

The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: Translation Policies in the Interwar Period (1925-1946)

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1. Introduction

The historical study of translation policies is certainly in its infancy, but historical research has not even dealt in-depth with the development of cultural policies in important institutional settings such as the League of Nations (henceforth the LN). We can count on a large literature on the history and the political organization of the LN, an international organization created as a result of the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, but there are very few studies on the cultural activities of the LN; despite the fact that ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘soft power’ were among the LN’s most important goals (Grandjean 2018, Carbó Catalan forthcoming). Within the framework of three distinct levels of diplomatic communication (unilateral, bilateral and multilateral) (Vimr 2018: 42), this chapter aims to offer an historical view of the role of the League of Nations in the interwar period (Lacqua 2011) from the perspective of translation. Specifically, I will explore the translation activities of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (1925-1946) (henceforth IIIC), and the impact of its translation policies (Meylaerts 2011), both in Europe and beyond. This chapter is divided into three parts: first, I will begin with a brief introduction to the history of the IIIC; then, I will provide an overview of its translation policies and its translation activities, suggesting some reflections on the concept and forms of ‘translation policy’ in the interwar period. Finally, I will focus on the history and role of a literary series on Latin American literature and the Buenos Aires meeting in 1936 (Giuliani 2020), revealing the close and fruitful collaboration between

the IIC and the PEN Club. When the IIC's role was taken over by UNESCO, in 1946, its translation policies and main activities were maintained – a confirmation of the long-term effectiveness of its initiatives (Vimr 2018).

2. Translation Policies in the Interwar Period: The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

In January 1922 the League of Nations established the International Commission of Intellectual Cooperation to reinforce collaboration among countries after the First World War. Under the leadership of the French philosopher Henri Bergson, together with the British-Australian Gilbert Murray who was vice president, and with the contribution of Julien Luchaire (Luchaire 1965), the International Commission of Intellectual Cooperation brought together well-known public figures such as Albert Einstein, Marie Curie and Paul Valéry, among others (Northedge 1986; Renoliet 1999). In 1925, the Commission established the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris to develop and implement its projects. Headed by Julien Luchaire, the French General Inspector of Public Education, between 1925 and 1931, and by Henri Bonnet, between 1931 and 1940, the IIC aimed to consolidate the League of Nations' activities in favour of peace, though it could be argued that the IIC had a French bias considering that it was funded by the French government. From 1923, many National Committees of Intellectual cooperation were founded and in 1928 the International Educational Cinematographic Institute was also established in Rome. However, only the Paris Institute succeeded in establishing a core of intellectual cooperation, particularly in the 1930s.

The IIC created an Intellectual Statistics Service, which outlined the activities related to the International Literary and Artistic Union (1926-1930) and described the state of intellectual work in various countries from 1926 to 1939.

¹ The IIC also housed documentation and reports on intellectual, artistic, and literary property, copyright, and intellectual work—which the IIC analysed through contracts between theatre directors, artists, authors, translators, composers, as well as through publication contracts.

Within this framework, the IIC's translation practices became a powerful instrument with three main goals: (i) to encourage international cultural exchange and promote the dissemination of various cultural and political national projects; (ii) to diversify the international cultural field and promote the visibility and greater acknowledgement of less internationally known cultures, languages and literatures, and lesser-known agents and agencies in an international network of culture; (iii) to establish a structure of agents and agencies working for translation who could contribute to an international network of culture.

Thus, the translation policy promoted by the IIC (maybe one of the first serious attempts at a *transnational* translation policy) elicited, for instance, greater international interest in the particular traits and local traditions of Latin American cultures and literatures, as well as of Japan. The IIC promoted an *International Bibliography of Translations*, the well-known *Index Translationum*, a bulletin which is still well-known today and which lists the translations published in various countries. The *Index* was launched in 1932 and the statistics from 1979 onwards can be accessed online. The IIC also published two literary translation series: one for Latin America and one for Japan. There is also evidence of a planned series on Chinese literature that did not materialize. In all cases, there was a strong interest to explore the cultures and literatures of the world and to reinforce bonds between Europe, Latin America and Asia, as we can see from the Commission Task Report on the Seventeenth Plenary Meeting, held on August 8th, 1935:

To bring together our spirits and teach people to better understand each other—because all peoples can offer something more original and more significant—has

been the Commission's goal since its inception. This is the aim of our Ibero-American Collection [...] and also the aim of a new project that the Commission has enthusiastically adopted: a second collection, this time, from Japan. The Tokyo Society on Cultural Relations as well as the Institut de coopération intellectuelle are pursuing talks in this respect, which are set to succeed. The Commission has already unanimously approved the idea and has even chosen the collection's first book, *Les Hai Kai*, by the poet Bashô (1644-1694) and his disciples. The Ibero-American collection's example is destined to be followed—as preparations for a Japanese collection prove—since its principles are just and follow one of the trends of our time: a penchant for foreign literatures.²

Undoubtedly, this urge to forge international organizations that would promote peace as well as cultural exchange through intellectual cooperation was by no means new, but the interest for Latin American deserves to be highlighted (Carbó Catalan forthcoming; Dumont 2008, 2018; Herrera León 2017; Pernet 2007; Pita González and Granados García 2017). There had been myriad proposals in the late nineteenth century, especially with regard to education. Prior to 1914, the Bureau in Bern (the Bureau de l'Union International pour la protection des oeuvres littéraires et artistiques) took important initiatives concerning the protection of literary property, and other initiatives came from the International Law Institute, the International Bibliography Institute in Brussels (founded by Henri Lafontaine and Paul Otlet), and the Union of International Associations (also founded by Lafontaine and Otlet). However, before the First World War cultural exchange was not driven by a diplomatic corps or by an intergovernmental institution such as the Paris Institute (Northedge 1986: 1-24).

Translation policies were not named and defined as such, but they were implicit in existing rules on intellectual property rights such as the Bern Convention, already approved in 1886, as well as in intergovernmental organizations such as the League of Nations, in non-governmental organizations such as the PEN Club, in private foundations

such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and also in strategies of book promotion. A sense of these agencies' policies on translation can also be gained from other sources such as correspondence, reports, newsletters and the translations themselves (for example, the choice of titles to be translated or the inclusion of prefaces and prologues). In the case of the IIC's archives, the Archives Service was founded in 1928, though its holdings were transferred to UNESCO headquarters in Paris in 1946. The indexing of these archives shows a significant amount of material related to translation-policy issues that were categorized under the title 'Propriété artistique et littéraire' [Literary and artistic property]³. This category includes documents concerning the revision in Rome in 1928 of the Bern Convention on literary and artistic production, as well as material related to copyright and translation rights from 1928 to 1936. The indexing of the IIC also contains a section of files specifically titled 'Traduction'⁴, which also includes material on copyright and translation rights from 1926 to 1934, letters related to the preparation of the *Cahiers des traductions* (the two collections on Ibero-American and Japanese literature in translation) from 1929 to 1933, material regarding the *Bibliographie de la traduction* [Bibliography of Translation], letters describing the meetings which took place from 1931 to 1932, translation and editing contracts, and documents concerning the *Index Translationum*. The IIC also conducted a study on the state of translation aimed at helping the literary associations of the time, PEN Club delegations, national IIC committees (in 1928), and several outstanding writers and intellectuals – but some material was lost during the German occupation from 1940 and 1944. In that respect, the indexing of the IIC's archives shows that its holdings also contained a translation bibliography and the repertoires of many translators, but, unfortunately, these holdings did not survive⁵.

The evolution of translation policies in the interwar period saw four important milestones: 1925, when, according to a wide range of documents in the IIC's archive, the Paris Institute was established and translation was at the centre of most of debates; 1928, when the Rome Conference to revise the Bern Convention took place and the Pen Club met in Oslo; 1932, when the *Index Translationum* was first published; and 1934, when the Ibero-American translation collection was launched and when translation programs and grants saw an increase relative to the previous decade. The 1934 *Index Translationum* bulletin summarizes the IIC's translation-related work as follows:

***Index Translationum*, n. 4, April 1934**

To our readers

With the publication of the *Index Translationum*, the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle has taken on a difficult feat. This publication aims to allow authors, editors, translators, critics, and anyone interested in international literary exchange to access a resource that can cast light on the translation activity taking place in each country. We still need to persuade editors, who do not generally distinguish translations from other works they publish, to provide supplementary references when it comes to translation [...], especially the translations' original language as well as the title of the original work. Not until we gather the required information will we be able to publish lists of authors' works that have been translated to different languages, as well as indexes by language, which would no doubt prove useful.⁶

Translation policies undertaken by the IIC were the result of an international diplomatic project to strengthen collaboration between countries, but also the will of individual agents (for example, the Chilean writer and poet Gabriela Mistral, who was elected

secretary of the IIC in 1926, and the Spanish literary critic, translator and diplomat Enrique Díez Canedo, also closely linked to the IIC) who used their *habitus* and specific disposition as writers, translators, or critics to promote a better understanding of other cultures and literatures. Indeed, the historical study of translation policies reveals the important role played by cultural mediators (Meylaerts 2006; Meylaerts, Gonne, Lobes, Sanz Roig 2016; Roig-Sanz & Meylaerts 2018). Specially in so-called ‘peripheral’ countries, cultural mediators made some of the first attempts at the institutionalized promotion of translation, fostering cultural diversity and the translation of world literature (Heilbron 1999; Hacoen 2014). They tried to get international visibility for their countries and enhance the political and cultural projects of their nations. In the specific case of the IIC’s translation practices, the role of the French Brazilian Dominique Braga (a member of the French PEN Club and the literary section of the IIC and responsible of the Ibero-American series of translations), Gabriela Mistral and Julien Luchaire and Henri Bonnet, both directors of the IIC, are worth mentioning. Both academic studies and the literary world have largely focused on Mistral’s poetry, but her crucial role in the international organization and in the Ibero-American series of translations is still largely unknown. Likewise, Dominique Braga was a prominent figure who appears in most letters from the *Index Translationum* archive, and Enrique Díez Canedo, secretary general of the Madrid PEN Club, also participated actively in the IIC and was a member of its Committee of Experts.

Thus, the activities of the Paris Institute aimed at a multilateral promotion of translation which was clearly used to build up international and strategic alliances between a broad constellation of countries and governments (for example, between Europe and Latin America). The IIC did not promote unilateral or bilateral cultural agreements between individual nations (Vimr 2018), but it took part in a transnational

project that aimed to institutionalize translation, to encourage intercultural communication, and to bridge the gap between countries, authors, publishers and translators. The publications of the Paris Institute were part of this multilateral project: among them, the *Bulletin de la Coopération Intellectuelle* [Intellectual Cooperation Bulletin], the *Handbook of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations*, *University Exchanges in Europe*, *Students Abroad*, *Les Associations Internationales d'Étudiants* [International Associations of Students], *Instituts Nationaux à l'Étranger* [National Institutes Abroad], *La Revision des Manuels Scolaires contenant des passages nuisibles à la compréhension mutuelle des peuples* [Review of Deleterious Excerpts in Textbooks], the *International Code of Abbreviations for Titles of Periodicals* and the well-known *Index Translationum*. Paul Valéry and Albert Thibaudet from France, Thomas Mann and Ernest R. Curtius from Germany, and Salvador de Madariaga from Spain were also members of the advisory committee.

On another level, the discussion on translation policy also involved the revision of textbooks and the exchange of books between national libraries. The above-mentioned Franco-Brazilian Dominique Braga corresponded with the directors of some national libraries such as those in Florence and Paris. He was also in touch with publisher's associations such as the German Borsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler [the German Publishers and Booksellers Association], in Leipzig; and the Italian Federazione Nazionale Fascista degli Industriali Editori [Italian Fascist Publishers Federation] and Società Italiana degli Autori ed Editori [Italian Publishers and Authors Society]. At the Paris Institute, the search for humanism and universalism (that is, the mainly Eurocentric idea that beyond local cultures there are irreducible universal features) which characterized the years following the First World War evolved in the 1930s into a search for cultural differences and the establishment of a supranational

intellectual community. In the 1920s the IIC encouraged discussions on intellectual property rights and on the central role of literature in the development of world culture, within the context of an idealistic conception of the writer's role. After the creation of the IIC, translation remained a priority and it was at the core of intellectual debates to foster internationalism. In the spirit of the LN and intellectual unity, Romain Rolland took an interest in the project known as 'Weltbibliothek' [World Literature] which owed much of its universalizing spirit to its specific interest in increasing understanding between the East and West. Rolland agreed to edit an international collection of contemporary works as proposed by his Swiss-German publisher, Emil Roniger. Likewise, Rolland took on the responsibility of founding the Europe-Asia publishing centre in Geneva as well as the Maison des Amitiés [Friendship House], which houses the International Library and Archives. However, none of these universalizing projects were ever brought to fruition (Meylan 2009).

In 1925, during the PEN International Congress, in Paris, translation was at the centre of the discussion. It was proposed that each delegation should compile a list of titles that might be translated into other languages together with a list of suitable translators. However, these specific projects on translation in support of both fiction and non-fiction did not succeed in the 1920s and were mainly carried out in the 1930s when subsidies became available to finance them. In fact, most of the subsidies came from non-European or peripheral European countries, and not from the Paris Institute as was the initial plan. Indeed, any action was highly dependent on the budget of the specific countries or, in the case of America, of private foundations (Haigh 1974: 47). In the US, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace supported translations from the American Pen Club. Thus, the role of non-European or more 'peripheral' European countries was important: in 1927 the Catalan committee, a non-national state committee

was created; in 1936, the IIC's annual meeting took place for the first time in Buenos Aires. In the same year, the Romanian committee proposed the publication of a series of translations from different 'small'/'minor' European literatures into one or more 'central' languages (I will not discuss terms like 'small', 'peripheral' or 'central' which should, of course, be used critically: Roig Sanz and Meylaerts 2018: 1-37; Rotger, Roig Sanz and Puxan Oliva 2019; McMartin 2019). However, no volumes were actually published.

This is the immediate context of the Ibero-American and Japanese series of literary translations mentioned above. Ibero-American countries were economically and politically emerging nations and there was a desire to make them more visible on the international scene. The promotion of their lesser-known cultures and literatures was not only a way of establishing their position as political partners in Europe, but also a way of promoting their novel political and cultural projects. Of course, the translation of their literatures was also a way of freeing their national identities from the old Spanish hegemony. For most Europeans, Latin American countries were still unknown and exotic territories. Latin American cultural attachés in Europe and other experts (Spaniards, mainly) actively promoted their countries of origin and Hispanic language and literatures as a field of study.

3. The Ibero-American Series of Translations

One of the IIC's most notable examples of international collaboration and translation policy was its promotion of the Ibero-American collection. The IIC aimed to make some of Latin America's most notable works accessible in French (the most relevant language at the time), with the ultimate goals of strengthening the ties between Latin America and Europe and introducing Latin-American countries' main writers and thinkers (Roig Sanz and Subirana 2020). The IIC's literary series on Ibero-American literatures (with a strong focus on indigenous cultures) was published by independent publishers such as the French

publishing house Kra, in which the IIC's president also played a role, using funds provided by individual nations for economic support. The initiative was promoted by Gabriela Mistral and the Peruvian Víctor Andrés Belaundé, though the French-Brazilian Dominique Braga was the executive director and Blaise Briod served as secretary. The collection showcased recognized French translators such as the Georges Pillement, Francis de Miomandre, Jean Cassou, Adolphe de Falgairolle, Max Dairoux, Marcel Carayon, Mathilde Pomès, Marcel Bataillon and Marcel Auclair, whose knowledge of Spanish served to legitimize and publicize Latin-American literatures. The collection found legitimization in Mistral's approval as well as in support from recognized Hispanists such as Ernest Martinenche. Martinenche served as director of the Institute d'Études Hispaniques in Paris, of the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, and of the *Bulletin Hispanique*; he was also general secretary of French universities and Grands Écoles for Latin-American relations. Mistral was already a very well-known writer and poet (she was awarded with the Nobel Prize in 1954). She devoted part of her life to establish cultural bridges between Europe and America: as a diplomat, she lived in Naples, Madrid, Nice, Lisbon, Los Angeles, Veracruz, Mexico City or New York, among other cities. Working with recognized translators or showcasing famous writers in prologues and prefaces also helped legitimize these new publications in the French market, and, by extension, the European market as well.

The collection also enjoyed a prominent editorial committee that was constituted by very well-known writers, critics and university professors in the Spanish-speaking world⁷.

The Ibero-American collection was published with the financial support of member countries. Argentina and Brazil took charge of four volumes (Fólica and Ikoff 2020; Pumar 2015); Venezuela and Chile took on two; and Cuba, Peru, Puerto Rico, and

Ecuador took on one title each. The IIC project also spent part of its budget on publishing a luxury supplement. All in all, the IIC received the following funds: 30,874 francs from Chile; 86,316 from Brazil; 77,212 from Venezuela; 60,266 from Argentina; 12,677 from Cuba; 17,580 from Puerto Rico; 30,467 from Uruguay; and 10,500 from Peru. Each print-run would include about 2,000 copies. As the following quote explains, every translation was paid for by the author's country of origin.

Memorandum

Colección Ibero-Americana's publications are paid via grants provided by the author's country of origin [...] A 2,000-copy edition would cost an estimated 15,000 French francs, including the translation, printing costs, etc., as long as the publication does not exceed 250 pages in length. [...] Furthermore, several hundred additional francs should be considered for a supplementary luxury edition⁸.

The collection also had correspondents from each member country, all of which would propose titles and translators for potential translations. Though the correspondents constituted themselves as a Committee on their own,⁹ they did appoint a small technical team to select classics for publication. This committee of experts included the Spanish critic Enrique Díez-Canedo, Jean-Maxime-Georges Le Gentil, Arturo Farinelli, Kester (from the United States), and a German Hispanist chosen by the IIC. The correspondents recommended that the collection not exceed 25 volumes and that each volume be preceded by an introduction. They also proposed that the collection start off with better-known authors, that it be geared toward subscriptions, and that at least one work be published per country. In this way all Latin American countries would be represented in this collection.

In the July 1932 issue of *Index Translationum*, the collection was announced as follows: ‘Traductions des oeuvres classiques de la littérature ibéro-américaine. [...] En vente à l’Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle’ [Translations of Ibero-American literary classics [...] For sale at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation]. Among the works in the collection, we could highlight the greatest representative pieces of writing for each literature (some of which would be introduced in university programs): for example, *Dom Casmurro*, by the Brazilian author Machado de Assis, published in March 1936, which is a masterpiece of realist literature; *Ensayos*, by the Puerto-Rican independence advocate Eugenio María de Hostos, from June 1936; *Mes montagnes, paysages et souvenirs*, by the Argentine writer González, from November 1936; *Traditions péruviennes*, by the Peruvian Ricardo Palma, from March 1937, which combined fiction and Peruvian historical events (with little value as a historical source) with the aim to educate the reader; *Théâtre choisis*, by the Uruguayan Florencio Sánchez, from June 1937; *Essais*, by the Ecuadorian Montalvo, from November 1937; *O mulato*, by the Brazilian Aluizio Azevedo, from March 1938; *Folclore chileno*, from June 1938; and *Martín Fierro* by José Hernández, from November 1938, which is the most important work in the building of an Argentine national identity. The collection also included *Historiens chiliens*, by Carlos Pereyra, in translation by Georges Pillement; *Le diamant au Brasil*, by Joaquim Felício dos Santos, translated by Manoel Gahisto with a preface by Count Affonso Celso; *Facundo*, by Sarmiento, translated by Marcel Bataillon with an introduction by Roberto Levillier; *America*, by José Martí, translated by Francis de Miomandre; and *María*, by Jorge Isaacs, translated by Mathilde Pomès. However, this last translation was somewhat problematic, as the Colombian government claimed to be unable to collaborate due to a lack of funding. Max Grillo, the Colombian

delegate, also noted that *María* had already been published in *Revista Latinoamericana* in 1870 in a translation by Besta Bastide under the pen name Jeanne de Castelvieux.

For Gabriela Mistral, one of the reasons why this collection was so important was Spain's excessive hegemony over Hispano-American affairs, which went hand in hand with her perceived need to revise Hispano-American publications that had been edited under the bias of Spanish nationals. Indeed, the writer discussed this issue during her time as Chilean consul in Madrid:

Letter by Gabriela Mistral, 26 October 1934

Whenever a Hispano-American issue was approached in the past, Spain demanded that it be allowed to supervise, sometimes imprudently and basely, attempting, for instance, to have Señor Casares mutilate Bolívar's letters. It was my initiative to bring Díez-Canedo to our sessions, on behalf of Spain. I have taught Pre-Columbian American History in the United States, provoking wrath among Spaniards for exposing the truth, not just about the Spanish Conquest, but also regarding two American-Indian cultures, the Mayan and the Quechua. It is imperative that you approach the Committee or Commission to ask that French, German, and American experts impose one criteria based on truth and one based on negation and crass prejudice when it comes to these communities; it is imperative that Spain not attempt to strong-arm these collected materials and that it do more than merely include those sectarian pages written by its own Historians on the Native Peoples while suffocating all subsequent research, especially foreign research undertaken over the last ten years. I, your dear friend, belong to the South American indigenist group, which works to reassert these indisputable cultures by any means possible and knows plenty about those who would be up in arms against any attempt of this nature.¹⁰

The Collection, just like *Index Translationum*, was published by Floch Mayennein Paris. The bookstore Stock was in charge of its publishing and distribution. It is possible that the collection's relationship to Stock was established through Jules Luchaire's first

wife, Fernande Dauriac, who edited for Stock. In Spain, the Bosch bookstore served as distributor of the IIC's publications.

As for the costs of translation, we know, for instance, that Marcel Carayon and Mathilde Pomès received 5,000 and 2,500 francs for their free-verse translations of *Martín Fierro* and for the translation of *Páginas escogidas* by Joaquim Nabuco, respectively. Georges Pillement received 3,000 francs for translating an anthology of texts that had been selected by Chilean historians, and Martinenche participated as copy editor for the edition's sixteenth-century texts. It was Mistral who proposed publishing a volume on Chilean folklore to be written by Julio Vicuña Cifuentes, and she also proposed Francis Miomandre as a translator, with the latter ultimately writing the volume's preface as well.

As mentioned earlier, working with recognized translators or showcasing famous writers in prologues and prefaces also helped to legitimize the collection. In this respect, paratexts were also important. This was the case with *Martín Fierro*, which includes an introduction by the Argentine writer Ricardo Rojas; José Martí's *America*, which had a prologue by the Cuban Juan Marinello; as well as the Uruguayan Florencio Sánchez's theater publications from 1939, which included a prologue by the Spanish critic Enrique Díez Canedo. Aurelio Viñas, who was a lecturer at the universities of Oviedo and Sevilla and adjunct director of the Institute Hispanique, suggested that Díez Canedo could write the preface and encouraged Dominique Braga, the collection's director, to write to Casa de la Cultura de Valencia (Valencia Culture House), as he lived in Valencia at the time. Díez Canedo's reputation as a poet and theater critic, as well as his work as ambassador of Spain in Uruguay, were significant factors behind his being chosen to write the prologue. In a letter from December 27, 1932, Dominique Braga congratulated Díez Canedo on his appointment as ambassador, asking him, as Díez Canedo was a member

of the publications Committee, to help the theater critic Nogueira to organize a series of activities as an homage to the Uruguayan playwright. These activities, which included the *mis-en-scène* of some of his plays, aimed to raise funds for the publication of his works. In Sánchez's case, the translation was funded through popular subscription, thus relieving the government of some of the costs. The 'Semana Florencio Sánchez' [Florencio Sánchez Week], which was celebrated in Montevideo, also inspired the Cuban writer Mariano Brull, leading him to found a similar propaganda Committee in Cuba to finance the translation of José Martí's works, the most well-known Cuban writer. In short, between 1927 and 1940 all these meetings took place very often and dealt with different issues such as the choice of works to be published or the prefaces and prologues to be included, as well as the selection of translators.

The volumes were sent to various journals and publications, including *Le Petit Parisien*, *Mercure de France*, *La Revue argentine*, *Nouvelles Littéraires*, the Argentine magazine *Nosotros*, *La Prensa de Lima*, the newspaper *La Nación*, and *Tierra firme* (the quarterly magazine published by the Hispano-American Section of the Center for Historical Studies in Madrid), as well as to institutes such as Institute Hispanique and Maison de l'Amérique Latine, in Paris and Brussels. These luxury editions would be sent to members of the editorial Committee as well as to prominent members of society from each country. Henri Bonnet also sent some volumes to the Rockefeller Foundation in New York.

Although there was a strong disproportion between the translation of French literature in Latin America and the translation of Ibero-American literature in France or Europe, the IIC's series on Ibero-American literature helped to promote Ibero-American cultures within Europe and it attracted the attention of other European publishers, journals and translators. Indeed, some French translators and publishers were interested in the

translation of Ibero-American authors in the 1930s as well, such as Gallimard, Rieder, Le Cahier du Sud, and Bernard Grasset.¹¹ Les Éditions Excelsior, Les Bibliophiles de l'Amérique Latine and the Belgian Les Cahiers du Journal des Poètes (Meylaerts & Roig-Sanz 2016) also contributed to the promotion of Ibero-American authors, such as Enrique Larreta and Ventura García Calderón. In 1938 a Book Exhibition on Argentinean literature was also organized in Paris (Giuliani 2018).

4. The Collaboration with the International PEN Club on Translation Policies

The IIC's cultural policies were applied at an international level, as is clear from its regular communication with various national committees. An analysis of the IIC's translation activities also shows that there was a close and fruitful collaboration with the international and national committees of the PEN Club, which was particularly boosted at the PEN International Congress in Oslo in 1928. The Paris Institute allowed the PEN Club to get involved in the choice of translated titles and in the selection of translators, and the worldwide association of writers participated from then on in all meetings, congresses and initiatives organized by the Paris Institute, for example: the *International Guide of Archives*, the *Index Translationum* of literary and scientific works, and the two literary series of translations, one of Latin American literature and the other of Japanese literature. Henry Seidel Canby, the American president of PEN, suggested at the PEN International Congress in Brussels, in 1927, that an 'international clearing house' for translation be set up to make the circulation of literary flow and the meeting of authors, publishers and translators more efficient. Canby also established contact with the LN in Geneva and there was talk of setting up the headquarters of the PEN translation bureau there. The plan, however, did not materialize, as the American members of the PEN did not get sufficient funding (Ollivier-Mellios 2010). Instead, the LN did establish an

important International Literary Prize, stressing the value of literature for intellectual cooperation.

In 1934, the PEN Club published with the French publisher Rieder the *Annuaire International de la Traduction* [*International Yearbook of Translations*] which was divided into the following sections: (i) a directory of publishing firms which usually publish translations, (ii) journals that published translations or reviews of foreign books, (iii) noted writers and literary critics interested in foreign literature, and an indication of the language in which they specialized, and (iv) recommended translators, with an indication of their working languages.

In the specific case of the promotion of Latin American authors through translation, the organization of the IIC's meeting in Buenos Aires in 1936 is worth mentioning (Giuliani 2020). The meeting in Buenos Aires, which would focus on Europe's relations with Latin America (a strategic alliance) was the most outstanding example of the IIC's interest in consolidating its cross-Atlantic ties. Meetings and conferences held outside of Europe and the United States were rare at the time, and the voice of Latin America had only been heard in Americanist conferences. It was also in 1936 that the Argentine capital celebrated its Annual Congress for the International PEN Club (the Argentine branch of the PEN Club had been created in 1931). Both the IIC and the PEN Club reflected on important issues such as the author's and translator's intellectual property rights, and the writer's social function, particularly important in the 1930s with the rise of Stalinism and fascism.

Outstanding Latin-American writers and intellectuals, such as the Mexican Alfonso Reyes and the Dominican Pedro Henríquez Ureña, widely debated authors like Jules Romains, Emil Ludwig, Stefan Zweig, and Jacques Maritain (Pernet 2007: 66-73). The acts of the Argentine conference were edited by Antonio Aíta (a member of the

Argentine delegation, see Fóllica & Ikoff, 2020) and published by the Paris Institute. Indeed, recognition of old Europe was celebrated alongside the need to empower the specificity of Latin America and its indigenous substrata.

On the whole, the collaboration between the IIC and the various delegations of the PEN Club (from Europe to the US and Ibero-America) meant that they defended the same goals and values, namely the development of translation as a way of strengthening ties between countries and writers and the right of writers to express themselves freely. In 1939, the first conference of the American Commissions of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation took place in Santiago, Chile; the second one took place in La Habana in 1941. All these conferences and meetings show how these mediators positioned themselves in contemporary debates and were intricately connected on an international level through intercultural networks and practices of textual exchange (translation and reviewing). The active role of Latin American agents and agencies also shows how they took an active part in the first waves of institutional development of the time and questions the idea that cultural exchange among Latin American countries was non-existent.

5. Conclusions

It has been said that assessing the impact of translation support policies in the interwar period at all three levels – unilateral, bilateral and multilateral – is not an easy endeavour, since long-term translation programmes required time to negotiate and put into practice and the Second World War brought an end to these initiatives (Vimr 2018: 61). I agree with this assessment as far as the ideas, plans and programmes that survived the Second World War are concerned, and I agree that ‘similar schemes evolved over the decades up to our days’ (Vimr 2018: 61). However, we already perceive in the analysis of both IIC and International PEN translation policies some important achievements and we also have

to take into account how the concept of ‘translation policy’ was named and defined in the past. Undoubtedly, both the IICC and International PEN helped (i) to encourage international cultural exchange and promote the dissemination of various cultural and political national projects; (ii) to push forward the visibility and greater acknowledgement of lesser-known cultures, languages and literatures; and (iii) to establish a structure of agents and agencies working for translation who could contribute to an international network of culture.

Within this framework, these final words could start asking if translation policies in the interwar period and, more specifically, in the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the PEN Club were purely apolitical cultural policies dealing with the development of cultural links, the welfare of writers and the protection of literary and artistic rights, or if they were intrinsically a political act in defense of national interests and of freedom of expression both abroad and in Latin American. I would argue that they were both: on the one hand, an analysis of the IICC’s translation policies and translation practices induces us to reconsider the participation of lesser-known agents and agencies in key cultural transformation processes such as the international institutionalization of culture; on the other, the Ibero-American translation series was used to strengthen cultural and political relations between Europe and Latin American, French being considered at the time the language of culture and diplomacy. After the First World War, new countries emerged and the need for intellectual cooperation became more important than ever. The League of Nations was aware of this need and one of the goals of European diplomacy was to promote collaboration among European countries, but also beyond. The idea that culture could improve international relations (Rundle & Sturge 2010; Rundle 2010) was maintained throughout the whole period and the apparent neutrality of the Paris Institute and the International PEN Club in the 1920s experienced a turning point after the

International PEN Congress in Budapest, in 1932, and the Congress of Dubrovnik, in 1933, with the rise of Nazism (Skrabec, 2020). As has been pointed out by some historians, the LN failed to preserve peace, but it was rather successful in the field of economic and social cooperation (Northedge, 1986: 165) and in the cultural domain. Translation was part of intellectual cooperation and translation policies contributed to restructure the field of diplomatic relations. Of course, the choice of titles and languages were significant and, within the context of a strong Anglo-French rivalry, France and francophone agents and agencies played an important role.

Translation policies evolved significantly between the end of the First World War and 1940, and the Paris Institute (together with the International PEN Club) succeeded in maintaining a translation policy, even though the *Index Translationum* was suspended halfway through 1939 because of the war. The *Index* began publishing again in 1948, although, as is well-known, it was never exhaustive and the data ceases to be complete after 2008. Thus, the Paris Institute first, and UNESCO afterwards helped to encourage other multilateral programmes supporting translation and the awareness of literary multiculturalism as shown in international book fairs (Frankfurt, Guadalajara, etc.). Though the IIC and the UNESCO are both official institutions, their translation policies did not overlap with the institutionalized promotion of literatures on a national level. In that respect, a wide range of state-funded institutions (for example, Ramon Llull Institute in Barcelona) and translation programmes (for example, ‘Programa Sur’ in Argentina) for the promotion of national literatures and national art abroad have also played a relevant role for peripheral and semi-peripheral countries (Hacohen 2014).

Acknowledgements

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Futher reading

Carbó Catalan, Elisabet (forthcoming) *Intellectual Networks as an Instrument of International Projection: Ibero-America and Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations*, PhD diss., UOC/ KU Leuven.

This dissertation analyzes the internationalization of Ibero-American cultures through cultural organizations. Traditionally neglected in cultural and literary studies, cultural organizations constitute a potentially fruitful area of research. This thesis studies the presence of Ibero-American intellectuals in the international networks of intellectual cooperation, as well as the role of Ibero-American national committees in these organizations. Such an approach seems all the more necessary given the European perspective from which the Leagues’ task on intellectual cooperation has historically been approached.

Grandjean, Martin (2018) *Les Réseaux de La Coopération Intellectuelle. La Société Des Nations Comme Actrice Des Échanges Scientifiques et Culturels Dans l’entre-Deux-Guerres*, PhD diss., Lausanne, Université de Lausanne.

Grandjean's dissertation promotes historical network research by applying a social network approach to intellectual history. Specifically, he analyzes the structures of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1922-1939), as well as the network of scientists and intellectuals that the Institute set in motion. His work is based on the League of Nations archives in Geneva.. For more details please see: <http://www.martingrandjean.ch/the-networks-of-intellectual-cooperation/>

Roig-Sanz, Diana & Jaume Subirana (eds) (2020) *Cultural Organisations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America*, New York/London, Routledge.

This book proposes an innovative conceptual framework to explore cultural organizations at a multilateral level and cultural mediators as key figures in cultural and institutionalization processes. Specifically, it analyzes the role of Ibero-American mediators in the institutionalization of Hispanic and Lusophone cultures in the first half of the 20th century by means of two institutional networks: PEN (the non-governmental writer's association) and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (predecessor to UNESCO). Attempting to combine cultural and global history, sociology, and literary studies, the book uses an analytical focus on intercultural networks and cultural transfer to investigate the multiple activities and roles that these mediators and cultural organizations set in motion.

List of archival sources and their acronyms

Archive Group AG 1 - International Institut of Intellectual Cooperation

Fonds IIIC – International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation’s Archives

IIIC Correspondence Files

File F. Correspondance relative aux questions littéraires et artistiques

File F.IV			Size of the file
Traduction		1926-46	0,17 m
1	Droits d'auteur et traduction	1926-34	0,2 cm
4	"Cahiers des traductions". Préparation	1929-33	4,5 cm
11	Contrats d'édition et de traduction	1929	1 cm
12	Bibliographie de la traduction - Réunion d'experts	1931-32	3 cm
13	"Index Translationum" - Préparation	1932-46	8 cm

Not extant material (no longer existing material)

5. Enquête sur la traduction (Associations littéraires).
6. Enquête sur la traduction (PEN Clubs).
7. Enquête sur la traduction (Écrivains).
8. Enquête sur la traduction (Statistiques).
9. Bibliographie de la traduction- Enquête documentaire.
10. Répertoire des Traducteurs.
14. Enquête sur la traduction (1928). Commissions nationales.

File F.VI		Size of the file
Collection de Culture Ibéro-Américaine	1924-40	0,27 m
1 Correspondance générale. Collection ibero-américaine	1929-35	0,5 cm
2 Chili (Historiens chiliens - Folklore chilien)	1928-40	2,5 cm
Brésil (Santos : Le Diamant au Brésil / Maluco : Pages choisies /		
3 Maclado de Plessis : Don Casmurro)	1928-40	4,5 cm
4 Colombie (George Isaac : Maria)	1928-40	0,5 cm
Argentine (Dominguo Sarmiento : Facundo / His		
5 Montaros)	1937-40	1,5 cm
6 Comité de publication	1928-40	3 cm
7 Pérou (Micendo Palm : Traditions péruviennes)	1929-38	0,5 cm
8 Uruguay (Florencio Sanchez)	1931-40	1,5 cm
9 Relations avec les éditeurs, imprimeurs et fournisseurs	1936-40	3 cm
10 Cuba (José Rosti : Essais)	1930-38	1 cm
11 Panama	1932-34	2,5 cm
12 Venezuela (Simón Bolivar : Lettres et discours)	1928-40	1,5 cm
13 Publicité	1932-33	0,2 cm
14 Mexique (volume graphique)	1932-40	0,5 cm
15 Porto Rico (Eugenio Maria de Hostos : Essais)	1932-40	3,5 cm
16 Equateur (José Montalvo)	1928-37	0,2 cm
17 Nicaragua (Ruben Darío)	1934-39	0,2 cm

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¹ See the IIIC Archives in Paris, dossier B.X.1; B.X.2; B.X.27; B.X.4, and B.X.9.

² Original text: Rapport de la commission sur les travaux de sa dix-septième session plénière, Août 8, 1935.

Rapprocher les esprits, apprendre aux peuples à se mieux connaître les uns les autres par ce que chacun offre de plus original et de plus significatif, telle fut, dès l’origine, la préoccupation dominante de la Commission. C’est le but de la Collection ibéro-américaine [...] et c’est le but également d’un nouveau projet que la Commission se devait d’accueillir avec une extrême faveur: une seconde collection, consacrée, cette fois, au Japon. Des pourparlers se poursuivent à ce propos entre la Société des relations culturelles de Tokyo et l’Institut de coopération intellectuelle. Elles sont sur le point d’aboutir. La Commission en a pleinement approuvé le principe, elle a même déjà fait choix du premier ouvrage de la collection « Les Haï Kaï » du poète Bashô (1644-1694) et de ses disciples. L’exemple de la collection ibéro-américaine — le projet de collection japonaise le prouve — est destiné à être suivi, car le principe en est juste et il correspond à une des tendances caractéristiques de notre époque: le goût des littératures étrangères.

All translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

³ See letters and files kept in boxes E.IV in the IIIC’s inventory. IIIC Archive, UNESCO, Paris.

⁴ See letters and files kept in boxes F.IV in the IIIC’s inventory, IIIC Archive, UNESCO, Paris.

⁵ The following files concerning translation were initially included in the inventory: F.IV. Traduction. F.IV.1. Droits d’auteur et traductions. 1926-1934; F.IV.4 “Cahiers des traductions” (Préparation). 1929-1933; F.IV.5. Enquête sur la traduction (Associations littéraires). Not extant; F.IV.6. Enquête sur la traduction (PEN Clubs). Not extant. F.IV.7. Enquête sur la traduction (Écrivains). Not extant; F.IV.8. Enquête sur la traduction (Statistiques). Not extant; F.IV.9. Bibliographie de la traduction- Enquête documentaire. Not extant; F.IV.10. Répertoire des Traducteurs. Not extant; F.IV.11. Contrats d’édition et de traduction. 1929; F.IV.12. Bibliographie de la traduction. Réunion d’experts. 1931-1932; F.IV.13. Index Translationum. Préparation. 1932, 1933, 1946; F.IV.14. Enquête sur la traduction (1928). Commissions nationales. Not extant.

⁶ Original text: L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, en entreprenant la publication de *l'Index Translationum* tentait une expérience difficile. Il s'agissait de mettre à la disposition des auteurs, des éditeurs, des traducteurs, des critiques, de tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux échanges littéraires internationaux, un instrument de travail qui leur permit de se rendre compte de l'effort accompli en matière de traductions dans chaque pays. [...] Il fallait encore obtenir des éditeurs, peu habitués jusqu'ici à distinguer les traductions des autres ouvrages publiés par eux, qu'ils nous fournissent désormais des références supplémentaires en ce qui concerne les traductions [...], notamment l'indication de la langue d'origine des traductions et le titre de l'oeuvre originale. Ce n'est que lorsque nous posséderons ces renseignements qu'il nous sera possible de publier les listes des ouvrages de chaque auteur traduit dans les différentes langues et des index par langues, ce qui est d'une utilité incontestable.

⁷ Specifically, the Cuban writer Mariano Brull, the Mexican writers Alfonso Reyes and Jaime Torres Bodet (see Zabalgoitia 2020), the Argentinean Manuel Ugarte, the Peruvian Francisco García Calderón, the Ecuadorian Gonzalo Zaldumbide, the French Raymond Ronze, Roberto Gache (correspondent and advisor of the Argentinean Embassy in Paris), Jean-Maxime-Georges Le Gentil, Ernest Martinenche, and Paul Rivet, the Spanish Aurelio Viñas and Enrique Díez Canedo, who represented the IIC's Spanish commission and cofounded the Spanish PEN Club alongside Azorín, Ramón Gómez de la Serna. Reynold was the president of the Committee for the Colección Ibero-Americana; Le Gentil was professor of Portuguese and Brazilian literature at the Sorbonne; García Calderón was a Peruvian writer.

⁸ Original text in Spanish: 'Las ediciones de la Colección Ibero-Americana son pagadas mediante la subvención del país a que pertenece el autor [...] Si se publica una edición de 2.000 ejemplares puede calcularse un coste aproximado de 15.000 francos franceses, comprendida la traducción, impresión, etc., siempre que el volumen no pase de 250 páginas. [...] Además hay que tener en cuenta unos cientos de francos más para una pequeña tirada de lujo suplementaria'. See the IIC Archives, dossier F.VI.8 (Uruguay), "Memorandum".

⁹ Gabriela Mistral for Chile, Alcides Arguedas for Bolivia, José Arzú for Guatemala, Caballero for Paraguay, Raymond Doret for Haiti, Félix Medina for Nicaragua, Alfonso Reyes for Mexico, and Gonzalo Zaldumbide for Ecuador.

¹⁰ Original text in Spanish: Cada vez que se ha tratado antes de algún asunto hispano-americano, España ha exigido revisar lo que se hace y ha llegado a imprudencias y fealdades como la de pretender por la mano del señor Casares mutilar las Cartas de Bolívar. Fue gestión mía la de llevar a nuestras sesiones a Díez-Canedo, obteniendo de él que en nombre de España limpiase la vía. Yo he enseñado en EEUU Historia Precolombina de América echándome encima el odio de los españoles, por enseñar la verdad, ni siquiera la de la conquista, sino la de las dos culturas americanas indias, la Maya y la Quechua. Es indispensable que ustedes lleven al Comité o Comisión de que se trate especialistas franceses, alemanes, y norteamericanos, que impongan un criterio de veracidad y uno de negación y prejuicio malo respecto de esos pueblos; es indispensable que España no quiera gobernar por su brazo solo, el acopio de materiales y no sepa aportar sino las páginas sectarias de sus Historiadores de Indias, ahogando la investigación posterior, y sobre todo la extranjera de los últimos diez años. Esta amiga de usted pertenece al grupo indigenista de la América del Sur que trabaja como puede en la reivindicación de estas culturas indudables y sabe mucho de quienes son los únicos que se sobresaltan y saltan delante de cualquier intento de esta índole que ven aparecer. See the IIC Archives, dossier F.VI.2 (Chile), file n. 85.

¹¹ Gallimard translated works by the Argentinean Ricardo Güiraldes and Manuel Gálvez, the Mexican Mariano Azuela, and the Cuban Lydia Cabrera. Rieder published José Eustaquio Rivera in the series 'Les Prosateurs Étrangers Modernes'. Les Cahiers du Sud translated Miguel Ángel Asturias. Grasset published Guzmán in Les Grands Aventuriers d'aujourd'hui.