnational career. After the publication of her 1935 thesis, she left the United States to work for sixteen months in Europe, including for the National Council for the Prevention of War in Geneva. Her research and transnational labor led to the development of personal relationships with those within the CICI in Paris and Rome and eventually a position as executive secretary of the United States National Committee in 1938.[349] The success of executive secretaries within national committees hinged on the health of their connections. For example, Smith's successor in this role, Dr. Edith Ware, utilized the extensive network of contacts she had established while preparing her 1934 and 1938 surveys of US international relations.[350] As executive secretary, she used these contacts, including those in South America, to help guide the US National Committee in their attempts to continue the work of intellectual cooperation during the Second World War without the leadership and centralized institute Europe had provided.[351] However, while the international connections of these women were central

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[349] Temperance Smith to James T. Shotwell. 4 November 1937. Shotwell MSS, 193, 194.

[350] See Edith Ellen Ware, *The Study of International Relations in the United States; Survey for 1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934). Edith E Ware, *The Study of International Relations in the United States; Survey for 1937,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

[351] See Shotwell MSS, 129.

to the work of intellectual cooperation, their personal labor has been, at best, a footnote in the history of the CICI. They led transnational lives, but accounts of their labor remain hidden histories.

In the case of the interwar intellectual cooperation movement, such hidden histories include not only non-European countries and how they maneuvered within hegemonic control, but also the work of so many of the lesser- or un-known women who took up the work. As this dissertation has argued, education and moral censorship were both central to the debate surrounding disarmament. At the time, moral issues were considered the realm of women and especially mothers. Women's traditional role as moral censors opened up room in international debates in the interwar period and women took advantage of assumptions of female authority in these areas to take part in CICI moral disarmament and educational initiatives. However, this expansion of relative influence has not translated into increased presence in the historical narrative. This chapter attempts to address this by providing a glimpse into how the CICI intersected with the lives of South American poets Victorio Ocampo and Gabriela Mistral, including how Mistral viewed her role as a "peon" working for an organization without a vested interest in South America. This chapter will also assess two extensive case studies: one illustrating the work and lives of celebrity figures in the CICI, Marie Curie and Albert Einstein, and the life of a "silent" worker, Margarete Rothbarth. In addition to assessing the issue of marginalization, these case studies will illustrate the main theme woven through this dissertation: the limits of internationalism due in large part to national agendas and tensions.

Certainly few readers will be unfamiliar with scientists Marie Curie and Albert Einstein. However, even these well-known figures are not remembered for their work in interwar international cooperation and this aspect of their biography will be addressed. This case study will also serve as contrast to the second one related to how the CICI influenced the life course of German Jewish historian Margarete Rothbarth. Compared to Marie Curie, Rothbarth's work went largely unacknowledged and the options facing Rothbarth at the outbreak of the Second World War contrasted sharply with her fellow CICI member and German Jew Albert Einstein. Unlike Einstein, she did not have the prestige to leverage herself out of the dire situation caused by the threat of Nazi Germany and its policy of revoking German Jewish citizenship. This chapter will give voice to these hidden histories.

The Women of Intellectual Cooperation

Intellectual cooperation opened up space for the engagement of culturally elite women in transnational intellectual circles.[352] For instance, in one of the few studies of the role women played in interwar intellectual cooperation, historian Joyce Goodman used the example of Virginia Gildersleeves to illustrate the involvement of women in the CICI and in the formation of the concept of the "international mind," which was central to moral disarmament. Gildersleeves was Dean of Barnard College of New York from 1911 to 1947 as well as president of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) from 1924 to 1926 and 1936 to 1939. She also served on the American National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. It was Gildersleeves' Columbia University tutor

[352] Joyce Goodman, "Women and International Intellectual Co-Operation," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357-58.

American Nicholas Murray Butler who originally coined the term "international mind." Gildersleeves and fellow CICI member, British classical scholar Alfred Zimmern, refined the idea in the interwar period. The development of an international mindset centered on an understanding and familiarity of other peoples with the goal of promoting understanding between nations. Gildersleeves described it as "the mind which accepts as normal international co-operation rather than competition, and friendly understanding rather than hostile suspicion."[353] This, of course, was the same goal that underpinned moral disarmament efforts. Gildersleeves also had a clear idea of the challenges that the development of this sentiment faced. As Goodman explained: "She saw some barriers to the international mind resulting from ignorance of facts and misconceptions, and considered many to be deep-rooted and psychological. She considered 'real' international understanding to be difficult because of racial psychology which comprised different underlying ideas, traditions and values held by different peoples."[354] As this dissertation has discussed, though CICI members recognized the challenges national and cultural tensions posed, the scope of intellectual cooperation was still limited by Great Power assumptions of superiority and an unwillingness to move beyond formulations of "the other."

This separation based on "othering" is a familiar theme in literature, and, indeed, in human thought; self-identity is often formulated in direct relation to what one is not. For instance, in his seminal work, Edward Said argued that Orientalism imposed limits upon writers to the extent that even the most imaginative among them were constrained

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[353] Virginia Gildersleeves, "The Creation of the International Mind" quoted in Goodman, 359.

[354] Goodman, 359-60.

both in what they were able to experience or say about the Orient. The reason for this lay in the basic structure of dichotomy between the familiar, or the West, and the strange, or the East.[355] While Said focused specifically on relations between East and West, the same process was at work in the case of the Great Powers and less influential countries. Though there were exceptions, such as Marie Curie, most of the female participants in the CICI movement took on work that went largely unnoticed and many have fallen into relative obscurity. It is important to note that women did take part in the CICI from across the globe, though their participation was limited by cultural expectations in their home countries as well as the exclusive nature of the Euro-centric League of Nations (LN).

Women outside the United States and Europe participated, but were marginalized not only due to their status as women, but also because of their nationality. For example, South American writers Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo both took part in the intellectual cooperation movement, but little has been written about their role and work. Gabriela Mistral was a Chilean poet, journalist and educator and was a recipient of the 1945 Nobel Prize in Literature. She served as the representative for Latin America in the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation from 1925 until it closed in 1939. Argentinian Victoria Ocampo was a prolific writer, founded the literary journal *Sur*, and was voted to serve on the CICI in 1939—just months before the start of the Second World War.

After learning of Ocampo's appointment, Mistral, who referred to the League of Nations as an "Institute of Babel," wrote Ocampo to explain the difference between the

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[355] See Edward W Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

Institute and the Committee. The former, she explained, "only *carries out* what the large committee plans." She hoped Ocampo would share her experience, but argued that the LN, CICI and its Institute were not very concerned with Latin America. "I don't think that these three organizations have done anything for Latin America, beyond the 'Collection of Ibero-American Classics,'" she explained. She had been instrumental in establishing the collection while she worked at the Institute. She continued, using Ocampo's nickname:

> After that, Votoya, I did nothing more: that was six to eight years ago (I've been in Europe for fourteen). Because I saw that whatever was of interest here didn't serve our America… I became a peon—writing articles for newspapers. It strikes me as a very bad thing that it's never occurred to them to find other *real*, effective ways of *actually* giving back to South America all or part of the quantity of money that South America has given to the League of Nations. Those monies have only served European culture. You'll be happy, not me. Now, since my country isn't in the League, I don't feel like I have much right to appeal to them for work on our behalf. It's your turn now, Votoya.[356]

Though Chile withdrew from the League in June 1938, Mistral had continued to work for the IIIC.

In addition to pointing out just how little the League and CICI had done for Latin America, Mistral also eluded to the lack of women's representation within the CICI:

> I'm a *sermon giver* today. You don't like sermonizing or emphasis, because both things are prophetic. But I believe in prophetic speech…still. I believe in Cassandra, I believe in Electra and in the charming Antigone. Reread them and accept them, even though they aren't Christian. For me, they're more alive than the Intellectual Cooperation and its choice group of old men…"[357]

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[356] Gabriela Mistral to Victoria Ocampo. 29 May 1939. Quoted in Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours: The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (University of Texas Press, 2009), 97. Italics in original.

[357] Ibid., 98. Italics in original.

To Mistral, strong mythological women provided more hope and vigor than the inspiration of the CICI and its "old men." Even after working at the IIIC for thirteen years, she felt her labor had not amounted to much and her efforts to support Latin American interests had yielded very little fruit. In an institution dominated by European interests where few women beyond Marie Curie were given credit for their work, making such a change would have been difficult. Indeed, these women were doubly marginalized due to their status not only as women, but also as South Americans. There were exceptions for this marginalization of women, though not in the South American context. Marie Curie was the most prominent exception to this marginalization.

CICI Celebrities: Marie Curie and Albert Einstein

Through Hendrik Lorentz, future second chair of the CICI, the two most famous members of the committee became acquainted. This case study focuses on the friendship of Marie Curie and Albert Einstein to illustrate the deep tensions between nations that continually obstructed CICI work, as well as provide a point of comparison for assessing the work of lesser-known members. Marie Curie and Albert Einstein continued a close relationship for almost 25 years after they met for the first time in 1909 until Curie's death in 1934. Curie (1867-1934) was twelve years Einstein's senior (1879-1955). Before Einstein published his first major work in 1905, the Curies had already discovered radium in 1898 and been awarded a Nobel Prize in 1903. Einstein and Marie Curie's personal life challenges provide an excellent case study for the national tensions that plagued the interwar period and the work of the CICI. In fact, these same tensions cemented their relationship and drew them together. Curie, who was Polish by birth, worked for most of her life in Paris and was embraced by the French public for much of this time. An

important exception was a period from 1911 until the First World War after her affair with French physicist Paul Langevin was launched into a scandal by the press. This left her with an understandable aversion to the press. Einstein's precarious position as a German Jew placed him under similar scrutiny and, like all German Jews in the interwar period, called into question his citizenship status. Their shared condition as "foreigners"—both loved and at times denigrated—in their resident lands, cemented their friendship.

Like many of those in the CICI, the First World War transformed Curie and her political views. During the First World War, Curie used her developing expertise in X-ray technology to aid soldiers in France and supported Poland in any way she could, spending much of the money she received for her second Nobel Prize on the French war effort. Her work in a mobile X-ray van helping injured soldiers effectively launched her back into the good graces of the French public, which once again claimed her as their own. She wrote Langevin about her radiology service and that she was "resolved to put all my strength at the service of my adopted country, since I cannot do anything for my unfortunate native country just now, bathed as it is in blood after more than a century of suffering."[358] She saw the horrors of war working in radiological outposts:

> To hate the very idea of war, it ought to be sufficient to see once what I have seen so many times, all over these years: men and boys brought to the advanced ambulance in a mixture of mud and blood, many of them dying of their injuries and many others still recovering but slowly, in the space of months, with pain and suffering.[359]

[358] Quoted in Dry, 103.

[359] Quoted in Dry, 104.

However, she did recognize the role of war in advancing the application of science, as with the "purely scientific" discoveries of radium applied to medicine in the form of X-rays.

Even after the horrors of war, she continued to stress the importance of detachment in science, but her focus, which had been almost entirely centered on her scientific work, began to shift. "Curie was dedicated to a higher cause and was part of a community of disinterested researchers," her biographer Sarah Dry wrote. "But at the same time, she perceived herself as powerless—and thus licensed to make alliances where she could." This powerlessness stemmed from many years of struggling as a woman in a male-dominated field, as well as the precarious position as émigré in a country that had recently scorned her because of an affair. This feeling contributed to an important transformation. Dry argued: "Curie's battles with the establishment, her years without a proper laboratory or academic job, the prejudice against her as a woman and a Pole, even her experiences with reluctant French officials at the start of the war had made her, in spite of herself, into a political animal."[360] However, she was loathe to relinquish her title of "pure scientist" and rejected a number of requests to sign even the most inoffensive manifestos calling for peace.[361]

Part of her refusal was due to her view of social justice. Curie did not believe blame for the First World War was equal among all the countries involved. While her long-term friendship with Einstein illustrates that she did not hold all Germans responsible, she shunned German intellectuals who had supported the First World War.

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[360] Dry, 105.

[361] Emling, 80.

In 1914, some 93 Germans signed the "Manifesto to the Civilized World," which was written to justify the German war position. Einstein refused to sign and, along with two German peers, created his own manifesto in response entitled "The Manifesto of Europeans." It called for a quick end to the conflict and urged fellow intellectuals to help guarantee "the conditions of the peace [do] not become the source of future wars."[362] The idea of educated individuals making connections as a way to prevent war underpinned the efforts made by the CICI. However, this did not mean that Curie was open to working with those who had supported war against her adopted country. After the war, if a German scientist asked to meet with Curie she would make inquiries to see if they had signed the "Manifesto to the Civilized World," and if they had, she would refuse to meet with them.[363] As in the case of the wider CICI, Curie's inclusivity only stretched so far.

While she shunned those who had supported the First World War, this did not mean she agreed with signing documents that spoke out against war in general. For instance, when asked in 1919 to sign an anti-war manifesto she refused, noting that agreement in the group would only be imaginary. "The difficulty I have with the form of your appeal," she wrote, "is that it does not require the signers to be in agreement on certain elementary principles of international and social justice."[364] However, after the war, she became increasingly leftist and her views towards taking on political roles began to change. Only a few short years later she would advocate just such a commitment to peace in the form of the CICI.

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[362] Quoted in Stanley Pycior, "Marie Sklodowska Curie and Albert Einstein: A Professional and Personal Relationship," *The Polish Review* 44, no. 2 (January 1, 1999): 135.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Quoted in Dry, 98.

It was Curie's relationship with American journalist Marie Mattingly Meloney, editor of *The Delineator*, an American women's magazine, which opened the way for joining the CICI. Meloney organized a fund drive to raise money to buy radium for Curie's research, which included a tour of the US. "Before meeting the journalist," biographer Shelley Emling wrote, "Marie abhorred any kind of publicity."[365] As a French newspaper editor remarked: "She, who handles daily a particle of radium more dangerous than lightning, was afraid when confronted by the necessity of appearing before the public."[366]

By the time the CICI formed in 1922, Curie was famous for her avoidance of the press, which was in no small part caused by her experience during the 1911 affair. She was also selective about who warranted her time, further bolstering her reputation as a recluse. Looking back on her mother's life, Curie's daughter Irene explained:

> The fact that my mother was not fond of socializing and did not seek to consort with influential people is often regarded as evidence of modesty. I tend to believe the opposite. She had a very precise idea of her own merits and did not consider it an honour to meet titled people or government ministers. I think she was very glad to have had the opportunity to meet Rudyard Kipling, but being presented to the Queen of Romania was a matter of complete indifference to her.[367]

That Curie felt the CICI was worth the time she valued so dearly speaks to the faith she placed in intellectual cooperation, not only for what it could do to help science, but to support her political view of social justice. Though her distaste for the press did not

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[365] Emling, xvi-xvii.

[366] Quoted in Marie Curie, *Pierre Curie: With Autobiographical Notes by Marie Curie* (Courier Corporation, 2013), 7.

[367] Quoted in Dry, 140.

change, and her estimation of who warranted her time remained selective, she did take on a public role when she accepted the nomination to the CICI.

While Curie had previously avoided all work that would take away from her scientific endeavor and remained politically neutral, she did make an exception for intellectual cooperation. Curie's daughter Eve claimed that her mother's work for the CICI was Curie's "only real infidelity to scientific research."[368] Though she did not seek out the nomination, she did accept the invitation when the CICI asked her to join in 1922. She was unanimously voted into the committee under the chairmanship of Henri Bergson and was particularly interested in expanding scientific collaboration and sharing scientific resources. Although Curie refused to patent her own findings, she supported scientific copyright and the establishment of international funds for laboratories to finance their research. "I believe international work is a heavy task," she wrote, "but that it is nevertheless indispensable to go through an apprenticeship in it, at the cost of many efforts and a real spirit of sacrifice: however imperfect it may be, the work of Geneva has a grandeur that deserves support."[369] Curie and Einstein's mutual friend Hendrik Lorentz already served on the committee, and Einstein also joined at Curie's prompting. However, as Emling noted, "Einstein's on-again-off-again membership was draped in controversy—with Marie caught in the middle."[370] Einstein's revolving in-then-out membership was caused not only by the realities of national and ethnic tension in the

[368] Quoted in Emling, 81.

[369] Quoted in Dry, 112.

[370] Emling, 79.

interwar period, but also due to Einstein’s ambivalent view of the League of Nations and personal conflicts with other member in the CICI.

Before joining the CICI, Einstein was already a target for criticism in the German press and this was exacerbated by his association with the League. At Curie’s invitation, Einstein visited Paris to give a lecture at the Sorbonne in April of 1922. While she had successfully convinced the university to invite him, it caused an uproar, with anti-Semites actively protesting and thirty members of the French Physical Society—a mix of anti-Semites and anti-German members—threatening to leave in protest during his talk. The French press wrote strongly against it due to Einstein’s nationality, and—because sentiment was so negatively aroused—Einstein had to be secretly taken over the border into Paris. Attendance was limited to only a few trusted individuals.[371] Though she noted the protest, Curie strongly believed the lecture was important enough that they should continue such ventures in spite of difficulties. "The avoidance of just these kinds of conflicts,” she wrote, “was precisely why the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation had been set up in the first place. In fact, the committee’s overriding purpose was to bring together intellectuals of different nations who had been isolated by the war."[372] While Einstein’s visit was lauded as a success in the international media, *both* the French and German national press strongly criticized it. The French press wrote in terms of condemnation for inviting the enemy into the capital, and German nationalists portrayed Einstein as “a Jewish traitor to Germany.”[373]

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[371] Pycior, 135.

[372] Quoted in Emling, 80.

[373] Quoted in Pycior, 136.

Such recriminations in the German press only increased after Einstein accepted a position on the CICI. Einstein initially turned down the invitation because he felt the League did not have clearly defined goals and did not align with his pacifist sentiments. However, during his visit to Paris, Curie and French philosopher Henri Bergson successfully convinced him to change his mind. As Einstein wrote in acceptance: "No one, in our era, should refuse to participate in work to bring about international cooperation."[374] Before the first meeting, however, he once again changed his mind and resigned. In June of 1922, his friend and Germany's foreign minister Walter Rathenau, who was Jewish, was assassinated and Einstein also received death threats. Some of these threats specifically mentioned his involvement in the League as traitorous activity.[375]

The following month, League Secretary General Eric Drummond, Gilbert Murray and Curie all wrote urging him to change his mind. "It is precisely because dangerous and prejudicial current of opinion do exist that it is necessary to fight them," Curie wrote. "I think that your friend Rathenau, whom I judge to have been an honest man, and whose sad fate I regret, would have encouraged you to make an effort at peaceful intellectual collaboration. Surely you can change your mind."[376] He did change his mind and rejoined, but in the fall of 1922 resigned a second time and refused to attend another meeting after the LN did not respond to French and Belgian troops taking Germany's Ruhr district. In a letter to German pacifist newspaper *Die Friedenswart*, he wrote scathingly of the League, commenting that not only did it not "embody the ideal of

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[374] Albert Einstein to Eric Drummond. 30 May 1922. Quoted in Pycior, 136.

[375] See Walter Isaacson, *Einstein: His Life and Universe*, 2007.

[376] Quoted in Emling, 80.

international organization, but actually discredits such an ideal."[377] He explained to Curie that he felt the League was simply a tool of power politics that held only the illusion of an objective stance. Curie agreed the institution was not perfect, but pointed out that since all organizations were comprised of humans they therefore had no hope of perfection. Still, she thought the League had a real chance to make a difference, writing in January 1924: "it is the first attempt at an international understanding without which civilization is threatened with disappearing."[378] At Curie's prompting, he rejoined in May 1924, though his seven-year membership continued to be draped in controversy centered on a conflict with the CICI chair Henri Bergson.

This controversy had roots that stretched several years back, but began increasingly to affect the reputation of the committee in the mid-1920s. In April 1922, Einstein began a debate with Bergson regarding the theory of relativity that devolved over the years into a bitter argument. Not only were they debating their views of relativity, but the battle was of even broader significance, pitting science against philosophy, with each side having its own group of intellectual backers. For two figures publicly linked to an institution with the expressed goal of creating understanding between intellectuals as a model for nations to follow, the open feud was a heavy blow to the public image of the CICI.[379] In an article studying Bergson's and Einstein's disagreement, historian Jimena Canales argued that intellectual cooperation was a "failed

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[377] *Die Friedenswarte*, June 1923, quoted in Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden, *Einstein on Peace* (New York: 1960), 62-63.

[378] Quoted in Emling, 80.

[379] Two other such conflicts arose in the committee between British member Alfred Zimmern and French IIIC worker Julien Luchaire, as well as between American members George Zook and Stephen Duggan.

experiment" as a result of their very public and bitter disagreement.[380] Though there is no denying that such conflicts negatively affected the CICI's reputation, this seems a rather hasty judgment to make when at the time the CICI was in its infancy.

Additionally, since Einstein was one of the main figures—and he was, by all accounts, both charming and infuriating in equal measure—it does not give an accurate view of what were generally cordial, if not always particularly warm, interactions within the committee. Indeed, though this dissertation argues there was an undercurrent of distrust within the committee based on competing national agendas, to dismiss the movement as a "failed experiment" based on one, or even several, instances of personal conflicts would be unwise. Any such group would have similar interpersonal conflicts, and though we can make broader claims based on these disagreements, they should not be the main basis of judgment regarding the effectiveness of the CICI.

In 1930, Curie pondered in a diary that, from the time she had first met him, Einstein struck her as "the funniest man," who was continually obsessed with relativity and did not seem to get along well with the other scientists of the CICI. This was partly due to his on-again-off-again early membership, the bitter dispute with Bergson, and his annoyance that the committee did not focus enough of its time on political issues. Despite this, in 1930 he still remarked on the League's tenth anniversary: "I am rarely enthusiastic about what the League has accomplished, or not accomplished, but I am

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[380] See Jimena Canales, "Einstein, Bergson, and the Experiment That Failed: Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations," *MLN* 120, no. 5 (December 1, 2005): 1168–91.

always thankful that it exists."[381] Though publicly critical of the League and the CICI, Einstein still provided the organization considerable prestige.

By 1931, Einstein's renown had reached such a point that, while his position as a Jew in Germany became increasingly precarious, other nations courted him, especially Great Britain and the United States. Gilbert Murray wrote Einstein on 31 March 1933 urging him to consider taking a position at Oxford.[382] The United States National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation set up a special sub-committee devoted to addressing issues related to Einstein's visa. Indeed, James T. Shotwell and the US Committee helped him secure a visa in spite of resistance in the country, such as allegations made by the Woman Patriotic Corporation that he was inadmissible under immigration laws.[383] Einstein was lecturing in the United States when Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933 and, after considering an offer to settle in England, Einstein decided to immigrate to the US. He took a position at Princeton University—despite the common practice of Jewish quotas that limited the number of Jewish professors in the US—and became a US citizen in 1940. As this chapter will discuss below, not all German Jewish members of the CICI were nearly as fortunate.

After an on-and-off membership and relative lack of interest in the committee, Einstein did eventually permanently leave the CICI. Though Curie had been instrumental in each case of Einstein's reversal of decision, she was not able to change his mind after his seven-year term ended in 1931. His repeated invitations and intermittent stints on the

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[381] Quoted in Emling, 125.

[382] Gilbert Murray to Albert Einstein. 31 March 1933. Murray MSS, 63:176.

[383] See W. J. Carr to James T. Shotwell. 3 January 1933. Shotwell MSS, 199.

committee effectively illustrate some of the inter-personal conflicts within the committee and how continuing friction between nations affected not only CICI membership affected the degree to which the committee could achieve its goals. Einstein ended his CICI membership in 1931—on grounds that his term had expired—and refused attempts urging him to reconsider. He later called the CICI "the most ineffectual enterprise with which I have been associated."[384] Part of the reason for this was his view of the wider failures of the League, but also because of the advisory nature of the committee's work. The CICI was essentially a clearinghouse that affected change or suggested areas of change on a broad scale. This would have contrasted sharply with the type of scientific, result-driven work he took on elsewhere. Curie, however, who had a very clear view of what was worthy of her time, continued to serve for another few years. Indeed, she served until shortly before her death on 4 July 1934 from overexposure to radiation. Though Einstein had viewed the CICI as ineffectual, it was Curie's only "infidelity to science" for a twelve-year span of her life.

The value each CICI member placed on its work varied, as did the opportunities open to them as war tensions mounted in Europe. The care put into ensuring Einstein could successfully immigrate to the US was more the exception than the rule for CICI workers. Writing to the US National Committee in 1933, Gilbert Murray suggested a plan to help refugees by placing German intellectuals in open academic positions in other countries. Though he was careful to point out that his plan was neither "pro-Jewish" or "pro-Communist," when Shotwell forwarded the plan to US universities it was still taken

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[384] Quoted in Banesh Hoffmann, *Albert Einstein: Creator and Rebel* (New York: 1972), 155.

as such.[385] For instance, Ernest Martin Hopkins, the president of Dartmouth College replied to Shotwell saying in no uncertain terms that he would not fill positions with Germans at the expense of struggling American academics. He had completed such a project after the First World War with a "missionary zeal" but found that without exception the German professors had turned out to be "trouble makers." Noting that in this case those seeking positions would be "preponderantly Semitic," he was even more loath to do so. "I feel as little inclined to add any Jews to our faculty circle as I do any Germans. In fact, my present attitude is definitely God forbid that we should do both." He continued, after apologizing for such a "blast of opinion" noting that on the matter "I think that I join the isolationists, and prefer to let Europe take care of its own troubles."[386] While the dean of the University of Minnesota, Guy Stanton Ford, did not dismiss the idea as Hopkins had, he did not directly offer any positions at his university, instead suggesting that a fund might be set up to "take care of one or two men here or there about the country under proper circumstances."[387] He did not explain what such "proper circumstances" would entail and he notably earmarked the hypothetical positions for male professors. In a time marked by anti-Semitism, Einstein's celebrity status provided opportunities for him unavailable to most Jews, even within the comparatively elite CICI. In fact, though Einstein was publicly critical of both the League and the CICI, members of the CICI, such as Murray and Shotwell, helped smooth the way for Einstein to immigrate. Presumably, faced with a similar situation, Curie would have also garnered

[385] Gilbert Murray to James T. Shotwell. 13 May 1933. Murray MSS, 384: 1-4.

[386] Ernest Martin Hopkins to James T. Shotwell. 31 May 1933. Shotwell MSS, 233.

[387] Guy Stanton Ford to James T. Shotwell. 5 June 1933. Shotwell MSS, 233.

the active support of the CICI and its members. This was not the case for all workers or members, however.

CICI Silent Worker: Margarete Rothbarth

In 1939, while French IIIC director Henri Bonnet had taken a plane "at the last moment" before the war started and also found refuge in the United States during the war, those who worked under him were not necessarily as fortunate. For instance, German IIIC employee Peter Lang received devastating news that his family had been interned in Nazi Germany.[388] Another IIIC worker, Dr. Margarete Rothbarth, while not subject to internment, was left impoverished in Switzerland in spite of repeated pleas for assistance to the CICI. This section will present a case study of Rothbarth as a "silent" worker who did not benefit from the celebrity status of Curie and Einstein, with tragic results.

In 1926, Frenchman and IIIC director Julien Luchaire began pursuing closer relations with German academics for the work of intellectual cooperation. These talks led not only to the formation of a German national committee of intellectual cooperation, but also the appointment of German historian Margarete Rothbarth by the Prussian Ministry of Culture to deputy chief of the IIIC in 1926. The IIIC contracted her to remain in this position through 1940 and she lived and worked in Paris throughout her term. In addition to laboring to further the textbook editing initiative, she worked with the IIIC to foster links with German academics. Her appointment to this position, as well as that of fellow German Werner Picht to the head of University Relations at the IIIC, was also an attempt

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[388] Edith E. Ware, "Interview with Mme. Dreyfus-Barney," 28 June 1940. Shotwell MSS, 127.

of the IIIC to address claims made by countries such as Great Britain and Germany that the French too heavily influenced the IIIC.[389] Rothbarth's connection to the institute and her textbook editing work illustrates the importance of informal networks in the CICI's work that transcended the nation-state. However, it also underscores the national tensions that plagued the intellectual cooperation movement and how this influenced individual lives.

In addition to her liaison work, Rothbarth was quite active in the committee's textbook editing initiative. Her German-language book *Intellectual Cooperation and the Framework of the League of Nations* was one of the first monographs on the topic of intellectual cooperation and the League of Nations and was published in 1931.[390] In fact, she published several books and dozens of articles about the League of Nations and international relations. Rothbarth has received very little scholarly attention and currently the only research about her is a German language article that discusses her publications.[391] She was born in Frankfurt, Germany to a Jewish family on 7 June 1887. Her father was a merchant and she had two siblings. After briefly studying science she turned her focus to history and during this time likely pursed English Studies.[392] She received her doctorate in 1913, and after the war, through the auspices of historian Freidrich Naumann and the influence of the German Democratic Party she began to

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[389]See Guido Müller, *Europäische Gesellschaftsbeziehungen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Das Deutsch-Französische Studienkomitee und der Europäische Kulturbund* (Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 360.

[390] *Geistige Zusammenarbeit Im Rahmen Des Voelkerbundes*

[391] See Ute Lemke, "'La femme, la clandestine de l'histoire'. Margarete Rothbarth - ein Engagement für den Völkerbund," *LENDEMAINS* 37, no. 146/147 (2012): 45–59.

[392] Ibid., 46.

publish articles not affiliated with a specific political party in Berlin supporting the League of Nations and intellectual cooperation. As a contributing author to the German magazine *Die Hilfe*, she served as an interpreter of national and international debates for the magazine's readers, including the Peace Conference. In these articles, she was also critical of the development of a society of nations that did not include all of the major powers, notably Germany, and argued that her country should join the League of Nations immediately.[393]

Even before taking her position at the IIIC, her arguments aligned with the goals of the CICI in the realm of education and moral disarmament. In a 1921 article, she argued that the League would only be effective if it was able to penetrate into the human consciousness rather than being imposed as an outside force. She also thought people in Germany should not view the League as a tool of the Entente, but rather as a means to address international policy issues essential to a peaceful future.[394] She argued that following the First World War, "almost all countries were much more concerned with the problems and measures of political education. Everywhere you turned there was the question of whether some things would have been different if the masses had had more political, economic and social knowledge and if active politicians and statesman enjoyed a more thorough education and knew more of the psychology other nations."[395] She felt

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[393] Margarete Rotharth, "Die ersten Wochen des Völkerbundes", *Die Hilfe*, (26 February 1920): 138-39.

[394] Margarete Rothbarth, "Ein neues Elsass-Lothringen", *Die Hilfe*, (5 September 1921): 390.

[395] Quoted in Lemke, 50. "*Seit dem Kriege hat man sich in fast allen Ländern viel mehr mit den Proble-men politischer Bildung befasst als vorher. Überall stellte man die Frage, ob nicht manches anders gelaufen wäre, wenn die großen Massen mehr politische, wirt- schaftliche und soziale Kenntnisse gehabt hätten, wenn aktive Politiker und Staats- männer eine*

an important part of this increased understanding was a common lexicon of political expression and she continued to support international education and increased understanding between nations in her work as deputy chief at the IIIC. One of her main pursuits in this position was the use of textbook editing towards the goals of increased understanding and the centralization of peace education in curriculum. Notably, the connection between textbook editing and children meant that it fit nicely within the bounds carved out by maternalism. Though Rothbarth did not have children, her work was legitimized through rhetoric of women's assumed proclivity for the domestic sphere.

Although Rothbarth was not officially listed on any of the committee member lists for textbook editing, in her role as deputy chief she worked extensively in this area, was frequently contacted about it, and seemed to be passionate about her work. Her work required her to make connections with colleagues in a variety of countries and she drew heavily from her contacts in the United States and Great Britain to further her work. For instance, she was influenced by American CICI executive secretary Edith Ware's surveys about internationalism in the United States and was in frequent contact with the US national committee to gather information about historical textbooks and general teaching practices in the country. Through this work, she also established contacts in Great Britain, including with Gilbert Murray, but also with British medievalist and economic historian Eileen Power.[396] The two women formed a friendship and supported each other in their

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sorgfältigere Durchbildung genossen und mehr von der Psychologie anderer Völker gewusst hätten."

[396] In her work, she relied on both formal and informal connections. In 1939, Rothbarth was in charge of preparation for the Committee on Teaching of the Principles and Facts of Intellectual Co-operation. When seeking individuals to assess the education materials in various countries she relied on previous acquaintance, both of her own and of others in the CICI. In other words, when filling positions in a formal network she relied on informal connections.

efforts to form textbook editing committees in their home countries. Power and Rothbarth became acquainted through their shared commitment to the textbook editing initiative.

In 1932, in the space of only a couple months, their letters progressed from formal correspondence to written interactions that suggested a growing friendship based on shared interest and respect. Writing in April 1932, Power wrote Rothbarth: "the British Committee of Intellectual Co-operation has agreed to father my text-book committee" but she first had "to persuade the British Committee of Historical Sciences" to provide their support in order to avoid resistance of British schools to LN meddling. She thought the latter body, which was not a part of the LN, was essential because it would "command the respect of all historians, whereas they are rather apt to suspect propaganda in bodies such as the committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The great thing is to proceed suaviter in modo,[397] so as to arouse no oppositions and win confidence in advance…" She noted that Gilbert Murray had been "most kind and helpful" in her efforts.[398] Power illuminated the very reason that Murray failed to gain the support of Great Britain for intellectual cooperation despite all his years of effort towards this goal in the interwar period. While the country may have been instrumental in the formation of the League, it resisted efforts made by the CICI—such as textbook editing—that were aimed at changing national policy or culture.

Rothbarth had been working towards the same goal of creating a movement in Germany and wrote Power in June 1932 happy to report that she had just returned from

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[397] Gently in manner

[398] Eileen Power to Margarete Rothbarth. 25 April 1932. UNESCO, I.II.1. It was after a lunch meeting with Murray and Sir Frank Heath that she decided to pursue this dually supported committee. See Eileen Power to Margarete Rothbarth. 19 March 1932. UNESCO, I.II.1.

Berlin and had helped form the Subcommittee on Education of the German National Committee and that the first task of the committee would be the revision of school textbooks. She planned to publish the composition of the committee in the next bulletin and hoped that she could also include an announcement about the British committee Power had been working on forming. She hoped to see Power at the upcoming Congress on the Teaching of History at The Hague so they could continue their conversation about textbook revision work completed by national committees.[399] Power replied several days later expressing her regret that she could not attend the upcoming conference and to update Rothbarth on the status of the British textbook editing committee. In another situation that illustrates how the LN's form of internationalism was careful not to challenge nationalism, Power reaffirmed that it was a delicate situation and that the initiative needed to be founded as a joint committee between the British Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and the British Committee of Historical Sciences. She reiterated that this was an essential step because if the textbook revision committee was formed only by the British Committee on Intellectual Cooperation it "would be regarded with great suspicion by historians" in Britain. She warned Rothbarth not to let any news leak, or publish any announcements about the British Committee, before the British Committee of Historical Sciences had "dealt with the matter."[400] Power was ultimately successful in forming this committee and the CICI later listed her as one of the members of the committee of experts on textbook editing.

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[399] Margarete Rothbarth to Eileen Power. 6 June 1932. UNESCO, I.II.1.

[400] Eileen Power to Margarete Rothbarth. 9 June 1932. UNESCO, I.II.1.

Official CICI publications make only passing reference to Rothbarth's role in textbook editing in official CICI publications. That Rothbarth did not hold an official post on CICI or IBE committees, while at the same time being very active in the work, is not surprising, however. Women working in international organizations such as the LN were often relegated to unofficial and unacknowledged posts.[401] Regardless, in September 1938, a request from the American Committee of Intellectual Cooperation that arrived while Rothbarth was away attending conferences reveals just how central was her role in the IIIC's textbook editing work. In her absence, director Henri Bonnet was unable to respond to a general inquiry about the Report on History Teaching in the United States.[402]

While her influence on the work was considerable, as tensions between Germany and the rest of Europe intensified, her position and livelihood became increasingly tenuous. Rothbarth wrote to Murray in October 1933 after reading, "with great disapproval," Ewald Banse's book *Wehrissenschaft* (Military Science). She pointed out that it might also not be possible to invoke the LN agreement set up to discourage such texts, the Casarés Resolution, because his book was not an official textbook. Gilbert Murray had similar thoughts, but the book was banned by the Nazi government without this intervention. This point, however, was also likely moot because, she pointed out, the members of the German Committee of the Revision of School Text-books had all just been dismissed. "Of the new ones," she explained, "I do not know anybody."[403] While

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[401] Sian Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (Routledge, 2002).

[402] Henri Bonnet to Temperance Smith. 2 September 1938. UNESCO, I.II.1.

[403] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. October 1933. Murray MSS, 341:46–47.

Germany did ban Banse's book, the sentiment behind that ban did not mean the situation improved for German Jews, especially for Rothbarth.

When Germany left the League in 1933 all German LN workers were ordered to leave their positions, but Rothbarth thought it would be unwise for her to leave a contractual position to return to Germany. She wrote the German ambassador in Paris, Botschafter Köster, in November 1933 asking for advice, while also explaining her decision to remain at the IIIC. She argued: "as a Jewish woman I do not have the slightest chance of earning my living in Germany."[404] Return to Nazi Germany had become impossible for a Jew—and doubly so for a woman—who had been publicly supportive of the League of Nations. In the same letter, she assured the ambassador that her future work would be "strictly factual" and she would discontinue her work on text-book editing.[405]

Despite saying she would only stick to the "facts," after losing her connections in the German textbook editing committee she put her energy into making citizens of other countries, including the British public, aware of how war was glorified in German textbooks. She also hoped to expand interest for textbook editing in the United States, while at the same time making the country aware of the growing threat Germany posed to international peace. In 1934, she contacted New York City lawyer and reformer Richard Welling and sent him a copy of *School Text-Book Revision and International Understanding*, which the Institute had published a year before. "This book," she wrote,

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[404] Quoted in Lemke, 53. "*Ich habe aber die Sachlage geprüft, die sich für mich aus dem Aufgeben einer noch weiter vertraglich gesicherten Stelle ergibt: wie die Dinge liegen, habe ich als Jüdin nicht die geringste Aussicht, meinen Unterhalt in Deutschland zu verdie- nen.*"

[405] Ibid.

"is by itself the biggest result we have yet achieved. As it has appeared at a very difficult moment I am sorry to say that it has not had the repercussions we hoped." For this reason, she hoped that Welling would be able to "launch" the book in the United States through newspapers and journals.[406] Although Welling, who was chairperson of the National Self Government Committee—which had the goal of "making boys and girls public minded"—had only contacted the CICI for information about textbooks that glorified war, Rothbarth took the advantage of this informal connection in hopes of making the committee's work known in the United States.[407]

She had used these informal connections to interest the American Association of University Women in the work of textbook editing, and they were the first organization to take up the work in the United States. While the American Historical Association wrote in support of historical accuracy in textbooks, they did not feel the main issue was one of "patriotism," but rather as "faithlessness to fact."[408] Because the United States did not hold official membership in the League of Nations, other US reports shared in *School Text-Book Revision* could only include similar statements of vague support. On the list of countries providing official declarations and reports, which included Germany, France, China and Australia. Germany, for instance, provided a quote of the Constitution of the

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[406] Margarete Rothbarth to Richard Welling. 12 September 1934. UNESCO, I.II.1.

[407] Richard Welling to Gilbert Murray. 8 August 1934. UNESCO, I.II.1. Welling's own writing reveals he had similar views about the importance of speaking out against glorifying war. He was strongly against military education and supported teaching that stressed civic responsibility. See Richard Welling "Defend the Public Schools Against Militarism" *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House* (December 1930).

[408] International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *School Text-Book Revision and International Understanding.* (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, League of Nations, 1933), 143.

German Reich: "All schools must aim at moral development, a sense of citizenship, and personal and professional efficiency in the spirit of the German people and the reconciliation of the nations."[409] France reported that a special committee had been set up to address textbooks by the Minister of National education.[410] Great Britain and the US were conspicuously absent.

Though *School Text-Book Revision* did not have the impact Rothbarth hoped, she continued to work for the Institute and remained in contact with Gilbert Murray. In January 1935, Murray asked for her help in improving his continued, and persistently ineffective, efforts to interest the British government in providing monetary support for the CICI's education initiative.[411] Murray also wrote to her for advice and information about how war was presented in Germany under the Nazi regime for an article he was writing.[412] Rothbarth was a source of valuable information for figures such as Murray and Bonnet, who were able to add to their prestige by utilizing the fruits of labor from silent workers such as Rothbarth.

While the prestige and influence of Murray and Bonnet rose, Rothbarth's position, as a German Jew, became increasingly precarious. Rothbarth was fully aware of the difficulty of being a German woman working for an international Institute located in France and that was well known for being dominated by French opinion. As late as

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[409] German Reich Constitution of 11 August 1919, Article 148. Quoted in *School Text-Book Revision*, 49.

[410] Ibid., 48.

[411] Gilbert Murray to Margarete Rothbarth. 18 January 1935. Murray MSS, 322:22. He thought small teams of teachers should be sent in to countries, just as they did in health services. See Gilbert Murray to the Editor of the Times. November 1934. UNESCO, I.II.1.

[412] See Gilbert Murray to Margarete Rothbarth. 28 November 1934. UNESCO, I.II.1.

October 1937 Rothbarth was still working with Murray towards the goal of editing German textbooks as well as calling attention to how the country was becoming increasingly militarized. She urged him in a letter to help her with the translation and publishing of extracts from German schoolbooks.[413] In a follow-up letter of the same month—marked personal and confidential—she shared the aforementioned textbook excerpts with Murray. She said that the people who had compiled them wished "to remain anonymous," but she thought it would be of special interest. "We have spoken," Rothbarth wrote, "so often of the spirit which really inspires German educators and which is so difficult to discover that you will appreciate these exact details… I think that the survey gives excellent examples, not only for German history teaching, but for German teaching in general which, as you see, is imbued with a more chauvinistic and warlike spirit than one can imagine." One of these examples was from a math book, which she claimed only used questions relating to race and war. She hoped that Murray would make this known in Britain, while also stressing that her name "must not be quoted in this affair."[414] By March 1937, letters providing information about textbooks that were once a routine part of her work were increasingly marked as "personal and confidential."[415] While this was likely due to her wanting to protect the identity of contributors who were in contact with her, she may have also wanted to, at least outwardly, maintain the illusion that she had kept her promise to the German ambassador.

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[413] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. 6 October 1937. Murray MSS, 331: 44.

[414] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. October 1937. Murray MSS, 341:44-45.

[415] See UNESCO, I.II.1.

In the increasingly tense political environment leading up to the Second World War, Rothbarth's caution was quite understandable. Despite this vigilance, during the war her situation became quite desperate. She was in Switzerland at the outbreak of war, France denied her entry back into the country and the IIIC did not honor their contract to keep paying her. As a German woman who spent over a decade working in France and was publicly critical of Nazi ideology, her options were quite limited. On 13 August 1940, Rothbarth wrote Murray from Zurich. She had not heard from any of her colleagues in France or England, but fellow German Hans Simons had written her to say that Princeton had offered to host some sections of the League to continue their work in the United States. Simons had immigrated to the United States in 1935 after being blacklisted by the Nazis and he hoped that Rothbarth could come over as well. She thought this was the only opportunity to continue her work and of, as she wrote Murray, "getting out of Switzerland where I am caught as in a trap…all the countries abroad are shot for me.." She was not allowed to work in Switzerland and was rapidly running out of money. She had contacted the IIIC, but had only received a "cold" response. "Nobody knows better than you," she continued, "that most people of the old staff have disappeared and that the new ones are neither friends of Intellectual Cooperation (Institute) nor do we know them well." She beseeched Murray's assistance, writing: "I think that you are the only person who could help me. We are all hoping here (all: my friends and all the honest people here) that those decisive days through with we are going will finish by England's victory. May we have a better future than these presnt (sic)

days."[416] While Murray provided sympathy, this did little to improve Rothbarth's conditions.

Rothbarth's pleas for assistance were also sent to the US National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, and met with a similar reply. Bonnet mentioned her situation to the US National Committee, and they forwarded the issue on to the American Association of University Women. Rothbarth also asked an American friend, Dr. Emmy Heller to make inquiries on her behalf, suggesting she talk directly with Edith Ware, the executive secretary of the US National Committee, who had helped Rothbarth gather information for her textbook editing work.[417] Ware suggested Heller contact several organizations of university women for aid. Heller also applied for a position in the New School of Social research for Rothbarth, which required references not only from Henri Bonnet, but from individuals in the US as well.[418] Bonnet wrote in June 1941 that a visa had been obtained for her in Zurich, Switzerland but she needed transportation. "It would be tragic," he wrote, "if this scholar could not leave Europe soon enough, in view of the present circumstances."[419] Funding remained an issue and the US committee was unable to resolve it.[420] While several years before Shotwell had set up a sub-committee dedicated to managing issues associated with Einstein's visa, he noted that there was nothing else

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[416] Margarete Rothbath to Gilbert Murray. 13 August 1940. Murray MSS, 237:76.

[417] Emmy Heller to Edith E. Ware. 13 October 1940. Shotwell MSS, 129.

[418] Edith E. Ware to Henri Bonnet. 6 November 1940. Shotwell MSS, 121.

[419] Henri Bonnet to Edith Ware. 14 June 1941. Shotwell MSS, 121.

[420] Edith Ware to Henri Bonnet. 16 June 1941. Shotwell MSS, 121.

the US committee could do for Rothbarth and he left it in the hands of Switzerland to resolve.

During the war, she remained trapped in Switzerland and her situation did not improve when the war ended. Of course, compared to many Jews in Europe she was fortunate to still be alive, albeit impoverished. In April 1947, she exchanged letters with Murray and explained that she, along with three others, had recently won a lawsuit against the IIIC before the administrative tribunal of the LN for unpaid labor. “I am personally very glad for this moral victory,” she wrote, “as the Institute had sent very disagreeable memoirs against me to Geneva—which are refuted by the Tribunal’s verdict.” However, she had yet to see any sort of payment and added: “My outlook is still hopeless, and I am doubting whether this will ever become better.”[421] Murray replied with his sympathies, calling it a scandal. She shared the further development that the Quai d’Orsay had refused to pay and told them to apply to the League, but she noted that the LN never had financial obligations to the IIIC. She was also doubtful that the former heads of the IIIC would offer assistance: “It is very queer how Bonnet forgot us all in the very moment he was nominated ambassador in Washington. We all are needing it badly, perhaps nobody as much as I.”[422] Though archival records reveal that Bonnet had made inquiries for her, this did not actually come to any result and Rothbarth felt abandoned.

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[421] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. 4 April 1947. Murray MSS, 365:232.

[422] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. 23 April 1947. Murray MSS, 365:233. Though Rothbarth writes here in frustration about Bonnet, fellow IIIC worker Gabriel Mistral remembered him fondly: “I worked under the precious and, *to me, saintly*— [Henri] Bergson: I worked there under him, such a marvelous soul, *words can’t say*.” Gabriela Mistral to Victoria Ocampo. 9 August 1954. In Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo, *This America of Ours: The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (University of Texas Press, 2009), 236. Italics in original.

Three months later, they had yet to be paid. Though they had managed to seize the IIIC's bank account, it was still not clear that they would be able to access that money, which would only be half of what they were owed. She had turned 60 that year and explained to Murray that due to recent illnesses she was no longer fit to fully support herself. Rothbarth sought his advice on whether he thought "it could not be possible that those who worked for a long time at the Institute and were loyal during the war, could receive pensions as our assurance shrink to nothing by inflation." She hoped that he would offer his support and that she would be able to write soon that the judgment was "fully executed."[423]

She was eventually able to secure the wages owed to her, though it was not enough to comfortably live and she was still too ill to work. When Einstein sought shelter from Nazi Germany his prestige—not to mention his knowledge of atomic theory—opened up many doors for him. As Murray wrote Einstein in 1933:

> I need hardly tell you with what feelings of indignation and almost despair your friends here have been watching the persecution of Jews and of Liberals in Germany, or with what great personal sympathy we have thought of you. Fortunately you are out of Germany and if you choose to renounce your nationality all the world will be ready to welcome you. It is not for me to influence your choice. I know your friends in Oxford would love to have you here, but I know also that there will be competition among all the civilized countries for the honour and pleasure of having you as a citizen.[424]

This contrasts sharply with Murray's expressions of sympathy for Rothbarth that were unaccompanied by concrete action. Bonnet's successor in the role of IIIC director, Jean-Jacques Mayoux, ignored her repeated requests for help in returning to France and

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[423] Margarete Rothbarth to Gilbert Murray. 11 July 1947. Murray MSS, 365:235.

[424] Gilbert Murray to Albert Einstein. 31 March 1933. Murray MSS, 63:176.

continued to do so even after the end of the war. Rothbarth remained trapped in Switzerland without relief or the ability to properly support herself. When she died in Zurich on 7 September 1953 she was stateless and impoverished.

Unlike better-known members of the intellectual cooperation movement, such as Henri Bonnet, or fellow German Albert Einstein, Rothbarth did not have nearly the same opportunities open to her following the war. In contrast to Albert Einstein, who repeatedly joined and resigned from the CICI based on personal views and fears of his position as a Jew in Germany, Rothbarth had devoted herself fully to the work of the IIIC. This devotion came at great personal cost. Rothbarth's story illustrates many of the internal inconsistencies that challenged the CICI's minor utopia, including the separation of "high" and "low," divisions based on nationality and ethnicity, as well as marginalization based on gender. There were Jews on both ends of the "high" and "low" scale within the organization, but only those at the "higher" end were able to weather the storm of Hitler and war. All of these contradictions had very real effects on the life of this "silent" worker. Her story illuminates the challenges of the whole endeavor as well as the internal inconsistencies that ultimately challenged their minor utopia. The CICI was trapped in its own contradictions, just as Rothbarth was trapped in Switzerland.

Conclusion

While just as in the case of disarmament, women used their roles as moral censor as an entry point into educational initiatives, the same Great Power hegemony that challenged the efforts of the CICI also worked to marginalize them. This was illustrated in the case of Gabriela Mistral and her inability to significantly interest the CICI in Latin America and her lack of influence within the IIIC. Similarly, Margarete Rothbarth, as a

German Jew, took on largely unattributed work in textbook editing, but when this work put her in a precarious position, the CICI essentially washed their hands of her. She was neither famous nor considered especially important and therefore had little hope to leverage herself out of her stateless limbo.

Peace work was a common next step for many women who had taken part in women's suffrage and they played very important roles. Jane Addams, for instance, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931 as a result of her founding of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1919 and her long-term disarmament work. Many of the women discussed in this dissertation were highly influential women, but not in the context of the CICI. That they continued to work with a committee and organization that repeatedly marginalized them suggests the importance they placed on the work, especially when a majority of women remained within all-women organizations to address peace work during the interwar years. However, they remained in the committee despite this marginalization and provide a window into what it was like for women working in international organizations along with men.

While the CICI may have been successful in promoting the exchange of transnational ideas, the nation-state and national interest continued to hold significant sway. This dissertation has fleshed out some of the hidden histories of the CICI, but until researchers take more interest, this will remain a significant gap in CICI historiography. While the celebrity figures of the committee provide a wealth of source material, the daily workers provide a better indication of the impact of national and international politics on the daily lives of individuals. More powerful and wealthy individuals were

better able to weather the storm of war and conflict and so they give a distorted lens to understanding the lives of most individuals.

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Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Writing shortly before the Second World War in August 1938, Southern Methodist University student Lillian G. Noyes assessed the work of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (CICI) and found that it had been hobbled from its very roots in 1921. She pointed out, quoting French politician Léon Bourgeois, that the official policy from 1921 had been "to avoid interfering with the way each country expresses its own national genius, and instead to afford each the opportunity of developing vigorously and abundantly by drawing freely upon the common fund of knowledge, methods and discoveries."[425] She was not impressed with the result of this policy. "Today," she commented, "Germany is expressing her 'national genius' through Hitler in Austria; Italy, hers through the troops in Spain; Japan, hers through the Chinese bombings. The League has done nothing successful about these situations." However, the League was not the only one to fall short in her estimation: "Neither has the [CICI] been able to make much of an internationalist dent upon the fanatic Nordic racial-cultural myth of Hitler, the Roman atavism of Mussolini, or the Emperor-Sun-God delirium of the Japanese. Always there are exceptions to the rule of conformity to these nationalist myths, but the exceptions are usually shot, 'concentrated,' or exiled, as was the former member of the [CICI], Professor Albert Einstein."[426] That Einstein's fate was actually

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[425] LNP, "The League of Nations and Intellectual Cooperation," (Geneva, (1927), 6. Quoted in Lillian F. Noyes. "The League of Nations Intellectual Cooperation Organization." August 1938. Shotwell MSS, 216.

[426] Ibid. Lillian F. Noyes sent her seminar paper to Shotwell because he thought she might be interested. See Lillian F. Noyes to James T. Shotwell. 17 February 1939. Shotwell MSS, 216.

considerably better than many other German Jews working for the CICI was not mentioned.

In an assessment of the intellectual cooperation movement, this dissertation has illustrated how competing national interests challenged the work of this group at almost every turn. This dissertation has argued against the common approach made by historians for many years assessing the League of Nations in terms as a "failed experiment." I have illustrated how the most significant challenge to the CICI's work were national tensions and their most important contribution was the growth in the transnational networks they facilitated. The League of Nation's limited conception of internationalism concentrated its sphere of influence largely to Europe. While the CICI improved this by also gaining significant participation from US members, the committee was still dominated by Great Britain, the United States and France, at the cost of less influential national members. Their intentions were noble, but their focus was constrained. During a time of significant flourishing of international interactions—such as in South America—the CICI's focus was too strongly centered in Europe at the expense of creating a robust, inclusive internationalism with a global view. Such an emphasis on the Great Powers left them especially prone to losing influence as countries such as Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union left or were expelled from the LN in the 1930s.

The CICI attempted to use internationalism as a step stone to peace. In contrast to the economic focus of Communism, the CICI's form of internationalism focused on ideas and posited an alternate approach. Akira Iriye called this approach "cultural internationalism" and this dissertation has used this term differentiate the CICI's form of internationalism as a key form of cultural work. Communism was an internationalizing

idea, but, along with militant nationalism and fascism, worked counter to cultural internationalism because of its emphasis on economic rather than cultural transformations. While the League attempted to involve a wide range of countries, it did not dispute Great Power hegemony. Additionally, the League of Nations' conception of internationalism was Eurocentric and the CICI formulated moral disarmament within an Anglo-American context. Both of these limitations narrowed the influence of the CICI's peace work to certain geographical areas of influence. Indeed, the tendency for individual members to assume their respective countries could best take the lead in efforts to make moral disarmament a reality made them prone to disagreement. Gilbert Murray and James T. Shotwell considered their countries to be ideal to lead the CICI's peace efforts. Murray based this on assumptions of Great Britain's "neutral" political position and Shotwell made a similar argument for the United States, but based on rhetoric of American exceptionalism. However, British and US interests did not align, let alone those in continental Europe and beyond.

Additionally, countries with less political power were correspondingly less influential within the intellectual cooperation initiative. In the case of the CICI, though many countries took part, the United States and Great Britain were disproportionately influential. At the heart of all of the issues discussed in this dissertation were competing interests. For a committee formed with the express goal of providing an example of how individuals and the nations they represented could effectively work together in harmony, such competition ran counter to their stated mission, and, as illustrated in the examples of the conflict between members, negatively affected their public image.

It also limited the efficacy of their peace work. Material disarmament sparked the development of moral disarmament as an official consideration of CICI work and moral disarmament provided a centralizing term for the CICI's utopian vision of maintaining peace. However, while the CICI had been pursuing peace in intellectual channels from its inception in 1922, its official use of the term moral disarmament was a late addition and rather desperate attempt to stem the "rising tide" of nationalism and its competing interests. It was a minor utopia specifically developed to address a behemoth with far too much momentum. In a time where national self-determination was considered a cure, cultural internationalism faced a significant hurdle. Even though members of the CICI were genuine in their desire that moral disarmament could attain peace, they were unable to garner any significant support for it within their respective countries.

National tensions challenged the CICI's work in education, which included a fear of super-state propaganda and a resulting reluctance to provide support and funding for initiatives such as textbook editing. Promoting transnational thinking was not an easy task and this was apparent in the challenges facing the CICI in their education efforts. Though a utopian hope for its power to create an international mindset, like other areas of CICI work, textbook editing was also a Eurocentric concern and one dominated by European interests within the movement. The fear of propaganda severely limited the support the CICI received from individual countries. This fear plagued the work of textbook editing, especially as individuals providing information to the CICI about negative portrayals in their national textbooks were subject to social attack within their home countries. Both the CICI and the IBE worked together towards the goal of moral disarmament, but in a formation already narrowed by fears of a "world state." Before the

CICI even began working in connection with the IBE, their efforts had already been limited in scope by competing national interests. Despite these challenges, some progress was made, such as in the case of German and French agreement in how to portray the War of 1870 within history curricula. Like all areas of LN work, the Second World War cast a long shadow in the historical narrative obscuring these small, but—considering interwar tensions—impressive successes.

Though challenged by the nature of attempting to inculcate international thinking while not contesting national sovereignty, the CICI had many such successes. Most importantly, however, it helped expand and establish a sprawling transnational network of international education. This was despite fears of propaganda, rivalry between nation-states, and an unwillingness in national governments to fund the CICI's education work. Notably, the CICI was essential in the formation of the IBE and therefore the first true realization of a unifying body for international education. Textbook editing was central to moral disarmament efforts made within the movement and, while limited by national agendas, did provide a platform for discussion of national histories on a then-unprecedented international scale.

In the case of CICI efforts in film, the location of the closely associated International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI) in Fascist Italy effectively limited not only the influence of the institute, but also prematurely shortened its work. As a minor utopia, not only was anti-war film faced with the same challenges of their other movements, but it was also physically based in Italy and ultimately overturned by rise of the same militaristic nationalism it hoped to address. However, while the IECI was undoubtedly fascist, its journal still accommodated a wide range of cultural and

ideological contributions, opening an important field for debating the influence of war films. Like broader LN efforts, the IECI was not ultimately able to prevent war, but it was based on a system of transnational exchange that created transnational connections among intellectuals. The IECI's broad definition of "educational film" made space for a debate about children's exposure to war films and sparked a number of surveys aimed at studying their influence. They took up the task of launching mass surveys to study the effect of film on children, though they ultimately used these findings to transform a debate about the possible anti-war effect of film to one that ultimately supported patriotic warfare.

The "taint" of fascism no doubt has had an influence on why the IECI has received, until recently, little attention from historians. However, fascist influence within this committee and Italian views of the mother's role in moral censorship also opened up a public platform for women to debate the future of film and its use. Women's organizations such as the International Council of Women contributed articles claiming film censorship to be the natural domain of women, which aligned nicely with Fascist Italy's view of women as mothers of the nation. Certainly, while the location of the League's film institute in Fascist Italy limited the impact of its work, it also created an opening for women and a venue for their ideas in the debate surrounding the impact of film on children. In the IECI's view, woman's essential role was as a mother and films that challenged this role were of far greater and immediate concern than films that glorified war. If the war film increased patriotic fervor, it worked in favor of the goals of the Italian Fascist state, but films that challenged the very base of Italian culture—the family—were a true threat. To the IECI, the protection of motherhood was essential and

women played their most ideal role when they built up and protected the family—thereby supporting the goals of the fascist state. However, while women were the target of the IECI's campaign to promote moral censorship, the IECI doubted their ability to play anything but a supportive role in the formal organization of the movement, even if they were to play an important part as individual mothers.

While women were marginalized within the CICI, they successfully used such assumptions about their "natural" role as mothers for entry into international debates surrounding education, film censorship and cultural internationalism. Notably, Laura Dreyfus-Barney fundamentally disagreed with the IECI about the role of women in film studies. She felt their work was equal to that of men and did not see them relegated to supportive roles, but as important leaders. Her version of moral censorship departed significantly from the IECI's views, which was illustrated in the tendency of the IECI to add qualifying—and often patronizing—editorial comments to her articles. However, the fact that these articles were even published underscores that the Fascist Italian state, though pursuing its own agenda, still left room for dissent in the *International Review of Educational Cinematography*. This suggests the important platform it provided for women to debate the issue of film's influence on children, which opened up for them precisely because the issue was of special concern for the Italian institute. Indeed, though heavily influenced by fascism, the venue was open enough to allow for voices of dissent.

While in many ways Dreyfus-Barney's views aligned with those of the IECI, she did not agree with the marginalized role for women proposed by the institute. Although women's traditional role as moral censors opened up room in international debates in the interwar period and women took advantage of assumptions of female authority in these

areas to take part in CICI moral disarmament and educational initiatives, they were still effectively marginalized within them. This marginalization has translated into underrepresentation in the historical narrative. Additionally, though CICI members recognized the challenges national and cultural tension posed, the scope of intellectual cooperation was still limited by Great Power assumptions of superiority and an unwillingness to move beyond formulations of "the other." Though there were exceptions, such as Marie Curie, most of the female participants in the CICI movement took on work that went largely unnoticed and many have fallen into relative obscurity. Women outside the United States and Europe participated, but were marginalized not only due to their status as women, but also because of their nationality. While, just as in the case of disarmament, women used their roles as moral censor as an entry point into educational initiatives, the same Great Power hegemony that challenged the efforts of the CICI also worked to marginalize them.

At the heart of all of the issues discussed in this dissertation were competing national interests. This proved significantly debilitating for the work of the CICI in the interwar period. However, while the CICI was certainly part of an organization that quite publicly failed in its effort to avoid another World War, the focus of historical scholarship should not be whether or not it was a failed experiment. Instead, the CICI should be regarded as an indicator of changing views concerning international cooperation. While the CICI's peace efforts may have had little impact on political events, they contributed to evolving peace strategies within education, media and intellectual work. The central importance of the CICI to historical study is not in its

successes or failures but as an example of how transnational connections were facilitated for the cause of peace and intellectual progress during its tenure.

Withering Away: UNESCO and the United Nations

Though the CICI placed much of its peace work under the umbrella term of "moral disarmament" in 1931, the wider failures of League disarmament machinery by 1933 negatively affected CICI efforts as well as public faith in moral disarmament work. Though initially exciting to many peace groups, such as the CICI, the Great Powers refused to support the concept because of its vague nature. By late 1933, the Disarmament Conference was essentially a shell with little power and was simply a political ground for public stances that did not match internal national policies. Germany and Japan had left the League, the United States refused to take any significant part and other major Powers were waiting anxiously to see what rival nations would do while only making a public show of participating.[427]

In June 1934, Murray wrote the Kent Quarterly commenting about recent events and the devolution of national support for the League. "All had agreed in principle except Germany and Japan," he argued, "and those who have not refused. They have only made the sort of reservation which in an individual is attributed to childish vanity and in a nation to patriotic pride." He then talked about how Italy had broken away from such agreements: "On those principles how can any progress ever be made—except downward?"[428] After 1934, progress was indeed "downward."

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[427] Brian J. C. McKercher, *Transition of Power: Britain's Loss of Global Pre-Eminence to the United States, 1930–1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 177.

[428] Gilbert Murray. Draft of article for Kent Quarterly. 13 June 1934. Murray MSS, 220:14-16.

Shortly before and during the conflict, the participation of the CICI fared better than the general participation in the LN. In January of 1939, during the landmark 100th Session of the Council, the tone was somber, but still hopeful. Iranian delegate Mostafa Adle, while still recognizing the setbacks that were "surely inevitable in all major undertakings," pointed to the "impressive record of accomplishment" of the League as good reason for continued support of LN efforts.[429] In his speech verbally renewing the support of France, Yvon Delbos argued that the League was criticized "no doubt because too much was expected of it." Responding to accusations of misplaced idealism at the heart of the League, Delbos went on to argue that idealism need not be seen as "chimerical" but as the "condition prerequisite to action" and that while some may malign the idealism of the League they are simply "compelled to invoke another ideology." Recognizing this, he argued, "If we were to ignore the principles of the League of Nations, we should very soon be obliged to rediscover them."[430] Chinese delegate Wellington Koo shared the concern of the other speakers and added that it was a lack of faith and conviction or "the persistent spirit of national egoism" that accounted for the weakening of the League and "the steady eclipse of its authority and prestige."[431] He urged against surrendering to critics by remaining immobilized by fear. "It would be," argued M. Koo, "to refuse to eat for fear of being choked by the food."[432]

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[429] LNP, *The League of Nations, A Vital Necessity in the Modern World: Addresses delivered on the occasion of the 100th Session of the Council, January 27th, 1938* (Geneva, 1938), 4.

[430] Ibid., 9-11.

[431] Ibid., 26-27.

[432] M. Koo quoting Chinese proverb, Ibid., 27.

Regardless of such national renewals of faith, the work of the LN suffered during the war. In the same way, the work of the CICI was heavily truncated throughout the conflict. As the intellectual cooperation section of one LN report stated, "In the intellectual sphere, as in the economic sphere, the war is extending its ravages." The report also cautioned against forgetting what they had learned in the interwar period:

> At the end of the conflict, the world will have less artists, less scientists, less technical experts...This will make it more difficult for the artist, the scientists and the student to resume their work. The Intellectual Co-Operation Organisation might be expected to facilitate such a resumption.[433]

Though the war complicated efforts, some progress was still made.

More generally, work continued in the area of intellectual cooperation with a conference held in Paris from November 30 to December 3 1939 for the International Act Concerning Intellectual Co-operation. Fifty governments sent representatives to the conference and thirty-seven signed the Convention to bring the Act into force. Considering such "rare" participation "in these days," the CICI surmised that "the eagerness of nearly every Government in the world to collaborate in the work of intellectual co-operation proves that its activities stand in the very first rank among questions of urgent importance at the present day."[434] When the LN gave way to the United Nations (UN) after the war, this sentiment would prove to be true, at least when it came to the willingness to continue efforts in international intellectual cooperation.

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[433] LNP, *Report on the Work of the League, 1941-1942* (Geneva, 1942), 64.

[434] LNP, M. Ozorio de Almeida, *Intellectual Co-operation Organisation: Report of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation,* Official No. C.244.M.152.1939.XII (Geneva, July 26, 1939), 2.

Indeed, the CICI viewed the intellectual cooperation efforts made in the Americas as an important continuance of their goals.

However, the formulation of its continued work in the Americas was not without disagreement. While the previous IIIC director Henri Bonnet and Gilbert Murray wanted the US to host the institute during the war, US members themselves felt it was best to move on to other strategies, such as increasing cooperation between American states. Though Bonnet immigrated to the United States in large part to continue the work of intellectual cooperation with the support of the US national committee, the US Committee did not envision a continuation of a formal institute in the Americas. In August 1940, US CICI member and historian Waldo Leland wrote to US executive secretary Edith Ware requesting that she help orient Bonnet to his work in the United States. He explained that while Bonnet had been brought to the US for "an indefinite period" in order to continue the work of the IIIC, this did not mean the US would support its reorganization as a formal institute.[435] On 23 October 1940, Ware wrote Leland commenting that Bonnet was upset with the lack of progress made in his work in the US. "I finally convinced him that it was foolish, under the present circumstances, to try to salvage the Conference from the European view," she wrote. She was convinced they needed to get their work in a "Western Hemisphere Conference" because little could be done at the time in Europe and so they should instead focus on what could be done in the Americas.[436] However, she did not feel a continuation of the IIIC was necessary in order to fulfill this goal.

[435] Waldo Leland to Edith E. Ware. 29 August 1940. Shotwell MSS, 129.

[436] Edith E. Ware to Waldo Leland. 23 October 1940. Shotwell MSS, 129.

In a likely attempt to support this agenda, she asked Bonnet to write a memo for the American national committees "concerning the German's attempt to take over the Institute," which seemed to only include talks with those in charge of the institute.[437] Though the IIIC was largely inactive at this point, Bonnet obliged, but his memo did not provide a clear indication of direct Nazi influence, aside from German discussions with members.[438] While some American CICI members had doubts to the extent of Germany's influence —such as US William Vogt who thought the Nazi influence had "been ridiculously exaggerated"—the memo did have the desired effect of moving conferences to the Americas.[439] While conferences were held, the IIIC was not moved out of Europe.

In a 28 October 1940 letter to Leland, Ware explained that Bonnet and Laura Dreyfus Barney were committed to "re-vivifying" the Institute, but she thought it was a mistake to "try to salvage and continue all phases of the work of the Institute" and felt it best to avoid recreating the Institute as it had been. "This is the time," she wrote, "for creative and courageous thinking and planning."[440] She felt it was time to expand their work without the fetters of the previous structures. In a clear reversal of previous CICI efforts to gain support of non-European nations, Leland wrote James T. Shotwell on 9 September 1940 that they would have to be careful to "emphasize the world-wide character of the movement in order to interest the other American countries and in order to save the principle of world-wide intellectual cooperation. It should not be conceived in

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[437] Edith E. Ware to Henri Bonnet. 3 October 1940. Shotwell MSS, 123.

[438] Henri Bonnet. "Memorandum." 25 November 1940. Shotwell MSS, 124.

[439] William Vogt to Edith E. Ware. 17 November 1940. Shotwell MSS, 124.

[440] Edith E. Ware to Waldo Leland. 28 October 1940. Shotwell MSS, 129.

exclusively American terms." Towards this goal, he hoped that the Cuban national committee would soon call an international conference.[441] It is notable that he did not suggest one should be hosted in the United States.

Not only was there resistance to maintaining the *status quo* by recreating a formal IIIC from US members, Latin American national committees resisted the centralization of the CICI's work in the United States. In a conversation with Edith Ware in January 1941, Henri Bonnet expressed his continual interest in the United States forming an Intellectual Cooperation Institute in place of the Paris Institute. Ware explained that there had been resistance to this idea because a similar institute, the Pan American Union, already had a headquarters in Washington, D.C. and Latin American members of the CICI were opposed to forming another institute centralized in the US. While she noted that some of this resistance had waned due to the recent policies of the French Vichy government, it would be unlikely to gather support in Latin America.[442] In the annual meeting of the US National Committee on 6 June 1941, the members discussed Bonnet's proposal, but felt there was too much opposition to the idea to make it a reality. The minutes of the meeting noted that "the Mexican Committee did not wish to see the culture of Paris exchanged for the culture of Washington" though they were interested in increasing cooperation between Mexico and the United States.[443] Bonnet and Murray continued to hope, however. In a letter to Bonnet, Murray expressed his frustration that he had not been able to keep apprised of the status of the institute. He thought the US was the best option since

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[441] Waldo Leland to Edith E. Ware. 9 September 1940. Shotwell MSS, 129.

[442] Edith E. Ware. "Conversation: Henri Bonnet." 13 January 1941. Shotwell MSS, 127.

[443] "National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation: Minutes." 6 June 1941. Shotwell MSS, 124.

France was “for the present out of the question” and though he thought “Great Britain will be less grudging in her attitude than she was in the past, I doubt if she has either the wish or the right to be the centre of the movement.” Murray wrote that he was starting to feel his age and would be passing the chairmanship on, but would continue to champion the cause in his home country. Even at this point, Murray was both hopeful, yet also resigned, that Great Britain would support intellectual cooperation.[444]

The conference Leland hoped would form became a reality later in the year with the Havana Conference of National Committees on International Cooperation held in November of 1941. Although much of the effort of the CICI work during the war centered on American countries, the hosting of the Havana Conference was based on an international theme of cooperation. The influence of the CICI was apparent in the general purpose of the conference, which was to “examine the basic principles on which depend the existence of intellectual cooperation and the means of assuring the survival of difference cultures in an atmosphere of tolerance and liberty.”[445] However, the only intellectual cooperation efforts of note that continued in Europe were by the International Museums Office, a branch of the CICI which labored to improve museum relations, promote museums to the public and preserve artifacts. This office continued to work on preservation of art and architecture during the war.[446]

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[444] Gilbert Murray to Henri Bonnet. 4 November 1941. Shotwell MSS, 129.

[445] “The Havana Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation” *Science*, New Series, Vol. 94, No. 2446 (14 November 1941), 457.

[446] LNP, *Report on the Work of the League During the War,* (Geneva, 1945), 126-28.

However, Murray held his conviction about the importance of education in future peace efforts. Murray wrote Shotwell a long letter on 7 July 1941 including his concern over the tendency of British opinion to look to some new scheme, such as religious education or Socialism, or worse yet towards increased armaments, rather than the "outlawry of war" as a way to secure peace. He also wrote to reaffirm his belief that cooperation in education would play a "very important part in any rebuilding of peace and civilisation in Europe." He added that, while only in the forms of reports and discussions, the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union was doing "very good work on this subject." He did not, however, think change would be quick to come and closed his letter: "It will be a wonderful thing if people like you and me and Lord Cecil could live to see the fruits of our work, but of course the odds are against it."[447] Writing to Shotwell in May of 1942, he commented: "I should much like to have a talk with you over the difference and similarities between this war and the last, but that must wait. It is certainly hard on what Winston called 'this unhappy, but not inglorious generation' to have had the experience twice."[448]

Shotwell wrote in a similar dejected state during the Second World War, although international cooperation was still central to his vision of peace. "It is not too much to say that unless the fanatic nationalism which rules by terror is uprooted, or at least rendered harmless, the second world war will not really be won by the nations of freedom," he wrote. "For total war reaches into the intellectual and spiritual domain as well as over the

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[447] Gilbert Murray to James T. Shotwell. 7 July 1941. Murray MSS, 92:63-4.

[448] Gilbert Murray to James T. Shotwell. 25 May 1942. Murray MSS, 94:39.

whole material world."[449] While education could support international cooperation and goodwill, it had also supported Fascist and Nazi ideology. A lack of understanding of national environments had proved to be a considerable limitation to interwar efforts in education reform. For those faced with the task of continuing the work of intellectual cooperation after the Second World War Shotwell cautioned: "There could be no better way to strengthen the hold of Nazism on the German mind than for educational missionaries to attempt to recast the German school system in terms foreign to its own past developments."[450] However, Shotwell continued to view national interest as outdated and renounced war as an instrument of national policy. In order for peace to be maintained, he believed, each nation-state had to interpret its national interest through the wider interests of all nation-states.[451]

Despite the difficulty the ongoing war presented, the CICI felt that they had learned quite a bit from the Great War and resulting years of reestablishing intellectual communication and could expect to apply what they had learned at the close of hostilities. Rather than the usual report of CICI efforts, a 1942 publication contained a hopeful message that the CICI might be called upon to use their experience to resume intellectual cooperation after the War. The report drew attention to the work of the CICI following the First World War to emphasize the importance of continuing efforts at the end of the current war. "If the difficulties encountered in re-establishing intellectual

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[449] James T. Shotwell, in I. L. Kandel, *Intellectual Cooperation: National and International*, (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944), v.

[450] Ibid., vii.

[451] Harold Josephson, *James T. Shotwell and the Rise of Internationalism in America* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975), 178.

relations after 1918 are recalled," the report stated, "it will be seen that, in the work of reconstruction which must follow the present war, the world cannot afford to neglect the teaching of twenty years of experience of the fruits of efforts of men of goodwill who, in ever-increasing numbers an in all parts of the world, gave the League of Nations their collaboration in the organisation of intellectual co-operation."[452] The framework of the CICI itself did not completely dissolve and much of its work was taken up by its successor in the United Nations.

Historian Patricia Clavin formulated transnationalism as "best understood not as fostering bounded networks, but as creating honeycombs, a structure that sustains and gives shape to the identities of nation-states, international and local institutions, and particular social and geographic spaces." This definition is important in understanding the reformulation of intellectual cooperation after the Second World War. "A honeycomb binds," Clavin wrote, "but it also contains hollowed-out spaces where organisations, individuals and ideas can wither away to be replaced by new groups, people and innovations."[453] This process was apparent in the replacement of the League of Nations by the United Nations in 1945. While the overall organization of the League withered away, the individual connections survived. The League of Nations disbanded and in its place emerged the United Nations (UN).[454] With the dispersion of the LN and the forming of the UN, the CICI gave way to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). As the 1946 LN publication *The League Hands Over*

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[452] LNP, *Report on the Work of the League, 1941-1942* (Geneva, 1942), 64-65.

[453] Ibid., 421.

[454] LNP, *The League Hands Over* (Geneva, 1946), 5.

stated: "General satisfaction was expressed in the First Committee at the foundation" of UNESCO to "carry on and develop the League's work in the field of intellectual co-operation. Intellectual co-operation was "one of the best forms of international friendship." The publication went on to state that "if intellectual co-operation was to-day a universally accepted reality," it was "in large measure" due to the work of the CICI.[455] A testament to this sentiment was that while no consideration of intellectual cooperation was made in the League of Nations Covenant, it was in the charter of the United Nations. As an agency of the United Nations, UNESCO had similar fields of action to what the CICI focused upon during its term.

The broad mandate of UNESCO was restructured in 1948 to include the headings of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, Communication, Education, Cultural Interchange, Human and Social Relations and Natural Science. The first two lines of the UNESCO Constitution, signed in London on November 16, 1945, were quite similar to the aims of the CICI. Namely, "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."[456] The influence of the CICI is clear throughout the rest of the 1945 Constitution, but UNESCO membership was different in one significant way—in order to be a member of UNESCO, countries had to have membership in the United

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[455] Ibid., 79.

[456] *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* UNESCO publication no. 367 (Geneva, 1946), 1.

Nations. Had this been the case in the CICI, it would have been even more heavily influenced by European thought.

Cultural understanding did not preclude the possibility of war, as the Second World War, and the subsequent closing of the League, made apparent. However, it did create individual as well as institutional ties that survived another war, although in a different form. Gilbert Murray and Laura Dreyfus-Barney continued to work in intellectual cooperation within UNESCO. Margarete Rothbarth indicated that had she been given the choice—rather than living in a stateless limbo in Switzerland—she would have continued her work indefinitely. Other members, such as James T. Shotwell and Temperance Smith moved on to other projects. Smith, for example, used the skills she developed in the US National Committee to form "Shopportunity," a company that sources international goods for individual consumers.[457] Shotwell changed his focus after the war. He dropped him membership in the United Nations Association (a continuation of the League of Nations Union), saying he was interested in its work, but did not have time to devote to it because his work in other international organizations.[458] The institutions and individuals who survived the war re-forged their networks—albeit in some examples in very different forms—and indeed expanded them.

Moral disarmament through education has remained an important component of peace activism. Many peace advocates still consider altering mentalities towards war to be a crucial step towards peace and believe there is an essential moral, as well as

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[457] Margaret Mara. "If You Thinking Shopping is a Problem—Imagine Shopping for World!" *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (14 October 1948).

[458] James T. Shotwell to Hugh Moore. 6 May 1944. Shotwell MSS, 239.

material, component to disarmament. For instance, in a recent media advisory entitled "Nuclear Weapons and the Moral Compass," president of the Global Security Institute, Jonathan Granoff, argued that nuclear weapons are not only a threat to world peace, but also a challenge to "the moral dimension of our humanity." He warned the world: "Our technological abilities must not outstrip our moral insights and render us less than fully human. For in this age, acting without the gifts of morality, law and wisdom will be lethal."[459]

However, the feasibility of this education-based approach to peace has been contested. In fact, the term "moral disarmament" continues to be used but with a very different connotation that illustrates how, in a political climate of heightened national and cultural tension, the process can be viewed negatively. For instance, at the one year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, American journalist Robert Bidinotto argued that it was Western determinism and pragmatism that opened the door to the terrorists by essentially mentally disarming the United States, which he called "unilateral moral disarmament." He claimed that these ideals had "long lurked in the shadows of Western consciousness" effectively eroding confidence, certainty and strength, while also giving power to "once-impotent enemies."[460] This was written in the midst of the early years of the so-called "War on Terror" when in the shock that followed 9/11 many nations had an ostensibly unified focus in their outcry. In the interwar and post-9/11 periods, this term arose in the

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[459] "Nuclear Weapons and the Moral Compass - Global Security Institute," accessed December 4, 2014, http://gsinstitute.org/blogs/media-advisories/vienna-event-nuclear-weapons-and-the-moral-compass-5801.

[460] Robert Bidinotto, "A 9/11 Commentary: 'Unilateral Moral Disarmament,'" *ROBERT JAMES BIDINOTTO*, September 11, 2011, http://bidinotto.blogspot.com/2011/09/911-commentary-unilateral-moral.html.

public debate, though there was a marked difference in how the primary powers responded, at least publicly, to perceived threat. With the United States at the helm, the most recent generation started a "War on Terror." The inter-war generation, with the United States government conspicuously aloof, started a "war" on war. Unlike in more recent years where moral disarmament has been considered a weakness, following WWI the eradication of war in the minds of people and material and moral disarmament were considered central to establishing a lasting peace.

In our current international culture, pacifism is now equated with powerlessness. This has taken no small part in the relative lack of interest in the historical study of peace movements. This ideal should not remain as a word deployed to connote weakness. In a world full of war-mongering discourses, resistance to a mainstream culture of violence should be recognized for its courage and its strength. Although riddled with internal conflicts, limited in its understanding of internationalism, elitist, and ultimately unable to prevent another World War, the CICI was committed to actively pursuing peace through transnational networks. It was an initiative strongly founded on the belief that only through resolute efforts and a hopeful outlook a peaceful, better future could be obtained. Present day culture may find something to learn from such an approach, though ideally expanded by lessons learned and progress made. The CICI was not able to successfully intertwine cultural internationalism with economic internationalism towards the goal of peace. We are still faced with this very issue. How much do ideas matter in our definition of prosperity? How important is cultural work to future success? Certainly, the national realities remain, but the dreams must still be dreamt.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Abbreviations

CICI	International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation
IIIC	International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation
IBE	International Bureau of Education
IECI	International Educational Cinematographic Institute
ICW	International Council of Women
IREC	*International Review of Educational Cinematography*

Appendix B: CICI Member Nations and Individual Committee Membership

Argentina 1936-39 --------------------------------- L. Lugones 1924-1928; V. Ocampo 1939
Australia 1925-39
Austria 1923-39 ------------------ H. von Srbik 1931-35; F. Degenfeld-Schonburg 1936-37
Belgium 1922-39 --- J. Destrée 1922-1932
Brazil 1922-39 ------------------------ A.de Castro 1922-1930; M. Ozorio de Almeida 1939
Brazil withdrew from LN in 1926
Bulgaria 1923-39
Chile 1930-38
China 1933-39 -- Wu Shi Fee 1930-39
Columbia (no national committee) --- S. Cano 1931-35
Cuba 1925-39
Czechoslovakia 1923-39 ----------------------------------- J. Susta 1928-38; B. Hrozny 1939
Danzig 1931-39
Denmark 1925-39 --- N. Norlund 1937-38
El Salvador 1928-37
Egypt (no national committee) -- T. Hussein 1939
Estonia 1924-39
Finland 1923-39
France 1924-39 ---------- H. Bergson 1922-25; P. Painlevé 1926-1933; E. Herriot 1934-39
France/Poland -- M. Curie 1922-33
Germany (no national committee) --- Albert Einstein 1922, 1924-1932; H. Krüss 1931-34
Great Britain 1928-39 -- G. Murray 1922-1939
Greece 1922-39
Hungary --- C. de Tormay 1935-36; P. Téléki 1937-39
Iceland 1929-39
India 1935-39 --- D. Banerjee 1922-23; J. S. Bose 1924-1930; S. Radhakrishnan 1931-38
Iran 1936-39
Italy 1928-37 --------------------- F. Ruffini 1922-25; A. Rocco 1926-35; B. Giuliano 1937
Japan 1936-38 --------------------------------- A. Tanakadate 1926-30; M. Anesaki 1934-38

Japan withdrew from LN in 1933

Latvia 1923-39 -- A. Qadir 1939
Lithuania 1922-39
Luxembourg 1926-39
Mexico 1931-39
Netherlands 1926-39 -------- H. Lorentz 1923-27; B. Loder 1933-35; J. Huizinga 1936-39
Norway 1924-39 --------------------------------- K. Bonnevie 1922-1930; E. Gleditsch 1939
Peru (no national committee) ---------- M. Cornejo 1929-30; G. Garcia-Calderon 1936-39
Poland 1923-39 -- C. Bialobrzeski 1935-39
Portugal (no national committee) -- J. Dantas 1934-39
Romania 1925-39 -- N. Titulesco 1930-39
South Africa 1933-39
Spain (no national committee) ------- L. de Torres-Quevedo 1922-25; J. Casares 1926-35;
J. Castillego 1931-38
Sweden 1926-39 -- G. Forsell 1931-38
Switzerland 1924-39 -- G. de Reynold 1922-1939
Syria 1933-39
United States 1926-39 ----------- G. Hale 1922; R. Millikan 1923-32; J. Shotwell 1933-39
USSR (no national committee) ----------------------------- V. Obelensky-Ossinsky 1935-38
Yugoslavia 1923-39

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