From Intellectual Co-operation to International Cultural Exchange:
Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, 1922-39

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Introduction

The problem of culture is one of the main preoccupations in the contemporary world. Aside from the relevance of Samuel Huntington’s controversial argument, ‘the Clash of Civilizations’, cultural factors have become increasingly decisive in international relations since the end of the Cold War. In fact, most of the major issues in the present globalizing world, such as problems of terrorism, ethnic conflicts and immigration, arise from cultural politics among people with different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, maintaining cultural diversity in the world is thought to be one of the most important problems that the international society has to address.

At the same time, much research has recently paid attention to international cultural exchange as a form of foreign policy that advances national interests while contributing to international peace by facilitating international understanding. For instance, Joseph S. Nye Jr.

1 This paper was originally prepared as an introductory part of the dissertation which the author is now working on. Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to articulate the argument and structure of the dissertation, although it is still a work in progress. Any comments and suggestions would be greatly appreciated.


3 A vast amount of scholarship has been devoted to the cultural explanation of globalization. For example, see Arjun Appadurai, Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; John Tomlinson, Globalization and Culture, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

4 As an example, see ‘Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity’ adopted by the general conference of UNESCO in 2001.
has recently conceptualized ‘Soft Power’ as a main pillar of this kind of diplomacy. According to Nye, the definition of ‘Soft Power’ goes as follow.

What is soft power? It is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced. America has long had a great deal of power.

As is clear here, ‘Soft Power’ argues for the importance of cultural exchange to the extent that it can serve the pursuit of national interests by governments, on the premise that cultural exchange should be implemented as part of foreign policy. Yet, although Nye’s original intention was to criticize the unilateral and military oriented foreign policy of the Bush administration particularly after September 11, the concept ‘Soft Power’ has stimulated the discussions about the role of international cultural exchange in various countries as part of their foreign policy of each government in the post-Cold War era.

For example, Bunka Gaikō no Sokushin ni kansuru Kondankai (the Commission for the Promotion of Cultural Diplomacy), established by the Japanese government as an advisory panel on Japan’s cultural diplomacy and international cultural exchange, issued its final report in July 2005. The report titled ‘Bunka Kōryū no Heiwa Kokka Nihon no Sōzō wo’ (Toward the Creation of Japan as a Peaceful Nation through Cultural Exchange), with its front cover colorfully presenting various images of Japan, has a unique appearance for an official government document. This report stresses the importance and necessity of the Japanese government not only to promote cultural diplomacy for its own sake but also to contribute to international peace through international cultural exchange.

At first glance, the emphasis on the importance of cultural diplomacy and international cultural exchange as a means of facilitating international understanding seems to be


6 This report is downloadable on the following URL; http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/bunka/kettei/050711houkoku.pdf
inherently positive, peaceful and of almost universal nature. However, it should be noted that most of the recent discourses on international cultural exchange share an ideological background that is closely related with the idea of national identity. For example, the Japanese report explains the reason why Japan should launch cultural diplomacy from the point of view of Japan’s national identity.

For long time, the basis of the Japanese culture has been constructed through exchanges with other cultures and civilizations. Moreover, Japan has accomplished its modernization through the trial and error process of choosing between its tradition and Western modernity. Cultural exchanges have been a crucial element in the process of forming modern Japan. Suffering from conflicts and contradictions between different civilizations, Japan has historically managed to overcome them. Hence Japan can understand the hardship of non-Western countries that are forced to accomplish its modernization while retaining their national dignity and identity.

Taking advantage of her historical position, Japan as a “Peaceful Nation of Cultural Exchanges” can promote the mutual understanding between the East and the West, the South and the North, nations, regions, cultures and civilizations, and can play an active role to construct a peaceful and stable international as well as regional relations, without getting involved in conflicts between civilizations, ideologies and religions. This is what international society expects of Japan.

Here, it is shown that the need to implement international cultural exchange is justified by the perception of the uniqueness of Japan’s national identity and the richness of Japan’s experience of various cultural exchanges. In other words, Japan is given a special status as a peaceful country resulting from its unique historical experience of using cultural exchange to overcome conflicts between cultures. In this way, the idea of international cultural exchange

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7 ‘Toward the Creation of Japan as a Peaceful Nation through Cultural Exchange’, 2005, p. 3.
in Japan, assuming the uniqueness of its national identity, has a high affinity for the nationalistic discourse.

However, little research has been done on such an ideological background of international cultural exchange. In fact, it is still a convention in the field of international cultural exchange to think of its fundamental principles as an inherently positive and peaceful idea. For this reason, what has been argued in previous works is not what the idea of international cultural exchange is, but just how it should be implemented effectively. However, considering that Nye’s concept of ‘Soft Power’ tied governments with their national interests and given the Japanese report showing the strong sense of national identity, it is evident that the idea of international cultural exchange should be seen as an ideology constructed politically and historically. In other words, what is needed now is to historicize international cultural exchange. Therefore, the main purpose of this thesis is to describe the historical development of the idea of international cultural exchange.

Transcultural History

Now, what kind of history should be written? The great bulk of historical research on international cultural exchange has focused on bilateral relationships between two entities, two national cultures: Anglo-American, Franco-German, Sino-Japanese and so on. As a result, while scrutinizing cultural interactions between the two sides, such research tends to pass over the problem of subjectivization. In other words, insofar as research is based on relational analysis, there is nothing but to define the actors involved, nations in this case, as a self-evident subject. After all, research on international cultural exchange of this kind is nothing but a compilation of some national histories.

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9 For example, Akira Iriye understands the idea of international cultural exchange according to his definition of “cultural internationalism” – “the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national boundaries” (Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p.3).
To overcome this problem, this thesis adopts an approach of Transcultural History, which can be defined as follows.

Transcultural History introduces a global view of the past by focusing on processes of border crossing. Instead of attaching the past to clearly defined entities such as eras, territories, nations, classes, or states, Transcultural History focuses on incompatibilities, tensions, and disputes, which develop whenever people, objects, concepts, or ideas transgress the ruling orders of their respective time. The permeability of borders provides information on the acceptance or rejection of entanglements in the respective society.\textsuperscript{10}

As shown here, Transcultural History focuses not on relations between clearly defined entities involved but on the global contexts in which such entities are shaped and transformed. Therefore, it can cover a wide range of research issues, such as events and practices intended to introduce self-representation on a global stage, shifting objects, institutions and movements with the opportunity for global membership, border crossing information, places and space with extraterritorial and international character, and people living transboundary lives under different labels\textsuperscript{11}. For the purpose of this thesis, particularly in the sense of avoiding to fall into the narrative of national history, Transcultural History can offer a new perspective on the history of international cultural exchange.

In addition, this thesis employs Benedict Anderson’s theoretical argument on history. Through reflecting on theoretical problems of his past works, \textit{Imagined Communities} in particular, Anderson has been recently focusing on the global basis of nationalist movements in various countries. In fact, his recent book examines an international network of nationalists that was constructed by anarchists in the colonized world like Philippines, Cuba and China, in

\textsuperscript{10} Madeleine Herren-Oesch, “Transcultural Method and Theories: History”, p.1. This is an unpublished short paper distributed at a class in the Graduate Programme of Transcultural Studies, Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context”, Heidelberg University, Germany.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 1-2.
the era of ‘early globalization’ from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. In this book, using the analogy of astronomy, Anderson describes the global basis of nationalism that went beyond national and cultural boundaries while gravitating toward one another as a ‘gravitational field’. Accepting this idea from the point of view of Transcultural History, this thesis focuses on a ‘transcultural field’ in the history of international cultural exchange.

**The ICIC as a Transcultural Field**

For this purpose, this thesis assumes the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) as a transcultural field. The ICIC was established in 1922 by the Council of the League of Nations as a technical organization aiming at facilitating international understanding among nations. The ICIC, boasting famous intellectuals such as Henri Bergson, Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and Paul Valéry, was one of the most remarkable international organizations for international cultural exchange in the interwar period. Most of its ideas and programs, such as facilitating university exchanges, revising geography and history textbooks, organizing conferences on international studies, networking libraries and archives in the world, promoting international understanding, protecting scientific property and copyright, have been taken over by UNESCO in the postwar period.

There is a significant body of scholarship on the ICIC. Until recently, most scholars, in light of the failure of the League of Nations, concentrated on the defects inherent in the

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ICIC. These works shares the view that the ICIC, as with its main organization, had such underlying problems as idealism, elitism, and Eurocentrism. On the other hand, recent research has been focusing rather on the potential of the ICIC. For example, Akira Iriye argues that the ICIC can be regarded as a pioneering international organization for cultural exchange, whose fundamental principles, ‘cultural internationalism’, survived and flourish after World War II.

However, the ICIC can be seen differently by regarding it as a transcultural field. From the point of view of Transcultural History, the interwar years during which the ICIC existed, is of great significance. It is notable that national organizations for cultural exchange were simultaneously formed in various countries in the period between two wars: Deutsche Akademie in 1925, British Council in 1934, and Japan’s *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* (the Society for International Cultural Relations) in 1934. Given the fact that the ICIC had its national committees in as many as 40 countries, and that some of the national committees provided the basis for organizing a national organization for cultural exchange in each country, this thesis assumes that the ICIC served as an international basis of these national embodiments of cultural exchange. Thus, the ICIC is regarded as a transcultural field stimulating the establishment of national organization for cultural exchange in the interwar world.

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18 Iriye, op. cit., Ch.2 and 3.

19 Each organization is still in existence. Deutsche Akademie was transformed into the present Goethe Institute, Japan’s Society for International Cultural Relations into the present Japan Foundation.
Japan and China in the ICIC

Moreover, this thesis focuses on the commitments of Japan and China to the ICIC. Among the members from non-western countries, Japan and China were both the most ardent advocates and the most outspoken critics of the ICIC. On the one hand, they promoted a close relationship with the ICIC, but on the other hand they emphasized the significance of national culture for rebelling against the Eurocentric universalism upon which the ICIC was predicated. The backlash from Japan and China against the ICIC’s underlining assumptions prompted the organization to shift its guiding principle from intellectual cooperation based on the presumed universality of western civilization to international cultural exchange based on the particularity of national cultures. In this way, by viewing the ICIC as a transcultural field including Japan and China, the idea of international cultural exchange itself can be regarded as a globalized and transcultural product which emerged from the web of interactions between the ICIC on one hand and Japan and China on the other, as well as Europe and Asia. In doing so, it is hoped that this thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of the ICIC’s intellectual cooperation and its significance in the history of international cultural exchange.

As for Japan, very little research has been done on its relationship with the ICIC. Only brief references to the ICIC can be found in the studies on the Japanese diplomacy to the League of Nations. On the other hand, not a few scholars have recently been paying attention to Japan’s cultural policy to other countries in the interwar period. However, although these works offers the critical perspectives on the political implication of cultural exchange, there is

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still room for more work to be done on the global context in which Japan’s policy of cultural exchange was formed.

Research on the relationship between China and the ICIC is in the similar state. While substantive research has not been done until now, there are some discussions to the ICIC as well as the League of Nations in the works on the history of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua Minguo Shi*), which has been lead by Chinese and Taiwanese scholars. However, as with scholarship in Japan, it cannot be said that these works succeeded in transcending the narrative of national history.

Therefore, what is needed is to place the historical developments of international cultural exchange in Japan and China in the global context during the interwar period. For this purpose, this thesis focuses on Japan and China in the ICIC as a transcultural field.

**Genealogy and Flows of Concepts: Civilization and Culture**

The thesis also examines the transformation of the discourse of intellectual cooperation in the ICIC, particularly in relation to Japan and China. In so doing, two notions should be paid particular attention: civilization and culture. These words have each long and complicated history in the usage of European languages. However, the interwar years witnessed the tremendous semantic change of these notions which in turn influenced the ideological shift of intellectual cooperation in the ICIC. This is because the concepts of civilization and culture were the integral components in conceptualizing intellectual cooperation, a project newly launched by the League of Nations in the early 1920s.

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When the ICIC was established in 1922, the purpose of intellectual cooperation was defined as constructing a universal community of intellectuals in terms of civilization. At this point, still holding the Eighteenth century Enlightenment meaning of civilization that premised its universality, the word was still used in the singular. However, in the aftermath of the Great War that evoked the strong sense of crisis about the future of western civilization among the people in Europe as well as in the non-Western world, it came to be used in the plural\textsuperscript{24}. In this context, Japan and China, on one hand, strived to meet the standard of civilization that the West arbitrarily imposed on the non-West\textsuperscript{25}. But, on the other hand, both countries, while calling into question the hegemony of western civilization as well as underlining the plurality and diversity of civilizations in the world, started to produce more and more discourses on regional civilization such as Asian civilization or Oriental civilization in the 1920s\textsuperscript{26}. Confronted with this criticism of Japan and China against eurocentrism that the ICIC was initially based on, this idea of multiple civilizations came to be shared by the ICIC in the 1930s.

At the same time, the word ‘culture’ was also increasingly used in the ICIC after its foundation. As is the case with civilization, the meaning of culture was transformed in this period, shifting its emphasis from the commonality and universality to the particularity and


\textsuperscript{26} See, Prasenjit Duara, \textit{Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modernity}, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, Ch.3; Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism”, \textit{Journal of World History}, Vol.12, No.1 (2001), pp.99-130. It must be noted that there were large discrepancies in understanding Asian civilization or Oriental civilization between Japan and China. This is mainly because Japan and China respectively identified itself with the representative of such a regional civilization. For example, Japan itself conceptualized the word meaning Orient, Toyo, which made it possible to historically trivialize China as a backward other. For details, see, Stefan Tanaka, \textit{Japan’s Orient: Rendering Past into History}, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
plurality. Particularly in Japan, influenced by the German concept, Kultur, which stressed spiritual values and a genuine morality against the French notion civilisation, the concept of culture was defined in terms of the particularity of national culture. For this reason, in Japan, intellectual cooperation was thought to be a means to introduce Japanese national culture as significant and unique to the West. As with Japan, China emphasized the uniqueness of its national culture in the ICIC. As a result of the commitments of Japan and China, the ICIC became increasingly aware of the particularity of national culture in the 1930s, even identifying itself as a ‘League of Cultures’.

In this way, this thesis describes the historical change and transboundary flows of concepts in the entangled relationship between the ICIC, Japan and China. Since intellectual cooperation was closely related with the respective government in Japan and China, it should be thought that these conceptual changes and flows were politically constructed. What is more, the seemingly self-evident uniqueness of national culture that both Japan and China asserted was also politically constructed and transformed historically. Therefore, this thesis also examines what Japanese culture or Chinese culture was thought to be as well as how it was formed and transformed.

**Primary Sources**

This thesis employs empirical historical methods and pursues a multi-archival approach in order to examine the ICIC as a transcultural field including Japan and China as well as the interface between Asia and Europe. Therefore, the description is based on primary sources collected at archives in Geneva, Paris, Mons, Oxford, Tokyo, Taipei, and Nanjing.

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28 Kuper, p.32.

The collection of the ICIC’s official documents at the League of Nations Archives in Geneva are of primary importance. It covers almost all documents prepared and published by the ICIC, such as minutes of the conferences of the ICIC, texts of the resolutions, letters to and from the members, internal memorandums, and publications. At the same time, this thesis places an equally great deal of importance on the collection of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) documents at the UNESCO archives in Paris. The IIIC, established at Paris in 1925, served as a policy-implementation organ of the ICIC. This collection contains important documents about the programs of the ICIC especially to Japan and China.

These official documents of the ICIC are complemented by private papers which are housed at other archives. Firstly, the thesis uses the documents and papers at the Mundaneum in Mons, Belgium. It houses a number of the official documents of *Union des Associations Internationales* (UAI) as well as the private papers of Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine. The UAI lead by Otlet and La Fontaine played a significant role in the process of establishing the ICIC. Secondly, the private papers of Gilbert Murray at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University are examined. As with Paul Otlet and La Fontaine, Murray was one of the key figures in forming a project of intellectual cooperation in the League of Nations. Moreover, Murray served as a member of the ICIC throughout the course of the ICIC as well as its chairman after 1928.

As for the relationship between Japan and the ICIC, this thesis is mainly based on the diplomatic documents stored at the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in Tokyo. For the reason that Japan’s cooperation with the ICIC was initiated and implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this archives houses most of the documents concerning the relationship between Japan and the ICIC. Besides the diplomatic papers, the thesis avails itself of the documents of *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* (Japan’s Society for International Cultural Relations) at the Japan Foundation Information Center Library in Tokyo.

Reflecting a convoluted history of modern China, it is complicated to locate the Chinese official documents that are dispersed in China and Taiwan. For this reason, this thesis is based
on various documents at different archives, so as to scrutinize the historical relationship between China and the ICIC. Among them, the collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Institute of Modern History Archives in Taipei is of primary importance, since it includes the official documents concerning Chinese diplomacy to the League of Nations during the period of the Beijing government (1912-1928) as well as after the establishment of the Nanjing Nationalist Government (1928). In addition, the thesis uses the documents of the Ministry of Education at the Academia Historica in Taipei, while referring to the private papers of Wu Zhi-Hui, Chinese member of the ICIC, at the Kuomintang Party Archives in Taipei. Moreover, some descriptions on the ICIC’s programs in China is based on the official documents at the Second Historical Archives of China in Nanjing.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter I describes how the ICIC was founded in the aftermath of World War I, what the main characteristics of the early ICIC were, and what problems remained behind the establishment of the ICIC.

First, I examine the role that Union des Associations Internationales played in the process of establishing the ICIC. The UAI was founded in Brussels in 1907 by two Belgian internationalists, Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine, for the purpose of facilitating networking among international associations all over the world. As well as constructing a close

relationship with the League of Nations, the UAI had a keen interest in the project of intellectual cooperation from the very beginning, and repeatedly called for the establishment of such an organization for intellectual cooperation under the auspices of the League of Nations\(^{31}\). Based on the UAI’s documents and the private papers of Otlet and La Fontaine at Mudaneum in Mons, Belgium, this chapter scrutinizes the idea of intellectual cooperation proposed by the UAI and its effect on the fundamental principle of the early ICIC.

Second, this chapter focuses on the pivotal role of Inazo Nitobe in the process of establishing the ICIC in the League of Nations. Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933), Under Secretary General of the League of Nations, was in charge of the problem of intellectual cooperation\(^{32}\). However, it does not mean that the ICIC was the brainchild of Nitobe. Rather, Nitobe, identifying himself as an international civil servant, consciously refrained from leading the


discussion on the problem of intellectual cooperation. Therefore, the role of Nitobe in the
process of founding the ICIC was to summarize various suggestions on intellectual
cooperation from different organizations and to make a plan acceptable to governments in the
Assembly or the Council of the League. In this regard, Nitobe, showing a great interest in the
UAI’s scheme for intellectual cooperation, formulated his plan for the ICIC based on it. In
addition, Nitobe prepared the list of members of the ICIC with the help of Gilbert Murray.

Gilbert Murray (1866-1957), Professor at Oxford University and one of the representative
internationalists in Great Britain in the interwar period, not only showed an interest in the
project of intellectual cooperation from the very start, but also served as a member of the
ICIC from 1922 to 1939 (Chairman from 1928 to 1939). Using private papers of Gilbert
Murray at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, this chapter demonstrates Nitobe’s role
in selecting members of the ICIC.

Third, this chapter examines Nitobe’s impression on the ICIC. Nitobe regarded the
members of the ICIC as independent from governments. This came from the universalistic
nature of this organization that the UAI emphasized. In other words, absorbing the idea of the
UAI’s scheme for intellectual cooperation, the ICIC identified itself as a sort of universal
community of intellectuals. At the same time, the fundamental principle of the ICIC was
defined as facilitating intellectual relations among nations by means of communicating

33 Even Murray, who later became one of the most ardent advocates for intellectual co-
operation as the chairman of the ICIC, was complaining about the ambiguity of its meaning;
“the International Organization of Intellectual Work – a somehow hazy and obscure subject,
on which nobody but a few cranks seemed to have any clear views…” (Salvador de
Before reporting at the plenary meeting, he also expressed his true sentiments; “Now I must
go to the Assembly again, to report on Intellectual Work. This subject is almost joke… I hate
reporting to that indifferent Assembly on Int. Work!” (ibid., p.190).On Murray’s
Bibliography, see Duncan Wilson, Gilbert Murray, OM, 1866-1957, Oxford: Clarendon Press:
Oxford University Press, 1987. As for his internationalism, Jeanne Morefield, Covenants
without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton
University Press, 2005; Christopher Stray ed., Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism,
scientific information. In this way, the ICIC made a start with the universalistic but ambiguous idea of intellectual cooperation. After the establishment of the ICIC, Nitobe criticized the exclusion of Japan and China from the ICIC, and asked for the better representation of Asia\textsuperscript{34}. This is because Nitobe himself detected Eurocentrism in the seemingly universalistic nature of the ICIC. Moreover, such impression was shared by not a few intellectuals in Japan and China. Therefore, after the foundation of the ICIC, Japan and China respectively launched a project to cooperate with the ICIC in order to urge the ICIC to redefine its idea of intellectual cooperation. In other words, confronted with the ICIC, Japan and China started to oppose the universalism of the ICIC based on Eurocentrism, by emphasizing the significance of national culture. In this sense, the establishment of the ICIC in 1922 was the starting point for cultural self-assertion by Japan and China in the League of Nations.

Chapter II examines Japan’s commitment to the ICIC. To be sure, the Japanese government sent Nitobe to the ICIC as Japan’s de facto representative, but this is not to say that Japan had been actively involved in the programs of the ICIC. In fact, the Japanese government paid little attention to the ICIC in its early years. It was at the time of Nitobe’s resignation from the League in 1926 that the Japanese government started to cooperate with the ICIC.

In the beginning, the National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Cooperation (\textit{Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai}) was established in 1926\textsuperscript{35}. Although this committee was founded as a private organization, the Japanese government, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

\textsuperscript{34} Inazo Nitobe, “Observation of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation,” Geneva, August 18, 1922.

\textsuperscript{35} The committee members included: Yamada Saburo (Chairman), Anesaki Masaharu, Miyajima Mikinosuke, Komura Kinichi, Nagaoka Harukazu, and Awaya Ken.
had continually taken the initiative in the process of its development. This involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is shown not only in the constitution of the committee – all members were actually selected by the Ministry – but also in the financial sources of the committee – the Ministry undertook the expense burden. As a result, the Japanese government had a great influence on the national committee in terms of both the process of its formation and the financial resources.

This national committee implemented various cultural exchange programs such as the translation of Japanese commercial law and civil law into English, the publication of the yearbook of Japanese art, and the introduction of Japanese literary classics. To be sure, the committee was originally established as a national committee of the ICIC, but in the process of its formation, its main purpose came to be defined not as to correspond and cooperate with the ICIC but as to introduce Japanese culture to the West. Therefore, the most crucial task of

36 More precisely, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs transferred the Japanese national committee to the Japan Association of the League of Nations in 1927. It is still a moot point whether the ministry intended to camouflage its strong influence on the national committee. At the same time, it can be argued that the ministry took careful note of the nature of the ICIC, “non-governmentality”. On the Japan Association of the League of Nations, see Iwamoto Shōkō, “Nihon Kokusai Renmei Kyōkai: 30 nendai ni okeru Kokusai Kyōchō Shugi no Tenkai” (Japan Association for the League of Nations: The development of internationalism in the 1930s), Ritsumeikan Daigaku Jinhō Kagaku Kenkyūjo Kenkyū (Memoirs of Institute of Humanities, Human and Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University), No. 85 (2005), pp. 115-147; Ihei Masaru, “Nihon Kokusai Renmei Kyōkai: Sono Seiritsu to Henshitsu” (Japan Association for the League of Nations: Its development and change), Hōgaku Kenkyū (Journal of Law, Politics, and Sociology), Vol. 68, No. 2 (1995), pp. 23-48.


the committee was to introduce Japanese culture overseas, especially to Western countries\textsuperscript{39}. This motive was taken over by Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (Japan’s Society for Promotion of International Cultural Relations), which was established in 1934 as Japan’s first full-scale national organization for cultural exchange\textsuperscript{40}. Thus, this chapter demonstrates the inheritance relations between the national committee of Japan on intellectual cooperation and Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai.

This chapter also examines the ICIC’s publication of the Japanese Collection from 1935. This project, originally suggested by Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, was approved at the plenary session of the ICIC in 1935. With the financial support by the Japanese government, the ICIC intended to introduce Japanese culture to Western countries by translating Japanese classics into French. Based on these principles, ICIC published three volumes as the Japanese Collection: Les Haïkaï de Bashô et de ses disciples in 1936, L’Art, la Vie et la Nature au Japon in 1938, and Kokoro (Le Pauvre Cœur des Hommes) in 1939\textsuperscript{41}. It is of great importance in the Japanese Collection that the ICIC launched the program to introduce Japanese culture to Western countries, which was initially implemented by the National Committee of Japan. In so doing, the ICIC underscored the significance of the particularity of

\textsuperscript{39} Yamada Saburo, chairman of the national committee, asserted that “the purpose of our committee is not only to cooperate with the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, but also to introduce our culture to Western people.” Yamada Saburo, “Gakugei Kyōryoku Kokunai Inkai Daihyōsha Kaigi no Gaikyō” (Report on the Convention of National Committees), Kokusai Chishiki (International Understanding), Vol. 9, No. 11 (1929), p.61.


national culture. Therefore, this chapter argues that the ICIC through the project of Japanese Collection purposefully facilitated the construction of Japanese national culture from the outside.

This chapter is mainly based on the documents of Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, and the Japan Foundation Information Center Library, Tokyo.

Chapter III describes China commitments to the ICIC. As with Japan, China had shown its great interest in the ICIC since the early stage of its establishment. China with confidence insisted on the importance of Asia in the project of the ICIC, calling for the nomination of a Chinese intellectual as a member of the ICIC. In fact, at meetings of the Assembly as well as of the Council of the League, Chinese delegates repeatedly complained about the lack of a Chinese member in the composition of the ICIC, emphasizing China’s cultural importance not only in Asia but also in the world. For China, Asia was not appreciated in the ICIC until China occupied a position of its member. Insisting on the cultural importance of Asia, China proposed a sort of international ‘cultural relativism’, which forced the ICIC to modify the idea of intellectual cooperation based on Eurocentrism.

42 To be precise, the top priority of Chinese diplomacy with the League was to win and retain a nonpermanent seat of the Council in its election. For details, see Tang Chi-Hua, Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng (1919-1928) (The Beijing Government and the League of Nations, 1919-1926), Taipei: Dangda Toshu Gongsi, 1998, Ch.3. Along the same lines, China asked the League to nominate a Chinese as a member of the ICIC. The basic principle for an enhanced international status can be seen as one of the main characteristics of Chinese diplomacy. According to Kawashima Shin, China has consistently sought to enhance its international status as a great nation since the early 20th century. On this point, see Kawashima Shin, “Chūgoku Gaikō ni okeru Shōchō toshiten no Kokusaiteki Chi” (The Long-term Target on Chinese Diplomatic History to Enhance Its International Status on Hague Peace Conference, the League of Nations and the United Nations), Kokusai Seiji, Vol.145, 2006, pp.17-35.

43 League of Nations, Records of the Fourth Assembly, Meetings of the Committees, Minutes of the Fourth Committee (Social and General Questions), Geneva, 1923, p.36.
China’s cooperation with the ICIC started with the Mission of Educational Experts to China in 1931. The project of the mission was initiated at the request of the Nationalist Chinese Government in Nanjing to co-operate with the League. The Nationalist Government, inheriting the basic understanding on the ICIC from the former government, Beiyang Government, not only succeeded in the nomination of Wu Zhi-Hui as a first Chinese member of the ICIC but also aimed to promote further cooperation with the League of Nations.

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44 The mission was composed of Carl H. Becker (Professor of the University of Berlin, formerly Prussian Minister of Public Education), M. Falski (Director of Primary Education at the Polish Ministry of Public Education), P. Langevin (Professor of the Collège de France), R. H. Tawney (Professor of the London School of Economics and Political Science), Frank P. Walters (Head of the Secretary General’s Office, the League of Nations). The mission was later joined in China by A. Sardi (Representative of the International Institute of Educational Cinematography) and Henri Bonnet (Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation).

45 Since Wu Zhi-Hui never appeared in Geneva during his term (1930-1939), some Chinese intellectuals attended the meetings of the ICIC in his place: Lin Yu-Tang (1931), Chen He-Xi (1932), Hu Tian-Shi (1933-1935), Cheng Qi-Bao (1936), Li Shi Zeng (1937-1939). Besides Wu Zhi-Hui, Li Shi-Zeng, formally a member of the Chinese anarchist group in France, was one of the most important figures in the Chinese project of intellectual cooperation. Even after Wu Zhi-Hui was nominated as the Chinese member of the ICIC in 1930, Li acted virtually as a pillar of intellectual cooperation in China. This is because Wu Zhi-Hui was reluctant to engage in intellectual cooperation, and in fact, he never appeared at Geneva during his term (1930-39). Nonetheless, Li highly evaluates Wu Zhi-Hui as a pioneer in the field of cultural exchange in China. Li Shi-Zeng, “Zhihui Xiansheng Liushinian Jiaoyi Sigong zhi Guanxi” (60 Year’ Friendship with Wu Zhi-Hui), Wu Zhi-Hui Xiansheng Shishi Shizhounian Jinian Teji (Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of Wu Zhihui’s Demise), no date, p.15; Li Shi-Zeng, “Shijie Wenhua” (World Culture), Li Shi-Zeng Xiansheng Wenji (Collected Works of Li Shi-Zeng), vol.2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1980, p.279-280.
request, as part of the ‘Technical Cooperation’ implemented between China and the League in the 1930s, was that China commissioned the ICIC to investigate the situation of education in China as well as to submit the report on the reform of Chinese educational system. Soon after receiving the request, the ICIC organized and dispatched the Mission to China in September 1931. Importantly, this project was the first experience for the ICIC to assist a particular government in its programs.

The mission published its report in 1932, in which the intention of the ICIC to cooperate with China was manifested. The ICIC had an intense interest in the national unity of China, especially China’s national culture. In this respect, the ICIC suggested that China under the influence of foreign cultures should reconstruct and preserve the national genius of China and the particularity of its national culture. Thus, this chapter argues that the ICIC intended to engage in the construction of national values as well as lay emphasis on the particularity of national culture. In other words, the Mission of Educational Experts to China can be regarded as the ICIC’s attempt to construct China’s national culture from the outside.

After the Mission, the Chinese national committee on intellectual cooperation was founded by the Nationalist Government in 1933. Compared with Japan’s intellectual cooperation, whose main purpose was to introduce Japanese culture to the Western countries, China’s

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intellectual cooperation intended to promote China’s domestic cultural reconstruction. Therefore, while Japan’s intellectual cooperation was implemented to the West, to the ICIC in this case, China’s intellectual cooperation was carried out mainly in China; translating the ICIC’s publications into Chinese, inviting professors from Europe to teach at universities in China, and incorporating universities and research institutions in China. In addition, the national committee also sent its mission to Europe so as to study European educational system, and established the Chinese International Library in Geneva to introduce Chinese culture to Western people. Based on primary sources collected at various archives such as the Archives of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Academia Historica, Taipei, Kuomintang Party Archives, Taipei, and the Second Historical Archives of China, Nanjing. This chapter argues about ideas and activities of the Chinese national committee on intellectual cooperation.

Chapter IV examines the transformation of the idea of intellectual cooperation in the ICIC in the 1930s, in confrontation with the commitments of Japan and China. In 1933, the ICIC generated a new idea of intellectual cooperation in the form of the collection of letters titled Société des Esprits, which were exchanged among intellectuals such as Paul Valéry, Gilbert Murray and Tsai Yuan-Pei. In this correspondence, all intellectuals agreed that the ICIC should acknowledge the diversity of cultures, and that the future ideas and programs of the ICIC ought to be based not only on Western civilizations but also on multiple civilizations and national cultures. It can be thought that the ICIC hereon identified itself as a transcultural field. Moreover, in East and West, a collection of letters between Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore, which was published by the ICIC in 1935, it was manifested that the

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50 However, it must be noted that the move toward unified Chinese national organization for international cultural exchange was accelerated by the establishment of Japan’s Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (The Society of International Cultural Relations) in 1934. China was on alert against the Japan’s national organization for international cultural exchange, and sought for the countermeasure against the programs that was closely related with Japan’s foreign policy. In this regard, see Liu De-Ming, “Guoji Wenhua Shiye shi Shenme?” (What is International Cultural Exchange?), Waijiao Yuebao, vol.6 no.6, Jun. 1935, pp.141-157.

harmony between the East and the West should be regarded as one of the fundamental principles in the ICIC\textsuperscript{52}. Finally, prepared by the ICIC with the help of the French government, International Pact concerning Intellectual Cooperation was ratified in 1938 by as many as 45 governments at the time\textsuperscript{53}. This pact, the end product of the ICIC in substance, stated that intellectual cooperation was supposed to be implemented by governments as well as to be based on national cultures. In this way, the ICIC gradually changed its idea of intellectual cooperation in the 1930s. Analyzing the discourse on intellectual cooperation in the ICIC, this chapter argues about how the ICIC shifted its main principles from intellectual cooperation to international cultural exchange.

In conclusion, though the ICIC paid little attention to roles of governments and values of national cultures in its early years, but responding to the challenges of China and Japan, it came to seek a close partnership with governments, supporting the construction of their national cultures from the outside.

Again, the idea of intellectual cooperation shifted from the universality of Western civilization to the particularity of national cultures. For instance, at the 20th plenary session of the ICIC in 1938, G. de Reynold, who had been a member of the ICIC since its establishment, summarized the principles of intellectual cooperation as follows: (1) Our organization has been established to serve intellectual life. (2) Establishment of our organization on solid national basis. (3) To respect the diversity and originality of all forms of culture and all

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\textsuperscript{53} League of Nations, “International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation”, Geneva, 1938. The governments that finally ratified this act are as follows: Albania, Argentine Republic, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ecuador, Spain, Estonia, Finland, the French Republic, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Iran, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Monaco, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. The Japanese government sent a representative to the diplomatic conference, but finally refused to sign the act.
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aspects of civilizations. (4) Universality\textsuperscript{54}. Compared with the main characteristic of the early ICIC, it can be seen that the ICIC moved away from the universality of Western civilization that emphasized roles of individual intellectuals, and that it was finally settled into the particularity of culture based on national cultures. The ICIC was no longer a universal intellectual community but a “League of Culture” as an organization among national cultures. In this sense, the ICIC as a “League of Cultures” provided the international basis of national organizations for international cultural organization, which were simultaneously founded in various countries in the 1930s.

It is also argues in conclusion what UNESCO took over from the ICIC after 1946 when it was established as a successor of the ICIC. This is because, although the ICIC was replaced by UNESCO, its main function as a transcultural field for international cultural exchange has been carried through the ideas and programs of UNESCO.