UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

RECORDS

OF THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

Tenth Session
Paris, 1958

PROCEEDINGS

Index

UNESCO

UNESCO ARCHIVES

INDEX[1]

PART ONE

Index of subjects discussed during the General Conference, tenth session

A

"Académie internationale de la céramique"
  consultative arrangements: XXIV (31.1)
  representation: IV (14); XXIV (14.4)
Administrative Commission
  reports: X (3); XIII (6); XXI (15.9); XXII; XXIV (1-59.3)
Administrative Tribunal. See: International Labour Organisation - Administrative Tribunal.
Admission of Associate Members
  Federation of the West Indies: IV (2.2-4.3, 8.1-9)
  Kuwait: IV (2.1-7.1)
  Singapore: III (4.1); V (22.4); XIX (11.3-13.1)
  Somalia (Italian): IV (9-13.1); XIX (6.4)
Admission of new members - Ghana: V (2.1)
Adult education: XX (3.11) - world conference; Canada, 1960: XX (3.11)
Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research: XX (7.6)
Africa, tropical education: XX (3.9)
Agenda: III (1-11.2)
Agreement on international scientific and technical co-operation (project): XX (3.20)
Agreements and conventions: XX (11-6)
  See also: Agreement on International Scientific and Technical Co-operation (project). Convention concerning the Exchange of Official Publications and Government Documents between States. Convention concerning the International Exchange of Publications. Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. Education - discrimination - international agreement (project). Landscape - protection - international agreement (project). Museums - accessibility - international agreement (project). Recommendations to Member States and international conventions. Universal Copyright Convention.
Agudas Israel World Organization
  consultative arrangements: XXIV (34.1)
Alba, Pedro de (Mexico): XV (19.3)
Anniversaries: XX (11.25)
Archaeological excavations - international principles: XX (11.6)
Archaeology. See: Recommendation on International Principles applicable to Archaeological Excavations.
Architecture - international competitions: XX (11.6)
Arid Zones: XX (7.6). See also: Major projects - natural sciences.
Arts and crafts
  teaching: XX (11.11)
  meeting of international associations: XX (11.4)
  reproductions: XX (11.17)
  teaching: XX (11.11)
Asia - history sources XX (11.4)
Asian Relations Organization: consultative arrangements; 1950-56: XXIV (34.1, 34.3)
Associate Members. See Admission of Associate Members
Associated Country Women of the World
  consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Associated schools: XX (3.8)
Associated youth enterprises: XX (3.8, 3.11)
Atomic energy - peaceful uses: XX (7.14); XXI (4.3)
Audio-visual aids: XX (3.8, 11.22)
Auditor - reports; 1956-57: XXII (12.1, 14.1-17)
Automation: XX (7.14)
Awad, Mohammed (United Arab Republic): XV (19.3)

B

Berredo Carneiro, Paulo E. (Brazil): XV (19.3)
Bibliography and documentation: XX (11.5)
Bolivia - right to vote: I (5.2)
Boy Scouts International Bureau
  consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Brain research: XX (3.20)
Budget
  ceiling: XII (50.1)
  miscellaneous income: XXIV (38.3)
  1959-60
    appropriation: XXI (15.9); XXII (42.1-45.4)
    ceiling: XIII (6)
    methods of financing: XIII (6)
Bureau of the Berne Union. See: International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

C

Cain, Julien (France): XV (19.3)
Carnegie Corporation of New York - representation: IV (14)
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace - representation: IV (14)
Catholic International Union for Social Service
  consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Cell biology: XX (3.20)
Centre international d'Etudes esthétiques: XXIV (14.1, 31.3)
  representation: IV (14)
Chekhov, A.: XX (11.25)
China
  representation: II; III (6-8.6); V (4.4-22.2)
  vote: I (5.2); V(22.6); X (3.34)

1. Key
Roman numeral: Plenary meetings
Numbers in parenthesis: Paragraphs

ARCHIVES

Classics - translation: XX (11.14)
Closing speeches: XXVI (25.1)
Commission of Churches on International Affairs
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
Communities - cultural level: XX (11.11)
Competitions - international: XX (11.6)
Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (36.1)
Constitution - amendments: XXII (66.1)
Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations
consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
Contributions - See also Voluntary contributions
arrears. See: Contributions - collection
China: XII (10.4, 14.2, 20.5, 22.2, 24.5, 36.7)
collection, 1959-60: XIII (10.3); XXII (10.1)
currencies, 1959-60: XXII (8)
Czechoslovakia: XXII (10.2)
Hungary: XXII (10.2)
Poland: XXII (10.2)
scale, 1959-60: XXII (2.1)
Convention Concerning the Exchange of Official
Publications and Government Documents
between States: XI (1.3)
Convention Concerning the International Exchange of
Publications: XXI (1.3)
Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in
the Event of Armed Conflict: XX (11.3)
Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of
Students - consultative arrangements, 1954-58:
XXIV (34.1)
Co-ordinating Board of Jewish Organizations: XXIV
(14.1, 31.3)
Co-ordinating Committee of International Voluntary
Work Camps - subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
Copyright. See: Neighbouring Rights - Universal
Copyright Convention
Council for International Organizations of Medical
Sciences: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
Credential Committee: I (5.5); II; XIX (6.1)
Credentials - presentation and verification: II
Cultural activities: XX (11.2-11.17)
exchange of information: XX (11.5)
fellowships: XX (11.10)
publications: XX (11.12, 11.15)
Cultural agreements: XX (11.7)
Cultural heritage of mankind: XX (11.10)
Cultural Property. See: Convention and Protocol for
the Protection of Cultural Property in the Case
of Armed Conflict
preservation and restoration: XX (11.10)
Cultural relations: XX (8.2, 10.2, 11.7, 11.8, 11.17)
meeting of directors of national services,
1958 - recommendations: XX (11.7)
1961: XX (11.7)
Cultures
Comparative study, East/West. See: Major
projects - cultural activities
exchange of information: XX (11.5, 11.7)
traditional, South East Asia: XX (11.11)

D

Dictionaries, multilingual - natural sciences:
XX (3.18)
Director-General
reports - methods of presentation: XIX (26.12)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/
reports, 1956-58: IV (28.1); V (23.1); VI; VII;
VIII; IX; X (1-2.19, 35); XI; XII; XIV; XVI
resignation: XVII
tribute: XXV (1.1-15, 17.1); XXVI (1-24.5)
Director-General /V. Veronese/
appointment: XVIII; XXV (18.1)
Discrimination: XX (3.8, 16.2)

E

The Econometric Society - consultative arrangements
1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
Economic and Social Council - appraisal of the
programmes of Unesco: XXI (1.7-15.8)
Education: XX (3.4). See also: Adult Education.
Fundamental education. Primary education.
School education
Africa, tropical: XX (3.9)
Arab States: XX (3.9)
budget, 1959-60: XX (3.13)
clearing house: XX (3.7)
discrimination: XX (3.8, 16.2)
international agreement (proposed): XX (3.8)
documentation: XX (3.7)
exchange of information: XX (3.7, 11.7)
free and compulsory: XX (3.9)
higher: XX (3.9)
for international understanding and co-operation:
XX (3.8, 7.12)
out-of-school: XX (3.11)
secondary: XX (3.9)
statistics
standardization: XX (7.10); XXI (1.1). See
also: Recommendation concerning the Inter-
national Standardization of Educational
Statistics
technical: XX (3.9)
vocational: XX (3.9)
of women: XX (3.8, 3.10)
youth: XX (3.11)
Eek, Hilding (Sweden): XV (19.3)
Eisenhower, Dwight D. - communication: VII (10.1)
Electronic computation: XX (3.20)
Energy: XX (3.20)
European Society of Culture - consultative arrange-
ments, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
Evaluation techniques: XX (7.15)
Exchange of persons: XX (13.4)
clearing house: XX (13.6)
publications: XX (13.6)
Executive Board
documents: XIX (13.2-25.4)
election: XV
Exhibitions: XX (11.4, 11.17, 11.22)
The experiment in International Living consultative
arrangements: XXIV (31.1)

F

Federation of Astronomical and Geophysical Services
subventions, 1957: XXIV (36.1)
"Fédération international d'éducation physique":
XXIV (31.9)

"Fédération internationale des mouvements d'école moderne"; XXIV (31.9)
Federation of the West Indies See: Admission of Associate Members.
Fellowships: XX (13.7)
  cultural activities: XX (11.10)
  major projects: XX (3.14, 11.17, 13.7)
  participation in Member States' activities: XX (13.7, 13.16)
  primary education: XX (3.14)
  technical assistance: XX (13.17)
Films: XX (11.22, 11.28) - on art: XX (11.14)
Finances
  situation as at 31 December 1956: XXII (12.1; 16)
  situation as at 31 December 1957: XXII (14.1)
Financial regulations - amendments: XXII (50.1)
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
  co-ordination of programmes: XX (3.20)
Ford Foundation - representation: IV (14)
Freedom of education: XIX (7.2-11.2); XX (3.8)
Freedom of information: XX (11.26)
Friends World Committee for Consultation consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Fundamental education: XX (3.10)
  centres: XX (3.10)
  terminology: VI (6.4); XX (3.10)

G

General Committee: III (13); IV (16.1); XIII (1.2-5.6)
General Conference
  documents: XIX (13.2); XXII (22.2)
  president and vice-presidents: III (13); IV (16.1)
  rules of procedures
    amendments: XXII (50.1). See also: Budget - ceiling - Executive Board - documents. General Conference - documents. General Conference - president and vice-presidents. General Conference - vote. Programme - amendments - proposals
  vote: XXII (66.1)
General Conference, 11th session
  Headquarters Committee: XXIV (60)
  Legal Committee: XXIV (60)
  organization: XXIV (37.8, 48.1)
  place: XIX (1.1-5.2)
  Reports Committee: XXIV (60)
Ghana See: Admission of new Members.
Gift coupons: XXIV (38.1)

H

Haiti, "Citadelle Henry": XX (11.10)
Headquarters: XXI (16.3)
  Committee of Art Advisers: XXI (34)
  gift shop: XXII (36)
  report: XXI (16.4)
  term of office: XXI (16.6-25.2)
  underground garage: XXI (30)
  utilization and rental spaces: XXI (26.2)
  Visitors' Service Fund: XXIV (40.1)
  visits: XXIV (40.1)
History
  Asia - sources: XX (11.4)
  Latin America - sources: XX (11.13)
  of Nations - sources: XX (11.13)
History of the scientific and cultural development of mankind: XX (11.15)
Human rights: XX (7.13); XXIII - periodic reports: XIX (26.8)
Humid tropical zone: XX (3.20)
Hungary - representation: II (14.5, 18.1, 26.3, 34.3, 36.3, 43.1, 44)

I

Ibero-American Bureau of Education: XX (3.14)
Immigrants - integration, cultural: XX (7.14)
Industrialization
  social implication: XX (7.14)
    Meeting of experts, Saigon [Viet-Nam]: XX (3.7)
Information
  free flow: XX (11.26)
  improvement of means and techniques: XX (11.28)
  international exchange: XX (11.5)
  numerical processing: XX (3.20)
Intellectual workers - exchange: XXIV (42.1-45.1)
Inter-American Association of Broadcasters consultative arrangements: XXIV (31.1)
Inter-American Rural Education Centre, Rubio [Venezuela]: XX (3.14)
Intergovernmental Committee on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America: XX (3.14)
International Advisory Committee on Bibliography: XX (8.9)
International Advisory Committee on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values: XX (11.17)
International agreement on the protection of certain rights of performers, recorders and broadcasters (project): XX (11.6)
International Alliance of Former Residents of the Cité universitaire de Paris See: International House Association
International Alliance for Women - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Association for the Advancement of Educational Research - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
International Association of Art Critics
  consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
  subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Association for Educational and Vocational Information - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience - consultative arrangements; 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Association "International Congresses for Modern Architecture". See: Research Group for Social and Visual Relationship.
International Association of Legal Science
  consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
  subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Association of Music Libraries - subventions, 1954-56: XXIV (36.1)
International Association of Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women: XXIV (31.9)

International Association of Plastic Arts agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Association of Universities
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1952-1958: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Association of University Professors and Lecturers - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Association for Vocational Guidance
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1955-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Association of Wholesale Newspaper, Periodical and Book Distributors: XXIV (31.3)
International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: XXIV (14.4)
International Astronautical Federation
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
International Atomic Energy Agency: XX (13.23)
International Broadcasting Organization: IV (24.2); XXIV (16.1, 31.3)
International campaign for historical monuments: XX (11.10)
International Catholic Child Bureau: consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Catholic Film Office - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Catholic Youth Federation - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome /Italy/: XX (11.10)
International civil servants - training: XX (84)
International Committee on Monuments: XX (11.6)
International Committee of Scientific Management
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Community of Booksellers Associations
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
International Computation Centre, Rome /Italy/: XX (7.11)
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Confederation of Professional and Intellectual Workers - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Conference of Social Work - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Co-operative Alliance - consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Council on Archives
consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Council for Educational Films
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Council of Museums
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (34.1)
International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies: XX (8.7)
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Council of Scientific Unions
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Council of Social Democratic Women: XXIV (31.3)
International Council of Women - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Council of Women Psychologists: XXIV (31.9)
International Economic Association
consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Falcon Movement - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Art Film
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Federation of Business and Professional Women - consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Children Communities
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Federation of Christian Trade Unions
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Christian Workers' Movements: XXIV (31.9) - representation: IV (14)
International Federation of Democratic Lawyers: XXIV (31.3)
International Federation for Documentation: XX (8.6)
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Federation of Film Producers Associations - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Free Journalists: XXIV (31.9)
International Federation of Journalists - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Library Association: XX (8.5)
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Federation of Modern Languages Teachers
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
International Federation of Newspapers Proprietors and Editors - consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Organizations for School Correspondence and Exchanges
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)

International Federation of the Periodical Press
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Senior Police Officers
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.2, 34.3)
International Federation of Translators
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
International Federation of University Women
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Women Lawyers
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Federation of Workers Educational Associations
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1955-56: XXIV (36.1)
International Federation of Workers Travel Associations - consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Fund for Education, Science and Culture: XX (13.22)
International House Association - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Humanist and Ethical Union - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
International Institute of Administrative Sciences
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Institute of Child Study, Bangkok (Thailand): XX (3.9)
International Institute of Differing Civilizations
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XX (34.2)
International Institute of Public Finance - consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.2)
International Labour Assistance - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Labour Organisation - Administrative Tribunal: XXII (92.1)
International Law Association - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XX (34.1)
International League of Children's and Adults Education: XXIV (31.3)
International League for the Rights of Man
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Literary and Artistic Association
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Music Council
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Organization of Journalists: IV (24.2); XXIV (16.1, 31.3)
International Organization for Standardization: XX (11.22) - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International PEN Club
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Political Science Association
consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Publishers Association - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
International Relief Committee for Intellectual Workers - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Research Office on the Social Implications of Technological Change: XX (7.14)
International Scientific Film Association
representation: IV (14)
International scientific organizations: XIX (26.7)
International Secretariat of the Catholic Press
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
International social science bulletin: XX (7.8)
International Social Science Council
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Social Service - consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Society of Criminology
consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Society for Education through Art
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Society for the Welfare of Cripples: XXIX (31.7)
International Sociological Association
consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Statistical Institute
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Studies Conference - subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Theatre Institute - agreement: XXIV (32.1)
International Theatre Institute
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1947-57: XXIV (36.1)
International understanding and co-operation: XX (7.12, 11.14, 11.20, 11.24, 13.8) See also: Education for international understanding and co-operation.
International Union of Architects
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Union of Biochemistry - subventions, 1955: XXIV (36.1)
International Union for Child Welfare - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1957: XXIV (36.1)
International Union of Family Organizations
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Union for Health Education of the Public: XXIV (31.7)
International Union for the Liberty of Education
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
International Union of Local Authorities
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Union for Protecting Public Morality
consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)

International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works: XX (11.6)
International Union of Scientific Psychology
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers: XXIV (31.3)
International Union of Socialist Youth - consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Union of Students: IV (20.8, 24.2); XXIV (16.1, 31.4)
International Voluntary Service: consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
International Youth Hostel Federation - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Inter-Parliamentary Union - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)

J

Joint Committee of International Teachers Federation
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1955-57: XXIV (36.1)
Journal of World History: XX (11.15)
Journalism Education Centre in Latin America: XX (13.1)
Journalists: XX (11.28)
Junior Chamber International: XXIV (31.3)

K

Kuwait. See: Admission of Associate Members.

L

Laboratory - personnel: XX (7.5)
Landscape
protection - international agreement (project): XX (11.6)
Languages - teaching: XX (3.8)
Latin America
history - sources: XX (11.13)
Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil): XX (7.11)
Latin American Institute for Educational Films: XX (11.28)
Latin American Regional Centre for Mathematics, Buenos Aires (Argentina): XX (3.19)
Latin American Social Science Faculty, Santiago (Chile): XX (7.11)
League of Red Cross Societies - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Liberal International, World Liberal Union
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XX (34.1)
Libraries: XX (11.13). See also: School libraries.
Literacy: XX (3.10)

M

Major Projects
cultural activities: VI (12.2); XIX (26.7); XX (11.4, 11.17)
education: XX (3.14)
natural sciences: XX (7.5)
Management Survey Committee - report: XXII (20.1
Manual of Modern Documentation Practice: XX (11.
Marine Sciences: XX (4.1-7.1)
Martinez Cobo, José (Ecuador): XV (19.3)
Mass communication: XX (11.18)
clearing house: XX (11.27)
publications: XX (11.21, 11.26, 11.27)
Mathematics: XX (3.19)
Mediterranean Academy: XXIV (31.3)
Member States
participation in the programme: XX (13.14-13.2
reports: XIX (26.8); XX (13.15); XXII (22.3)
Microfilms: XX (3.18)
Minorities: XX (3.8)
Monuments, artistic and historical sites: XX (11.10)
Museums: XX (11.5, 11.13)
accessibility - international agreement (project): XX (11.6)
directory: XX (11.5)
Music: XX (11.17)
oriental - recording: XX (11.4)

N

National Commissions: XX (13.14)
Natural sciences: XX (3.16)
documentation: XX (3.18)
publications: XX (3.18, 3.19)
teaching and diffusion: XX (3.19)
Neighbouring rights: XX (11.6)
New Education Fellowship
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
New literates
reading material: XX (11.12)
Nominations Committee: III (12)
Non-governmental organizations
agreements, 1959: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements: XXIV (14.1-31.15, 34.1-35)
directives: XXIV (2.1-13.2)
relations: XX (3.6, 3.17, 7.8, 11.4)
representation: IV (14-27.1)
subventions: XX (9.3-10.3)
quadrennial review (1954-57): XXIV (36.1)
Non-self-governing territories - education: XX (3.10, 3.11)
"Nouvelles equipes internationales" - (International Union of Christian Democrats)
consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1
Nuclear physics: XX (3.20)
Numerical processing: XX (7.11)

O

Oceanographic Institute, Nha-Trang (Viet-Nam): XX (3.20)
Oceanography. See: Marine sciences.
Open Door International: XXIV (31.3)
Opening speeches: I (1.1); V (3.1)
Organization of American States: XX (3.10, 3.14)
Orient-Occident
comparative study. See: Major Projects - cultural activities.

ORT World Union
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)

P

Pacific co-operation. See: International understanding and co-operation.
Pacific Science Association
consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1957: XXIV (36.1)
Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
subventions, 1954: XXIV (36.1)
Paraguay - right to vote: I (5.2)
Participation in Member States' activities XX (13.16)
cultural activities: XX (11.10, 11.11, 11.13)
education: XX (3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11)
exchange of persons: XX (13.7)
experts: XX (13.14)
information: XX (11.28)
natural sciences: XX (3.19, 3.20)
social sciences: XX (7.11, 7.12)
Pax Romana: International Movement of Catholic Students. International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs
consultative arrangements: XXIV (34.1)
Pecson, Mrs. Geronima T. (Philippines): XV (19.3)
Persons - free movement: XX (11.26)
Photographies: XX (11.22)
Press: XX (11.21, 11.26)
Primary education: XX (3.9) see also: United Nations Children Fund.
Africa: XX (3.9)
Asia: XX (3.10)
Latin America. See: Major Projects - education
Productivity - socio-cultural factors: XX (7.14)
Programme
amendments - proposals: XIII (1.2), XXII (50.1)
dissemination: XX (11.22)
evaluation: XXI (1.4-3.2, 6.1-15.6); XXIV (4.1)
1956-57 - evaluation: XIX (26.10)
1959-60
cultural activities: XX (7.19-11.17)
education: XX (3.4-3.14)
exchange of persons: XX (13.4-13.13)
mass communication: XX (11.19-13.3)
natural sciences: XX (3.15-7.5)
social sciences: XX (7.6-7.18)
budget: XX (7.18)
and budget - date of presentation: XXII (50.1)
1959-60: IV (28.1); V (23.1); VI; VII; VIII; IX; X (1-2.19, 35); XI; XII; XIV; XVI.
1961-62: XXIV (37.8, 37.9, 46.1-46.4, 48.8)
Programme Commission - reports: XX, XXI (1.7-15.8)
Programme Commission/Administrative Commission Joint meeting: XXIV (37.8)
Publications
and documents of Unesco: XX (13.24)
exchange: XX (11.5, 11.6); XXI (1.2)
Publications and Visual Material Funds: XX (13.24)

R

Races: XX (7.13)
Radio broadcasting: XX (11.23, 11.28)
Recommendation concerning the International Standardization of Educational statistics: XX (7.10); XXI (1.1)
Recommendation on International Principles applicable to Archaeological Excavations: XX (11.6)
Recommendations to Member States and International Conventions: XIX (26.9) See also: Agreements and Conventions.
Refugees and displaced persons. See also: United Nations Relief and Works Agency.
Near and Middle-East: XX (3.11)
Regional Centre for Audio-visual Materials in South East Asia: XX (11.27)
Religions: XX (7.13)
Reports Committee - report: XIX (25.5)
Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, Calcutta (India): XX (7.14)
Research Group for Social and Visual Relationship consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.2)
Research ship, international: XX (3.20)
Resolutions - procedure: XIII (1.2)
Rockefeller Foundation - representation: IV (14)
Rotary International - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)

S

School education: XX (3.9)
School libraries: XX (3.14)
Science Co-operation Offices: XX (7.2, 7.16)
Middle East - Social Sciences: XX (7.16)
Sciences - exchange of information: XX (11.7)
Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind: XX (11.15)
Scientific documentation - national centres: XX (3.18)
Scientific research: XX (3.20-7.1) - world documentation centre: XX (7.11)
Secretariat
Bureau of the Comptroller: XXII (28.2)
Common services: XXII (34)
Director of Administration: XXII (20.2, 26.1)
Documents and Publications Service: XX (13.24)
general administration: XXII (26.1)
general policy: XXII (22.1)
geographical distribution: XXII (68.1)
housing: XXII (38.1)
library: XX (11.9)
management survey: XXII (20.1, 48.1)
Medical Benefit Scheme: XX (94)
pensions. See: United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund.
public liaison: XX (11.24)
Regional Office in the Western Hemisphere, Havana (Cuba): XX (13.20)
Salaries, allowances and leave: XXII (86.1)
Staff Compensation Fund: XXII (96)
Staff Rules and Regulations: XXII (70.11, 90.1)
Seminars
1960 - education, technical and vocational, Ghana: V (2.7)
regional - educational statistics: XX (3.14)
Sharif, S.M. (Pakistan): XV (19.3)
Singapore. See: Admission of Associate Members.
Social sciences: XX (7.6)
applied: XX (7.14)
documentation: XX (7.9)

publications: XX (7.9, 7.11, 7.13)
teaching and research: XX (7.11)
Society of African Culture - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
Soebroto, R. (Indonesia): XV (19.3)
Somalia (Italian). See: Admission of Associate Members.
Soroptimist International Association - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Sources of the History of Nations: XX (11.13)
South East Asia - audio-visual aids: XX (11.22)
Space - extra-terrestrial: XX (3.20)
Special Committee for the International Geophysical Year, 1957-58
subventions, 1955-57: XXIV (36.1)
Special Fund for Economic Development (United Nations): XIII (8.10); XX (13.18, 14.1)
Sport and education: XIX (26.7); XX (3.11)
Statistics: XX (7.10); XXI (1.1)

T

Teachers
exchange: XX (13.11)
training: XX (3.9)
Technical assistance: XX (13.17)
fellowships: XX (13.17)
financial statement as at 31 December 1956: XXII (16)
financial statement as at 31 December 1957: XXII (18)
Television: XX (11.22, 11.26)
Textbooks and teaching material: XX (3.7)
Thomas, Ben Bowen (United Kingdom): XV (19.3)
Town planning - international competitions: XX (11.6)
Translations: XX (11.5)
Travel grants: XX (13.7, 13.9, 13.11)
Travelling science exhibitions: XX (3.19)
Trust territories - education: XX (3.10)
Tuncel, Bedrettin (Turkey): XV (19.3)

U

The Unesco Chronicle: XX (11.21)
Unesco Coupon Fund: XX (11.24)
Unesco Coupons: XX (11.24, 13.8); XXIV (37.8-39)
The Unesco Courier: XX (11.21)
Unesco Features: XX (11.21)
Unesco House News: XX (11.21)
Unesco Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne /Federal Republic of Germany/: VI (10.8); XIII (10.9)
Unesco Institute for Youth, Gauting /Federal Republic of Germany/: XX (3.6)
UNICEF See: United Nations Children's Fund.
Union of International Associations - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
Union of International Engineering Organizations
consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
United Nations Children's Fund: XX (3.9)
United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund: XXII (98)
United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA): XX (3.9)
United Nations and Specialized Agencies
co-ordination of programmes: XX (13.23)
programmes - dissemination: XX (11.22)
teaching: XX (3.8)
United Nations. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: XX (3.6)
Universal Copyright Convention: XX (11.6)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights
10th anniversary: XXIII
implementation: XX (3.6, 3.9)
Universal Esperanto Association - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
Universities: XX (3.9)
Urbanization: XX (7.14)

V

Visitors Service Fund: XX (11.24)
Voluntary contributions: XX (13.22)
Vote See: General Conference - vote.

W

Women See also: Education of women
participation in out-of-school education for young people and adults: XX (1.6)
social and political rights: XX (7.13)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
Workers - exchange: XX (13.9)
Working Capital Fund: XXII (38.1) - administration, 1959-60: XXII (40.1)
World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Assembly of Youth - consultative arrangements, 1950-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Association for Public Opinion Research consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Brotherhood - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession
consultative arrangements, 1953-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (36.1)
World Conference on Adult Education, Canada, 1960: XX (3.11)
World Federation of Catholic Young Women and Girls consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Federation of the Deaf - consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
World Federation of Democratic Youth: IV (22.3, 24.2); XXIV (16.2, 31.3)
World Federation for Mental Health
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1955-56: XXIV (36.1)
World Federation for the Protection of Animals consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
World Federation of Scientific Workers: XXIV (16.2, 31.3)
World Federation of Trade Unions - consultative arrangements: XXIV (34.1)
World Federation of United Nations Associations
agreement: XXIV (32.1)
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1957: XXIV (36.1)

World Friendship Federation - consultative arrangements, 1951-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Jewish Congress - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Meteorological Organization - co-ordination of programmes: XX (3.20)
World Movement of Mothers - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Organization for Early Childhood Education
consultative arrangements, 1949-58: XXIV (34.1)
subventions, 1954-57: XXIV (34.1)
World Power Conference - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Student Christian Federation - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Union of Catholic Teachers - consultative arrangements, 1954-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Union of Jewish Students - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Union for Progressive Judaism - consultative arrangements, 1952-58: XXIV (34.1)
World University Service - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
World Veterans Federation
consultative arrangements, 1958: XXIV (31.1)
representation: IV (14)
World Young Women's Christian Association
consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)

Y

Young Christian Workers - consultative arrangements, 1948-58: XXIV (34.1)
Young World Federalists: XXIV (31.3)
Youth: XX (3.9, 3.11). See also: Associated Youth Enterprises
exchange: XX (13.10)

PART II

Index of statements, speeches and comments made by delegates, members of the Executive Board, the Director-General and members of the Secretariat. References to remarks interposed by the President, Vice-Presidents, Chairmen, Rapporteurs or Secretaries do not appear in the index.

MEMBER STATES

AFGHANISTAN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Anas: V (23.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Anas: V (23.1)

ALBANIA

China - representation
  Treska: II (24.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Treska: IX (16.1)
Hungary - representation
  Treska: II (24.8)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Treska: IX (16.1)

ARGENTINA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Calcagno: X (36.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
  Calcagno: XXIV (10.1)
General Conference, 11th session - Reports Committee
  Calcagno: XXIV (60)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Calcagno: X (36.1)

AUSTRALIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Stirling: VIII (12.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
  Stirling: XXV (10.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Stirling: VIII (12.1)

AUSTRIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Zeissl: XI (16.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Zeissl: XI (16.1)

BELGIUM

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Kuypers: VI (16.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Kuypers: VI (16.1)

BRAZIL

Budget, 1959-60
  Berredo Carneiro: XIII (12.1)
Credentials - verification
  Berredo Carneiro: II (40)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Berredo Carneiro: XI (14.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
  Berredo Carneiro: XXVI (8.1)
General Conference, 11th session - seat
  Berredo Carneiro: XIX (4.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
  Berredo Carneiro: XXIV (52.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
  Berredo Carneiro: XXII (78.1)

BULGARIA

Budget, 1959-1960
  Petrov: XIII (36.1)
China - representation
  Bachev: II (8.1); V (17.1)
China - right to vote
  Tellalov: X (16.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Bachev: IX (8.1)
Non-governmental organizations
  Bachev: XXIV (18.1)
  Milev: IV (24.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
  Bachev: IX (8.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
  Vassev: XXIII (8.1)

BURMA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
  Hla: IX (12.1)

Programme and budget, 1959-60
Hla: IX (12.1)

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Budget, 1959-60
Malychev: XIII (18.1)
China - representation
Umreiko: II (10.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Umreiko: VIII (2.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Umreiko: VIII (2.1)

CANADA

Budget, 1959-60
Mackenzie: XIII (16.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Mackenzie: IX (4.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- tribute
Mackenzie: XXVI (14.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Mackenzie: IX (4.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
Mackenzie: XXIII (14.1)

CEYLON

Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Malalasekera: VII (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Malalasekera: VII (12.1)

CHINA

China - representation
Chen: II (12.1)
Poe: V (13)
China - right to vote
Chen: X (30.1)
Poe: X (8.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Poe: IX (2.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Poe: IX (2.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
Chen: XXII (72.1)

COLOMBIA

Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Uribe Holguin: XIV (20.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Uribe Holguin: XIV (20.1)

CUBA

China - representation
Ferrara Marino: II (28.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Ferrara Marino: XIV (8.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Ferrara Marino: XIV (8.1)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

China - right to vote
Pazur: X (22.1)
China - representation
Pazur: II (26.1)
Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Kahuda: VIII (6.1)
Hungary - representation
Pazur: II (26.3)
Non-governmental organizations
Hoffmeister: IV (20.1); XXIV (24.1)
Programme - evaluation
Navratil : XXI (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Kahuda: VIII (6.1)

DENMARK

Non-governmental organizations
Nielsen: XXIV (26.1)
Programme, 1959-60 - natural sciences
Nielsen: XX (4.1)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Peignand Cestero: XVI (2.1)
Member States - reports
Peignand Cestero: XIX (28.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Peignand Cestero: XVI (2.1)
Publications and documents of Unesco
Peignand Cestero: XIX (20, 28.1)

ECUADOR

Non-governmental organizations - representation
Martinez Cobo: IV (26)

EL SALVADOR

Publications and documents of Unesco
Baron Castro: XIX (22.1)

ETHIOPIA

Director-General /L.H. Evans/- reports, 1956-58
Wold: XIV (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Wold: XIV (12.1)

FINLAND

China - representation
Oittinen: II (34.1)

FRANCE

Closing speech
Berthoin (President of the Conference): XXVI (25.1)
Credentials - verification
Seydoux: II (38.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Seydoux: XI (2.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Seydoux: XXV (14.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Cain: XX (8.1)
Opening speech
Berthoin (President of the Conference): III (20.1) V (3.1)
Programme - evaluation
Cain: XXI (12.1)
Programme, 1959-60 - cultural activities
Cain: XX (8.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
François: XXII (55.1)
Seydoux: XXIV (50.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Seydoux: XI (2.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
Brunswick: XXIII (4.1)

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Budget, 1959-60
Trützschler: XIII (30.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Knappstein: VI (14.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Knappstein: VI (14.1)

GHANA

Admission of new Members - Ghana
Nylander: V (2.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
Mate: XXIII (12.1)

GREECE

Executive Board - election
Kalergis: XV (2.1)
Freedom of education
Kalergis: XIX (8.1)

GUATEMALA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Rosal: XXVI (18.1)
Tribute to France
Rosal: XVI (6.1)

HAITI

Executive Board - election
Georges: XV (4)

HONDURAS

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Mejia: XII (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Mejia: XII (12.1)

HUNGARY

Budget, 1959-60
Pataki: XIII (20.1)
China - representation
Joboru: II (18.1)
China - right to vote
Szabo: X (20.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Joboru: IX (14.1)
Hungary - representation
Joboru: II (18.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Pataki: IV (22.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Joboru: IX (14.1)

INDIA

China - representation
Husain: II (22.1); V (9.1)
China - right to vote
Husain: X (10.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Mehta: VI (6.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Singh Mohinder Bahadur: XXVI (4.1)
General Conference, 11th session
Legal Committee
Chari: XXIV (64, 68)
Opening speech
Radhakrishnan (President of the 9th session): I (1.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Mehta: VI (6.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
Husain: XXII (70.1)

INDONESIA

China - right to vote. Setjodiwirijo: X (18)

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Tiroprodjo: XIV (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Tiroprodjo: XIV (4.1)

IRAN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Raadi: XII (10.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Hekmat: XXVI (6.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Raadi: XII (10.1)

IRAQ

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Nasir: VII (16.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Nasir: VII (16.1)

ISRAEL

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Avidor: VI (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Avidor: VI (12.1)

ITALY

Admission of Associate Members - Trust Territory of Somaliland
Conti: IV (10.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Moro: VIII (14.1)
Director-General [V. Veronese] - nomination
Manzini: XVIII (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Moro: VIII (14.1)

JAPAN

Budget, 1959-60
Matsui: XIII (26.1)
China - representation
Matsui: II (16.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Maeda: VIII (4.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Maeda: XXV (8.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
Matsui: XXII (64)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Maeda: VIII (4.1)

JORDAN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Salim: XIV (18.1)
Nominations Committee
Salim: IV (16.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Salim: XIV (18.1)

KOREA

Contributions - scale, 1959-60
Rim: XXII (6.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Kim: VII (14.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Kim: VII (14.1)

LAOS

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Bong Souvannavong: VII (6.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Bong Souvannavong: VII (6.1)

LEBANON

China - representation
Ammoun: II (32)
Credentials - verification
Ammoun: II (32.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Ammoun: VII (8.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Maroun: XXIV (4.1, 8, 10)
Programme - evaluation
Maroun: XXIV (4.1, 8, 10)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Ammoun: VII (8.1)

LIBERIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Massaquoi: XII (8.1)
Headquarters Committee
Mitchell: XXI (22)
Programme - evaluation
Mitchell: XXI (14)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Massaquoi: XII (8.1)

LIBYA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-
Shinnib: XII (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Shinnib: XII (4.1)

FEDERATION OF MALAYA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Khir Bin Johari: VI (8.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Khir Bin Johari: VI (8.1)

MEXICO

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
De Alba: XI (4.1)
Programme - evaluation
De Alba: XXI (8.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
De Alba: XI (4.1)
Publications and documents of Unesco
Cabrera Muñoz Ledo: XIX (18.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
De Alba: XXIII (16.1)

MOROCCO

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
El Fasi: XIV (6.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
El Fasi: XIV (6.1)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
El Fasi: XXIII (10.1)

NETHERLANDS

Budget, 1959-60
Bender: XIII (32.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Cals: IV (30.1)
General Conference, 11th session - Legal Committee
Hoog: XXIV (66)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
Hoog: XXIV (54.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Cals: IV (30.1)
Resolutions - procedure
Reiniink: XIII (2)

NEW ZEALAND

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Beeby: X (38.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Beeby: X (38.1)

NICARAGUA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Quintanilla: XIV (14.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Quintanilla: XIV (14.1)

NORWAY

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Sommerfelt: XXV (12.1)

PAKISTAN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Brohi: X (2.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Brohi: X (2.1)

PANAMA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Ortega Vieto: XI (18.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Ortega Vieto: XI (18.1)

PARAGUAY

Special Fund for Economic Development (United Nations)
Caballero de Bedoya: XX (14.1)

PERU

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Garcia Calderon: XIV (2.1)
Mac-Lean y Estenos: XII (16.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Mac-Lean y Estenos: XXVI (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Garcia Calderon: XIV (2.1)
Mac-Lean y Estenos: XII (16.1)

PHILIPPINES

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Lim: XIV (22.2)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Lim: XXVI (16.1)
Freedom of education
Bocobo: XX (16.1)
Major projects - cultural activities
Bocobo: XXII (44.1)
Programme Commission - reports
Bocobo: XX (16.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Lim: XIV (22.1)
Publications and documents of Unesco
Bocobo: XIX (16.1)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
Pecson: XXIII (6.1)

POLAND

China - representation
Zulawski: V (15.1)
China - right to vote
Zulawski: X (28.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Wierblowski: XII (2.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Kaminska: XXIV (30.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
Kaminska: XXIV (56.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Wierblowski: XII (2.1)

RUMANIA

Budget, 1959-60
Iordan: XIII (10.1)
China - representation
Joja: II (20.1); VI (10.12)
Ralea: V (19.1)
China - right to vote
Joja: X (6.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Joja: VI (10.1)
Hungary - representation
Joja: II (20.6)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Joja: VI (10.1)

SPAIN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Rubio y Garcia Mina: VII (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Rubio y Garcia Mina: VII (4.1)

SUDAN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Arbab: XI (6.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Arbab: XI (6.1)

SWEDEN

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Eek: VI (2.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Eek: VI (2.1)
Resolutions - procedure
Lund: XIII (4)

SWITZERLAND

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - report
Micheli: V (27.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Micheli: V (27.1)

THAILAND

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Chandavimol: VIII (10.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Chandavimol: VIII (10.1)

TUNISIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Messadi: XI (8.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Messadi: XI (8.1)

TURKEY

China - representation
Tuncel: II (30)
Credentials - verification
Tuncel: II (30)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Yardimci: V (29.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Tuncel: XXVI (20.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Yardimci: V (29.1)

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Budget, 1959-60
Demtchenko: XIII (22.1)
China - representation
Babitchuk: V (11.1)
China - right to vote
Babitchuk: X (32.1; 34)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Babitchuk: IX (10.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Babitchuk: IX (10.1)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agenda
Kuznetsov: III (8.1)
Budget, 1959-60
Zimin: XIII (14)
China - representation
Kuznetsov: II (6.1); V (5.1); III (8.1)
China - right to vote
Kuznetsov: X (14.1)

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Kuznetsov: VI (4.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Kuznetsov: XXVI (2.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Zhukov: XXIV (22.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Kuznetsov: VI (4.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
Zhukov: XXII (80.1)

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

China - right to vote
Awad: X (24.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Awad: VII (2.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Awad: XXVI (22.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
Fikry: XXII (62.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Awad: VII (2.1)

UNITED KINGDOM

Admission of Associate Members
Boyle: IV (4.1); XIX (12.1)
Agenda
Boyle: III (4.11)
Budget, 1959-60
Boyle: XIII (28.1)
China - representation
Thomas: II (36.1)
Credentials - verification
Thomas: II (36.1)
Headquarters Committee
Cowell: XXI (20.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Boyle: XI (10.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Boyle: XXV (6.1)
Freedom of education
Boyle: XIX (10.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Boyle: XXIV (28.1)
Programme - evaluation
Boyle: XXI (6.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Boyle: XI (10.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
Boyle: XXII (76.1)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Agenda
Hanes: III (6)
Budget, 1959-60
Hanes: XIII (24.1)
China - representation
Hanes: II (14.1); V (7.1)
China - right to vote
Hanes: X (12.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Rabb: VII (10.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Rabb: XXV (4.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Rabb: XXIV (20.1)
Programme - evaluation
Rabb: XXI (10.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Rabb: VII (10.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
Rabb: XXII (74.1)

URUGUAY

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Secco Ellauri: XI (12.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Secco Ellauri: XI (12.1)

VENEZUELA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Pizani: V (25.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Parra Perez: XXVI (24.1)
Programme and Budget, 1959-60
Pizani: V (25.1)

VIET-NAM

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Ngo-Dinh-Luyen: XII (6.1)
Programme and Budget, 1959-60
Ngo-Dinh-Luyen: XII (6.1)

YUGOSLAVIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Stankovic: VIII (8.1)
Non-governmental organizations
Matic: XXIV (16.1)
Programme and Budget, 1959-60
Stankovic: VIII (8.1)

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIES

Admission of Associate Members - Federation of the West Indies
Allfrey: IV (8.1)

KUWAIT

Admission of Associate Members - Kuwait
Dabbagh: IV (6.1)

NIGERIA

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Esua: XII (14.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Esua: XII (14.1)

TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND

Admission of Associate Members - Trust Territory of Somaliland
Omar: IV (12.1)

UNITED NATIONS

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th anniversary
Palthey: XXIII (2.1)

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Ibero-American Bureau of Education (Lacalle): IX (6.1)
League of Arab States (El Diwany): XIV (16.1)
Organization of American States (Nannetti): XIV (10.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
Ibero-American Bureau of Education (Lacalle): IX (6.1)
League of Arab States (El Diwany): XIV (16.1)
Organization of American States (Nannetti): XIV (10.1)

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
Raadi: IV (28.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
Raadi: XXV (2.1)
Director-General [V. Veronese] - nomination
Raadi: XVIII (2.1)
Executive Board - reports, 1957-58
Raadi: IV (28.13)
General Conference, 11th session - seat
Raadi: XIX (2.1)
Opening speech
Raadi: I (2.1)

DIRECTOR-GENERAL (L.H. EVANS)

Budget, 1959-60
XIII (8.1)
Closing speech
XXVI (26.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - reports, 1956-58
XVI (4.1)
Director-General [L.H. Evans] - tribute
XXV (16.1)
Opening speech
I (4.1)
Programme and budget, 1959-60
XVI (4.1)

DIRECTOR-GENERAL (V. VERONESE)

Installation speech
XXV (18.1)

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL (M. ADISESHI

General Conference, 11th session - organization
XXIV (58.1)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
XXII (56.1)
Secretariat - geographical distribution
XXII (82.1)

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL (M. THOMAS

Non-governmental organizations
XX (10.3)
Programme, 1959-60 - cultural activities
XX (10.2)

SECRETARIAT

Nominations Committee
Saba: IV (18)
Programme and budget - methods of presentation
Saba: XXII (60)
Programme, 1959-60 - natural sciences
Auger: XX (6.1)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

RECORDS

OF THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

Tenth Session
Paris, 1958

PROCEEDINGS

UNESCO

UNESCO ARCHIVES

Published in 1959 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7e
Composed in Unesco's workshops
Printed by IFMRP, Paris

© Unesco 1959
Printed in France
CPG. 59. VII. 10A

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL INFORMATION

List of Delegates, Representatives and Observers 9
Delegates of Member States and Associate Members 9-16
Observers from non-Member States 16
Representatives of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies 16
Observers from intergovernmental organizations 17
Observers from international non-governmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements 17
Observers from other non-governmental organizations admitted by the General Conference under Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure 20

Officers of the General Conference and of the Commissions and Committees 21

Time-table of meetings 25

List of documents of the tenth session of the General Conference 25

Statistical table showing the documents prepared for the tenth session of the General Conference . . . 35

VERBATIM RECORDS OF PLENARY MEETINGS

First Plenary Meeting 39
Opening of the session by the Head of the delegation of India
Address by the Chairman of the Executive Board
Address by the Director-General of Unesco
Statement by the President on Arrears of Contributions
Establishment of the Credentials Committee

Second Plenary Meeting 43
Report of the Credentials Committee

Third Plenary Meeting 56
Adoption of the Revised Agenda
Establishment of the Nominations Committee
Report of the Nominations Committee and election of the President and twelve Vice-Presidents of the General Conference
Appointment of Chairmen of Commissions

Fourth Plenary Meeting 61
Admission of Associate Members of the Organization
Admission of Observers from international non-governmental organizations
Presentation by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 and of the Executive Board's Report on its own Activities
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960

Fifth Plenary Meeting 74
Address by the delegate of Ghana
Address by the President
General Committee's recommendations (inter alia on the question of the representation of China in Unesco)
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Sixth Plenary Meeting 92
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Seventh Plenary Meeting 106
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Eighth Plenary Meeting 121
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Ninth Plenary Meeting 135
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Tenth Plenary Meeting 151
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)
First Report of the Administrative Commission: Right to vote of China
General discussion (continued)

Eleventh Plenary Meeting 167
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Twelfth Plenary Meeting 186
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Thirteenth Plenary Meeting 200
Report of the General Committee
Second Report of the Administrative Commission: Financing of the Budget and the Provisional Budget Ceiling

Fourteenth Plenary Meeting 212
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued)

Fifteenth Plenary Meeting 230
Election of twelve members of the Executive Board

Sixteenth Plenary Meeting 233
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (conclusion)
Reply by the Director-General

(The seventeenth plenary meeting was held in private)

Eighteenth Plenary Meeting 241
Appointment of the Director-General

Nineteenth Plenary Meeting 243
Place of the eleventh session of the General Conference
Second Report of the Credentials Committee
Measures to be taken and recommendations to be made with a view to ensuring that Member States maintain the free functioning of education in the territories under their administration
Admission of the State of Singapore as Associate Member
Reduction of the number, size and cost of working papers for the General Conference and the Executive Board
Report of the Reports Committee

Twentieth Plenary Meeting 254
Report of the Programme Commission

Twenty-first Plenary Meeting 262
International Standardization of Educational Statistics
International Conventions concerning the International Exchange of Publications
Special Report of the Programme Commission on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes for the Economic and Social Council
Third Report of the Administrative Commission: Headquarters questions

Twenty-second Plenary Meeting 274
Administrative Commission (continued): Financial, legal and related questions

Twenty-third Plenary Meeting 292
Celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Twenty-fourth Plenary Meeting 302
Third Report of the Administrative Commission (conclusion): International non-governmental organizations
Report of the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions
Membership of the Legal Committee, Reports Committee and Headquarters Committee

Twenty-fifth Plenary Meeting 322
Tributes to Dr. Luther H. Evans
Installation of Dr. Vittorino Veronese in the office of Director-General of Unesco

Twenty-sixth Plenary Meeting 334
Tributes to Dr. Luther H. Evans (continued)
Close of the tenth session of the General Conference

NOTE:

The General Conference at its tenth session decided (10 C/Resolution 8.11) "that the summary records of the tenth session of the General Conference shall not be printed in the records of the General Conference". Accordingly, this volume contains only the verbatim records of the plenary meetings of the Conference; a corrected master copy of the summary records of the Commissions and Committees of the Conference is kept in the Archives of the Organization where it may be consulted when required.

GENERAL INFORMATION

GENERAL INFORMATION

LIST OF DELEGATIONS, REPRESENTATIVES AND OBSERVERS

DELEGATES OF MEMBER STATES AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

MEMBER STATES

AFGHANISTAN

Head of the Delegation :
Dr. Mohammad ANAS
Delegates :
Dr. Mir Najmuddin ANSARI
Miss Kubra C. NOORZAY
Mr. Ibrahim SHARIFI
Mr. Mohammad Rahim GARDEZI

ALBANIA

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Misto TRESKA
Delegates :
Mr. Sulejman MYFTIU
Mr. Dilaver PINDERI

ARGENTINA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Alfredo D. CALCAGNO
Delegates :
H.E. Prof. Alberto GONZALEZ DOMINGUEZ
H.E. Mrs. Ana Rosa SCHLIEPER DE MARTINEZ GUERRERO
Alternates :
Dr. Felix César LUNA
Secretaries :
Mr. Andrés ESCURRA ROZAS
Dr. Juan Carlos FERREIRA
Dr. José Horacio CABRAL MAGNASCO

AUSTRALIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Alfred STIRLING
Delegates :
Mr. William John WEEDEN
Dr. Harold Stanley WYNDHAM
Dr. Gardner DAVIES
Mr. Ernest Lloyd SOMMERLAD

AUSTRIA

Head of the Delegation :
Dr. Hermann ZEISSL
Delegates :
Dr. Ludwig HÄNSEL
Dr. Alexander PHILIPPOVICH
Dr. Friederich COCRON

BELGIUM

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Julien KUYPERS
Deputy :
Mr. Jean BAUGNIET
Delegates :
Mr. Marcel FLORKIN
Mr. Frans VANDENBORRE
Mr. Emile LOBET
Alternates :
Rev. Father Robert de le COURT
Mr. Armand HACQUAERT
Mr. Jean-Marie ANDRIEU
Experts :
Mr. Jean WILLEMS
Baron Conrad van der BRUGGEN
Miss Emilie ARNOULD
Mr. Herman LIEBAERS
Mr. Réginald HEMELEERS
Mr. Achille REINTJENS
Secretaries :
Mrs. Liliane de RIDDER de WILDE
Mr. Robert PIERLET

BOLIVIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. José CUADROS QUIROGA
Delegate :
Dr. Javier ARCE VILLALBA
Adviser :
Dr. Francesco-Paolo CAPONERA

BRAZIL

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO
Delegates :
Mr. Osvaldo ORICO
Mr. Everaldo DAYRELL DE LIMA
Mr. Jayme CARDOSO
Prof. HERON DE ALENCAR
Alternates :
Mr. José Osvaldo de MEIRA PENNA
Mr. Carlos CALERO RODRIGUES
Mr. Gilberto Chateaubriand BANDEIRA DE MELLO
Mr. Guy-Marie de CASTRO BRANDÃO

BULGARIA

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Ivan BACHEV
Delegates :
Mr. Slavtcho VASSEV
Mr. Tchoudomir PETROV
Mr. Assen DATZEV
Mr. Boris MILEV

Alternates :
Prof. Luben TONEV
Mr. Konstantin TELLALOV
Mr. Bogomil RAINOV
Mr. Emile TOMOV

BURMA

Head of the Delegation :
U MAUNG KYAW ZAN
Deputy :
Dr. Tha HLA
Delegates :
H.E. U VUM KO HAU
U Tha MYAT
U Tin AYE
U BA NYUNT
Dr. BA

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. S. A. UMREIKO
Delegate :
Mr. A. J. MALYCHEV
Adviser :
Mr. E. F. BEZRODNYI
Interpreter :
Mr. V. I. ANTOCHIN

CAMBODIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. CHAU SENG
Delegates :
H.R.H. Prince NORODOM NORINDETH
Mr. PUNG PENG CHENG
Mr. MEN CHHUM
Mr. CHHUK MENG MAO
Mr. EP SAMBOR

CANADA

Head of the Delegation :
Dr. N.A.M. MACKENZIE
Deputy Head and Principal Adviser:
H.E. Mr. E. Benjamin ROGERS
Delegates :
Mr. R. J. McCLEAVE
Mr. E. MORISSETTE
Dr. W. H. SWIFT
Alternates :
Dr. P. H. BRIEGER
Dr. Pierre GENDRON
Mr. K. KAPLANSKY
Mr. Marcel OUIMET
Dr. Aileen ROSS
Advisers :
Mr. Eugène BUSSIERE
Dr. E. F. SHEFFIELD
Mr. Harris ARMSTRONG
Miss Mary Q. DENCH
Secretary :
Mr. Gérard BERTRAND

CEYLON

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. P.R. GUNASEKERA
Delegates :
H.E. Dr. G. P. MALALASEKERA
Mr. H. JINADASA
Dr. Walpola RAHULA
Rev. Father V. A. RANASINGHE
Alternates :
Mr. Sagara PALANSURIYA
Mr. T.C.I. EKANAYAKA
Mr. D. B. DHANAPALA
Adviser :
Mrs. ANIL DE SILVA

CHILE

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Carlos MORLA LYNCH
Delegates :
Mr. Francisco WALKER LINARES
Mr. Gustavo LAGOS MATUS
Mr. David STITCHKIN BRANOVER
Mr. Oscar FUENTES PANTOJA
Alternates :
Mr. Domingo SANTA-CRUZ WILSON
Rev.Father José Manuel AREVALO QUIEROLO
Advisers :
Mr. Carlos VIDELA LIRA
Mr. Rudolph P. ATCON

CHINA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Dison Hsueh-Feng POE
Delegates :
Dr. OU Tsuin-Chen
Dr. Liang-Kung YANG
H.E. Dr. CHEN Hiong-Fei
Prof. CHEN Yuan
Advisers :
Dr. Paul K. T. SIH
Prof. SUN Tang-Yueh
Dr. KUO Yu-Shou
Dr. CHOU Ling
Secretaries :
Dr. CHAO Keh-Ming
Mr. KUNG Tsung-Tsai
Assistant-Secretary :
Mr. CHEN Joen Kouei

COLOMBIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Juan URIBE-HOLGUIN
Delegates :
Prof. Julio ASUAD
Dr. Eduardo ZALANEA BORDA
Dr. Abel NARANJO VILLEGAS
H.E. Mr. José Jonquín GORI
Mr. Alvaro HOLGUIN Y CARO
Dr. Heriberto ARBELAEZ
Secretary :
Dr. Raúl OÑORO AMADOR

COSTA RICA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Rodolfo PINTO ECHEVERRIA
Delegates :
Dr. Norberto CASTRO TOSI
Mr. Fernán Vargas ROHRMOSER
Dr. Carlos DEAMBROSIS MARTINS

CUBA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Orestes FERRARA MARINO
Delegates :
Dr. Francisco ICHASO MACIAS
Dr. Natalia CHEDIAK AHUYADA
Dr. Flora DIAZ PARRADO
Alternate :
Dr. Hilda LABRADA BERNAL

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Frantisek KAHUDA
Delegates :
Prof. Frantisek PAZUR
Dr. Adolf HOFFMEISTER
H.E. Dr. Josef URBAN
Mr. Imrich HUDEC
Alternates :
Dr. Pavel WELLNER
Dr. Vaclav NAVRATIL
Adviser :
Mr. Vladimir CIHAK
Secretary :
Dr. Zdenek SUCHOMEL

DENMARK

Head of the Delegation :
Miss Agnete VØHTZ
Delegates :
Prof. Jakob NIELSEN
Mrs. Bodil BEGTRUP

Mrs. Edel SAUNTE
Prof. Mogens PIHL
Mr. Kristen Helveg PETERSEN
Alternates :
Mr. Mogens HERMANNSEN
Dr. Hakon STANGERUP
Mr. Peter Anton KOCH
Mr. Erik CARLSEN

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation :
Prof. Augusto PEIGNAND CESTERO
Delegate :
Dr. Salvador E. PARADAS

ECUADOR

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. José Vicente TRUJILLO
Delegates :
Dr. José MARTINEZ COBO
Dr. Luis E. JARAMILLO
Mr. Jorge CRESPO TORAL
Mr. Jorge SALVADOR LARA
Alternate :
Dr. Luis VERDESOTO SALGADO

EL SALVADOR

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Roberto CACERES BUSTAMANTE
Delegates :
Mr. Rodolfo BARON CASTRO
Mr. Antonio SALAZAR
Mrs. Elena SOL DE GUTIERREZ

ETHIOPIA

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Ato Akalo Work Habte WOLD
Delegates :
Ato Alomu BEGASHAW
Miss Mary TADESSE
Ato Bekele YILMA
Ato Befekadu TADESSE
Secretary :
Ato Getachew ZELLEKE

FINLAND

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Reino H. OITTINEN
Delegates :
Prof. Ilmo HELA
Prof. Arvi KIVIMAA
Mr. Nils LUND
Mr. Kalervo SIIKALA
Alternate :
Mr. H.O. GUMMERUS

FRANCE

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Jean BERTHOIN
Deputy :
Mr. Roger SEYDOUX
Delegates :
Mr. Gaston BERGER
Mr. Julien CAIN
Mr. Jean SARRAILH
Advisers :
Mr. René CASSIN
Mr. Mamadou COULIBALY
Mr. Georges GAYET
Prof. Henri LAUGIER
Alternates :
Mr. Jean COULOMB
Mr. Louis FRANCOIS
Mr. HAZOUME
Mr. César SANTELLI
Mr. Edmond SIDET
Technical Advisers :
Mr. Gérard AMANRICH
Mr. Georges AUBERT
Miss Jeanine AUBOYER
Mr. AUTIER
Mr. BALANDIER
Mr. Jacques BEROUE
Mr. Bernard BLIN
Mr. Robert BRICHET
Mr. Yves BRUNSVICK
Mr. Jean-Pierre CABOUAT
Mr. Pierre CHIGOT
Mr. Louis CROS
Mr. Michel DEBEAUVAIS
Mr. Michel FONTAINE
Mr. Louis GILLETTE
Mr. Yves IGOT
Mr. Pierre JUVIGNY
Mr. Pierre LA CROIX
Rev. Father LEROY
Mr. Paul-Louis MIGNON
Mr. MORAT
Mr. Georges MORLOT
Mr. Jean-Claude PAUVERT
Mr. REUCHLIN
Mr. ROUILLON
Prof. Jean STOETZEL
Mr. Jean TERROU
Mr. Jacques TOUCHARD
Secretary-General :
Mr. Michel de LADOUCETTE
Assistant Secretary-General :
Mr. Raymond RODRIGUEZ

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Karl Heinrich KNAPPSTEIN
Deputy :
Mr. Theodor STELTZER
Delegates :
H. E. Dr. Franz ROEDER
Dr. Heinz von TRÜTZSCHLER
Dr. Maria SCHLÜETER-HERMKES
Advisers :
Prof. Dolf STERNBERGER
Dr. Heinz KUPPERS
Dr. Louise REHLING
Dr. Hanz REIMERS
Prof. Wulf Emmo ANKEL
Prof. Karl ERDMANN
Prof. Arnold BERGSTRAESSER
Dr. Wilhelm PLATZ
Dr. von BOEHMER
Count Heinrich von HARDENBERG
Dr. Guido BRUNNER
Prof. Otto von SIMSON
Secretary :
Dr. Wolf MOHR

GHANA

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. C. T. NYLANDER
Delegates :
Mr. C.M.O. MATE
Mr. R. A. QUARSHIE
Mr. J.O. VANDERPUYE

GREECE

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Jean D. KALERGIS
Delegates :
Prof. Apostolos DASKALAKIS
Prof. Kostas KITSIKIS
Mr. Georges AVEROFF
Mr. Dimitri COSMADOPOULOS

GUATEMALA

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Mauricio ROSAL
Delegates :
Mr. Francisco AZURDIA SOTO
Mr. Oscar BERTHOLIN GALVEZ

HAITI

Head of the Delegation :
Rev. Father Jean-Baptiste GEORGES
Delegate :
Prof. Marceau LOUIS

HONDURAS

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Juan Miguel MEJIA
Delegates :
H. E. Dr. Roberto LAZARUS
Mrs. Emma LAZARUS
Dr. José Ramón VELAZQUEZ
Secretary :
Dr. Anita GOMEZ ROMERO

HUNGARY

Head of the Delegation:
Mrs. Magda JOBORU
Delegates:
Mr. Imre SZABO
Mr. Kálmán UJLAKI
Mr. János PATAKI
Adviser:
Mrs. Irène PEHR

INDIA

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN
Deputy:
Shrimati Hansa MEHTA
Delegates:
H.E. Sardar K.M. PANIKKAR
H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala
Sir Yadvindra SINGH MCHINDER BAHADUR
Dr. S. Husain ZAHEER
Alternates:
Shri G.C. CHATTERJEE
Shri Narla Venkateswara RAO
Shri P.H. PATWARDHAN
Shri Azim HUSAIN
Prof. M.S. SUNDARAM
Adviser and Public Relations Officer:
Shri P.G. PENDSAY
Secretary-General:
Dr. S.M.S. CHARI

INDONESIA

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. Susanto TIROPRODJO
Deputy:
Prof. Kusnoto SETYODIWIRIYO
Delegates:
Mr. R. SOEBROTO
Mr. Umar SISWOSUEBROTO
Dr. Suemitro REKSODIPURO
Alternates:
Dr. Kuntjoro PURBOPRANOTO
Mr. Bahrum RANGKUTI

IRAN

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. G.A. RAADI
(from 4 November to 2 December)
H.E. Mr. Ali Asghar HEKMAT
(from 2 to 5 December)
Deputy:
Dr. Moussa AMID
Delegates:
Dr. Djalal KASSAI
Prof. Abol-Hassan BEHNIA
Dr. Zabihollah SAFA
Alternates:
Dr. Mehdi BARKECHLI
Mr. Hossein MINOUI
Mr. Mohammad ACHENA
Mr. Massoud OSTOVANY
Mr. Sadegh TOUBIA

IRAQ

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Mohammed NASIR
Delegates:
Dr. Abdul Razzak AL-JALILI
Dr. Abdul Emir Abdul MAJID
Dr. Rassoul KEMAL-EDDIN
Mr. Abdul JABBAR VELI

ISRAEL

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Moshe AVIDOR
Deputy:
H.E. Mr. Jacob TSUR
Delegates:
Mr. Yehuda H. LEVIN
Prof. Shamuel SAMBURSKY
Mrs. Miriam LAMBERT
Mr. Mordechai SHNEERSON
Alternate:
Mr. Yehuda HORAM
Adviser:
Mr. David CATARIVAS

ITALY

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Prof. Aldo MORO
Delegates:
Mr. Raimundo MANZINI
H.E. Egidio REALE
Dr. Vittorino VERONESE
H.E. Dr. Mario CONTI
Alternates:
Prof. Giovanni CALO
Prof. Francesco VITO
Prof. Giuseppe UNGARETTI
Dr. Giorgio CIRAOLO
Dr. Gian Franco POMPEI
Advisers:
H.E. Dr. Francesco Maria TALIANI DE MARCHIO
Prof. Eliglo PERUCCA
Prof. Vittore BRANCA
Prof. Maria Luisa PARONETTO VALIER
Prof. Alessandra DA VENEZIA
Mrs. Maria Luisa ASTALDI
Dr. Gian Luigi VALENZA
Mr. Mario VERDONE

JAPAN

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Tamon MAEDA
Delegates:
H.E. Mr. Tetsuro FURUKAKI
H.E. Mr. Akira MATSUI
Mr. Yoshio MUTO
Mr. Daishiro HIDAKA
Alternates:
Mr. Noboru SUGIURA
Mr. Toshiro UNO
Mr. Takaaki KAGAWA
Advisers:
Mr. Tatsuo MORITO
Mr. Kinichiro SAKAGUCHI
Mr. Seiichiro KATSUMOTO
Secretaries:
Mr. Hiroshi KATAYAMA
Mr. Manabu YAMAMOTO
Mr. Hiroshi KAWAGUCHI
Mr. Kichimasa SODA
Mr. Yasushi KONO

JORDAN

Mr. Khalil SALIM

KOREA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Bup Rim KIM
Delegates:
Dr. Han Yung RIM
Dr. Dong Il KIM
Miss Yoon Sook MOH
Mr. Patrick H. CHANG

LAOS

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. BONG SOUVANNAVONG
Deputy:
H.R.H. Princess SOUVANNA PHOUMA
Delegates:
Mr. BLANCHARD de la BROSSE
Mr. KHAMKHING SOUVANLASY

LEBANON

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Taïeddine SOLH
Deputy:
H.E. Mr. Charles AMMOUN
Delegates:
Mgr Jean MAROUN
Dr. Hachem HOUSSEINI
Mr. Camille ABOUSSOUAN
Adviser:
Mr. Adel ISMAIL

LIBERIA

Head of the Delegation:
Prof. Nathaniel V. MASSAQUOI

Delegates :
Dr. John Payne MITCHELL
Mr. Theophilus THOMAS
Mr. W.B. FERNANDEZ

LIBYA

Mr. Ahmed Fouad SHINNIB

LUXEMBOURG

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. Pierre FRIEDEN
Delegates :
H. E. Mr. Albert CALMES
Mr. Charles LANG
Mr. Pierre WURTH

FEDERATION OF MALAYA

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Inche Mohamed KHIR BIN JOHARI
Delegates :
Mr. Paul CHANG MIN PHANG
Inche Aminuddin BIN BAKI
Secretary :
Inche Mohamed Mustapha BIN MAHMUD

MEXICO

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Dr. Pedro DE ALBA
Delegates :
Mr. Octavio PAZ
Dr. Silvio ZAVALA
Dr. Paula ALEGRIA
Secretary :
Dr. Jesús CABRERA MUÑOZ LEDO

MONACO

Head of the Delegation :
H.S.H. Prince Pierre de Monaco
Deputy :
Mgr Gilles BARTHE
Delegates :
Mr. Fernand D'AILLIERES
Mr. René BOCCA
Mr. René NOVELLA

MOROCCO

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Mohammed EL FASSI
Delegates :
Mr. Boubker BOUMEDHDI
Mr. Bensalem EL KOHEN
Prof. Ahmed LAKHDAR
Mr. Abdelhafid IDRISSI
Mr. Abdelhaq SAADANI

NEPAL

Not represented

NETHERLANDS

Head of the Delegation :
H. E. Mr. J.M.L. Th. CALS
Deputies :
Dr. H.J. REININK
Dr. F. BENDER
Delegates :
Dr. J. FERRIER
Dr. E.L.R. SASSEN
Mr. B.J.E.M. de HOOG
Alternates :
Mr. C.H. BANNIER
Dr. C.C. BERG
Dr. L. BRUMMEL
Dr. M. ROOY
Mr. C.E. SCHELFHOUT
Dr. A.B. de VRIES
Advisers :
Mr. J.W. van HULST
Mr. S. de GORTER
Mr. H. van VLOTEN
Secretary-General :
Mr. M.J.J. van LOOSDRECHT
Secretaries :
Miss T. ROLDANUS
Mr. R.M.H. KOESOEMO JOEDO

NEW ZEALAND

Head of the Delegation :
Dr. Clarence E. BEEBY
Delegates :
Mr. Arnold E. CAMPBELL
Mr. Alexander F. CAMPBELL
Advisers :
Mr. John G. McARTHUR
Dr. V. ARMSTRONG

NICARAGUA

Head of the Delegation :
Dr. Pedro J. QUINTANILLA
Delegates :
H. E. Dr. Diego Manuel SEQUEIRA
Dr. Fernando NUÑEZ MATUS
Secretary :
Prof. Luis Felipe IBARRA

NORWAY

Head of the Delegation :
Prof. Alf SOMMERFELT
Delegates :
Mr. Axel Otto NORMANN
Mr. Arne OKKENHAUG
Mr. Harald L. TVETERAS
Mr. Alfred WOLD
Advisers :
Mr. Erling CHRISTOPHERSEN
Mrs. Liv HENNUM
Mr. Birger HUSE
Mr. Haakon BUGGE MAHRT
Mr. Lars LANGAKER

PAKISTAN

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. A.K. BROHI
Deputy :
Mr. S.M. SHARIF
Delegates :
Prof. M.N. HUDA
Mr. S.G. KHALIQ
Advisers :
Mr. Dilawar HASSAN
Mrs. U.K. Siddiqua HUDA

PANAMA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Raimundo ORTEGA VIETO
Delegates :
Mr. Juvenal A. CASTRELLON ADAMES
Prof. Otilia AROSEMENA DE TEJEIRA
Adviser :
Dr. Jorge Tulio ROYO

PARAGUAY

H.E. Mr. Ramon CABALLERO DE BEDOYA

PERU

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Ventura GARCIA CALDERON
Delegates :
Mr. Alberto JOCHAMOWITZ
Dr. Roberto MAC-LEAN y ESTENOS
Dr. Javier ROMERO

PHILIPPINES

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Manuel LIM
Deputy :
Mrs. Geronima T. PECSON

Delegates :
H.E. Mr. Salvador P. LOPEZ
Mrs. Pacita M. GONZALEZ
Mr. Manuel S. ENVERGA
Alternates :
Mr. Jorge C. BOCOBO
Dr. Vitaliano BERNARDINO
Mr. Mauro MENDEZ
Mr. José T. ENRIQUEZ
Dr. Leopoldo G. SALAZAR
Advisers :
Mrs. Emilia Q. LIM
Mrs. Marina LOPEZ
Mrs. Paz P. MENDEZ
Mrs. Segunda R. BERNARDINO
Mrs. Lorenza A. ENRIQUEZ
Secretary :
Mr. Pedro F. ABELLA

POLAND

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Stefan WIERBLOWSKI
Delegates :
Mr. Antoni SLONIMSKI
Mr. Stanislaw LORENTZ
Mr. Adam SCHAFF
Mr. Miroslaw ZULAWSKI
Alternates :
Mr. Michal SMIALOWSKI
Mr. Józef BARBAG
Mrs. Gustawa KAMINSKA
Mr. Wladyslaw GRZEDZIELSKI
Experts :
Mr. Jerzy OSIECKI
Mrs. Zofia KROCHMALEWSKA
Mr. Antoni OSMANSKI

RUMANIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Atanase JOJA
Delegates :
Mr. Mihail RALEA
Mr. Iorgu IORDAN
Mr. TUDOR VIANU
H.E. Dr. Mircea BALANESCO
Alternates :
Mr. Vasile MALINSCHI
Prof. Constantin IONESCU-BUJOR
Mr. George IVASCO

SAUDI ARABIA

Not represented

SPAIN

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Jesus RUBIO Y GARCIA-MINA
Deputy :
Mr. Luis JORDANA DE POZAS
Delegates :
Mr. José Miguel RUIZ MORALES
Mr. Joaquín TENA ARTIGAS
Mr. José Antonio GARCIA NOBLEJAS
Mr. Adolfo MUÑOZ ALONSO
Mr. Federico DIEZ DE ISASI
Chief Adviser :
Dr. Joaquín PEREZ VILLANUEVA
Alternates :
Mr. Vicente PEREZ SANTAMARIA
Mr. Manuel FRAGA IRIBARNE
Mr. José Antonio MARAVALL CASES-NOVES
Mr. Alfonso MUNOZ-SECA Y DE ARIZA
Secretaries :
Mr. Luis SEGOVIA
Mrs. María Teresa BELLVESER
Mrs. Carmen SERRAT

SUDAN

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Ziada Osman ARBAB
Delegates :
Mr. Abdel Halim Ali TAHA
Mr. Mutwakil AHMED AMIN
Prof. Mekki SHEIBEKA
Mr. Hasan Ahmed YOUSIF
Expert :
Mr. Ismail el MILEIK

SWEDEN

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Ragnar LUND
Delegates :
Dr. Hilding EEK
Mr. Rune ERIKSSON
Mrs. Ruth HAMRIN-THORELL
Mr. Yngve MÖLLER
Alternates :
Mr. Erik FORSLUND
Mr. Sven Arne STÅHRE
Dr. Erland SUNDSTRÖM
Mr. Tore TALLROTH
Dr. Carl Henrik WITTROCK
Adviser :
Mr. Bo KÄRRE
Secretary :
Mr. Hadar CARS

SWITZERLAND

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Pierre MICHELI
Deputy :
H.E. Mr. Bernard BARBEY
Delegates :
Mr. Camille BRANDT
Miss Félicina CROMBO
Mr. Edmund RICHNER
Advisers :
Mr. Sven STINER
Mr. Pascal FROCHAUX
Mr. René DOVAZ
Experts :
Prof. Robert DOTTRENS
Miss Anne-Marie DU BOIS
Prof. André MERCIER
Prof. Alfred SCHMID
Prof. Constantin REGAMEY

THAILAND

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Abhai CHANDAVIMOL
Delegates :
Mr. Bunthin ATTAGARA
Dr. Sorn S. ANTARIKANANDA
Mr. Peng SOMANABANDHU
Mr. Nob PALAKAWONGSA

TUNISIA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Mahmoud MESSADI
Deputy :
Mr. Abed MZALI
Delegates :
Mr. Ahmed EL FANI
Mr. Mahjoub BEN MILED
Mr. Tahar GUIGA
Alternates :
Mr. Taïeb TRIKI
Mr. Rafik SAÏD
Adviser :
Mr. Mohammed ETTRI

TURKEY

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. Celâl YARDIMCI
Delegates :
Prof. Hamdi Ragip ATADEMIR
Prof. Bedrettin TUNCEL
Prof. Mehmet KARASAN
Mr. Emin HEKIMGIL
Experts :
Prof. Hikmet BIRAND
Mr. Zühtü MÜRITOGLU
Mr. Zeki KARABUDA
Mr. Necmi KAYHAN
Adviser :
Mr. Bahattin ORNEKOL
Secretaries :
Mr. Zekâi BALOGLU
Mr. Asaf OZMEN
Mr. Bahir SORGUC

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. R.V. BABITCHUK

Delegates :
Mr. S.P. DEMTCHENKO
Mr. I.S. MELNITCHUK
Adviser :
Mr. M.J. PETRATCHKOV

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. A.N. KUZNETSOV
Deputy :
H.E. Mr. S.A. VINOGRADOV
Delegates :
Mr. A.Y. PELSHE
Mr. P.V. ZIMIN
Mr. N.M. SISSAKIAN
Alternates :
Mr. A.I. LEGASOV
Mr. V.V. YEVGENIEV
Mr. P.M. CHERNYSHOV
Mrs. M.Y. YULDASHEVA
Mr. G.N. MELADZE
Advisers :
Mr. G.V. SHVIDOV
Mr. M.F. UNAKOV
Mr. A.V. ZHUKOV
Experts :
Mr. G.A. MOZHAEV
Mr. V.I. PONOMAREV

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. KAMAL EL-DIN HUSSEIN
Deputy :
Dr. Mohammed AWAD
Delegates :
Dr. Abdel-Aziz Hamed EL-KOUSSI
Dr. Ahmed Riad TOURKI
Dr. Hussein MOINES
Dr. Ahmed Ali FIRKY
Alternates :
Dr. Mohammed Mahmoud RAMADAN
Dr. Abdallah ABDEL DAYEM
Mr. Mohammed FATHI MOHAMMED
Secretary :
Mr. Mohammed Fouad OMAR

UNITED KINGDOM

Head of the Delegation :
Sir Edward BOYLE
Deputy :
Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS
Delegates :
Sir Harold Spencer JONES
Prof. H.R. TREVOR-ROPER
Sir William Emrys WILLIAMS
Alternates :
Mr. C.R. ALLISON
Miss E.D. MACKENZIE-WHYTE
Mr. F.R. COWELL
Mr. A.A.F. HAIGH
Mr. J.K. THOMPSON
Advisers :
Mr. H. HOUGHTON
Mr. B. COCKRAM
Mr. R. MORRISON
Mr. J.S. ARTHUR
Miss S. GUITON
Mr. J.C. PETERSEN
Prof. T.H. SEARLS
Mr. Richard FABER
Press Officer :
Mr. E.V.E. BENNETT
Conference Officer :
Miss S. STRACHAN
Secretary :
Mr. G. DICKSON

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Head of the Delegation :
Mr. Maxwell M. RABB
Deputy :
Mr. John W. HANES
Delegates :
Mr. Robert HAMLIN
Mr. George N. SHUSTER
Alternates :
Mr. Ralph N. GABRIEL
Mrs. Ann L. Rose HAWKES
Mr. Justus B.L. LAWRENCE
Mr. William A. NOYES
Mr. John R. RICHARDS
Congressional Advisers :
Mr. John Sherman COOPER
Mr. Hubert H. HUMPHREY
Special Representative at the Dedication of the New Unesco Headquarters :
Mrs. Helen Crocker RUSSELL
Advisers :
Dr. William S. DIX
Dr. Finis ENGLEMAN
Mr. Frank L. FERNBACH
Dr. Bess GOODYKOONTZ
Miss Betty C. GOUGH
Mr. Ralph HILTON
Dr. Henry J. KELLERMANN
Mr. Abram E. MANELL
Mr. Max McCULLOUGH
Mr. James L. MEADER
Dr. James SIMSARIAN
Dr. Frank SNOWDEN
Mr. Byron SNYDER
Mr. Walter J. STOESSEL
Mrs. Margaret H. WILLIAMS
Mr. Norman K. WINSTON
Secretary of the Delegation :
Mr. Frank ENGLAND
Administrative Assistant :
Miss Ann JABLONSKI

URUGUAY

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Prof. Oscar SECCO ELLAURI
Delegates :
H.E. Dr. Abelardo SAENZ
Dr. Arturo ARDAO
Prof. Francisco ESPINOLA
Dr. Héctor GROS ESPIELL

VENEZUELA

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Dr. Rafael PIZANI
Delegates :
H.E. Dr. C. PARRA PEREZ
H.E. Dr. Alberto ZEREGA FOMBONA
H.E. Dr. Juan OROPEZA
Alternates :
Mr. Henrique GANTEAUME DE TOVAR
Dr. Eddie MORALES CRESPO
Dr. Gustavo DIAZ SOLIS
Dr. J.M. ALFARO ZAMORA
Secretary-General :
Mr. Miguel Angel SOULES UNDA

VIET NAM

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mr. NGO-DINH-LUYEN
Delegates :
Prof. VU-QUOC-THUC
Prof. PHAM-BIEU-TAM
Prof. TRUONG-CONG-CUU
Mr. NGUYEN-MINH-TRUYET
Alternates :
Mr. TRAN-BA-CHUC
Mr. NGUYEN-KHAC-KAHM
Prof. LE-VAN-THOI
Dr. NGUYEN-DO
Advisers :
Rev. Father CAO-VAN-LUAN
Prof. NGUYEN-HUU
Mr. BUU-KINH
Secretary :
Mr. NGUYEN-DUY-TOAN

YUGOSLAVIA

Head of the Delegation :
Prof. Sinisa STANKOVIC
Delegates :
Mrs. Marija VILFAN
Prof. Jozé GORICAR
Prof. Peter SIMLESA
Mr. Milovan MATIC
Alternate :
Mr. Peter SEGEDIN
Secretary :
Mr. Radomir ANDJELIC

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

SINGAPORE - NORTH BORNEO GROUP
Not represented

FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIES

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Mrs. Phyllis Shand ALLFREY
Delegate :
Dr. Stephen MOOSAI-MAHARAJ

KUWAIT

Observers :
Mr. Abdul Aziz HUSSEIN
Mr. Abdul Majid MUSTAFA
Mr. Hassan DABBAGH

NIGERIA

Mr. E.E. ESUA
Mr. Mallam Alhadu COOMASSIE

SIERRA LEONE
Not represented

TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND

Head of the Delegation :
H.E. Haji Farah Ali OMAR
Delegates :
Mr. Mohammed Haji Omar SOMAGESTE
Mr. Omar MOHALIM
Mr. L. GASPARRI
Mr. Ali Mohammed SCILALE

OBSERVERS FROM NON-MEMBER STATES

HOLY SEE

H.E. Mgr Paul MARELLA
Mgr Félix PIROZZI
Dr. Jean-Pierre DUBOIS-DUMEZ
Dr. Pierre D'ANDRE
Dr. Jean LARNAUD
Rev. Father Maurice QUEGUINER

IRELAND

H.E. Mr. William P. FAY
Mr. Sean P. KENNAN

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Sakari TUOMIOJA
Mr. Georges PALTHEY
Mr. Donald V. McGRANAHAN
Mr. Clinton REHLING
Mr. Gordon MENZIES
Mr. J. DUPUY

REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

International Atomic Energy Agency
Mr. Sterling COLE

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Mr. Antonio GOMEZ ORBANEJA

International Civil Aviation Organization
Mr. L. BEDIN

International Labour Organisation
Mrs. A. JOUHAUX

World Meteorological Organization
Mr. D.A. DAVIES
Mr. P. de MARTIN DE VIVIES
Miss M.A. MARTIN-SANE

World Health Organization
Dr. M.H. HAFEZI

International Telecommunication Union
Mr. LETHBRIDGE

Universal Postal Union :
Dr. Fritz HESS

OBSERVERS FROM INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Ibero-American Bureau of Education
Mr. Carlos LACALLE
Mrs. Florencia Redondo de BARON CASTRO

International Bureau of Education
Mr. P. ROSELLO

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
Mr. E. BETTINI
Mr. G. de THOMASIS

Council of Europe
Mr. M. CAVALLETTI
Mr. R. CRIVON
Mr. P. BRAULT

League of Arab States
Dr. H.L EL DIWANY

Organization of American States
Dr. Guillermo NANNETTI

European Organization for Nuclear Research
Mr. J.H. BANNIER

International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works :
Mr. Giulio RONGA

OBSERVERS FROM INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Approved for consultative arrangements

Agudas Israel World Organization
Mr. H.A. GOODMAN
Dr. E. MUNK
Dr. M. MULLER

Associated Country Women of the World :
Lady Tiphaine LUCAS
Mrs. G. van BEEKHOFF van SELMS
Mrs. E. KLEYN MENALDA van SCHOUWENBURG
Mrs. Ch. RUSSELL

Boy Scouts International Bureau :
Mr. R. LAUGIER

Catholic International Union for Social Service :
Miss H. NAEGELEN
Miss H. KZIJNEN
Miss A. ARANGO
Rev. Father GOMEZ

Commission of the Churches on International Affairs :
Miss C. JULLIEN

Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools :
Mrs. E. HATINGUAIS

Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations :
Mr. E. ARENE
Mr. E. WEILL
Mrs. I. KOVARSKI
Mr. Z. SCHUSTER
Mr. A. KARLILZOW

Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students :
Mr. Hans DALL

Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences :
Dr. J.F. DELAFRESNAYE

Friends' World Committee for Consultation :
Mr. WOLF MENDL
Mr. T. PAULLIN
Mrs E. PAULIN
Mr. N. PASTER

International Alliance of Women :
Dr. A. LEHMANN

International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom :
Mrs. S. den HERTOG-HAVER DREZE

International Association of Art Critics :
Mr. J. JOHNSON-SWEENEY

International Association of Legal Sciences :
Mr. I. ZAJTAY
Miss M. CRAFFE

International Association of Universities :
Mr. H.M.R. KEYES
Mr. D.J. AITKEN

International Association of University Professors and Lecturers :
Prof. VITO
Prof. C. EISENMANN

International Catholic Child Bureau :
Mr. E. de la POTTERIE
Miss DUQUE

International Catholic Film Office :
Mrs. R. ANGEBAUD
Rev. Father LUNDERS

International Catholic Youth Federation :
Mr. J.C. VENEROSI PESCIOLINI

International Committee for Social Science Documentation:
Mr. J. MEYRIAT

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions :
Mr. H. GOTTFURCHT
Mr. R. DEVERALL
Mr. A. NEBBOT
Miss M. DEHARENG
Mr. CH. FORD

International Confederation of Professional and Intellectual Workers :
Mr. Karel VASAK

International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers :
Mr. P.F. DEVAUX

International Conference of Social Work :
Mrs. LEFEBVRE-DIBON

International Co-operative Alliance :
Mr. W.P. WATKINS
Mr. Ch. BARBIER
Mr. KERINEC

International Council for Educational Films :
Mr. R. LEFRANC

International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies :
Prof. Carsten HOEG
Prof. Ronald SYME
Mr. J. d'ORMESSON

International Council of Museums :
Mr. G-H. RIVIERE
Miss M. BENOIST D'ASY

International Council of Scientific Unions :
Sir Harold SPENCER JONES

International Council of Women :
Mrs. MH. LEFAUCHEUX
Mrs. PICHON-LANDRY
Mrs. S. MAJORELLE
Mrs. Tony ROBERT
Mrs. IBA-ZIZON

International Council on Archives :
Mr. DUBOSQ

International Economic Association :
Dr. H. BERGER-LIESER

International Falcon Movement :
Mr. L. PERREIN

International Federation for Documentation :
Dr. Alexander KING

International Federation of Art Film :
Mrs. S. GILLE-DELAFON

International Federation of Business and Professional Women :
Mrs. de SAINT-BLANQUAT
Mrs S. TIERS

International Federation of Children's Communities :
Mr. F. CORTEZ

International Federation of Christian Trade Unions :
Mr. R. VAUTHERIN

International Federation of Film Producers Associations :
Mr. Ch. DELAC

International Federation of Library Associations :
Mr. J. CAIN

International Federation of Newspaper Proprietors and Editors :
Mr. C. BELLANGER

International Federation of Organizations for School Correspondence and Exchanges :
Mr. P. BARRIER
Mr E. LAJTI

International Federation of Phonographic Industry :
Mr. J. DOUGNAC

International Federation of Senior Police Officers :
Mr. P. VILLETORTE
Mr. Ph. CALLET

International Federation of University Women :
Mrs. M. PREAUX
Miss D.F. LEET
Miss I.F. HILTON
Miss J.H. CHATON
Miss J. BERNAUX

International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations :
Mr. G. VIDALENC

International Federation of Workers' Travel Associations
Mr. L. PALSSON

International Federation of Women Lawyers :
Mrs. H. RUIZ

International House Association and Alliance internationale des anciens de la Cité Universitaire de Paris :
Mr. PEPY
Miss J. THOMAS

International Institute of Differing Civilizations :
Mr. G. GAYET

International Institute of Public Finance :
Prof. F. NEUMARK
Prof. M. MASOIN

International Literary and Artistic Association :
Mr. J. VILBOIS
Mr. M. BOUTET

International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples :
Miss D. SNYERS
Mr. Thomas RI

International Music Council :
Mr. Domingo SANTA CRUZ WILSON
Mr. J. BORNOFF

International Organization for Standardization :
Mr. P. SALMON
Mr. HERVE
Mr. TAVERNIES

International P.E.N. Club :
Mr. David CARVER
Mr. André CHAMSON

International Social Service :
Miss M. TRILLAT

International Society for Criminology :
Mr. J. PINATEL
Mr. SUSINI

International Statistical Institute :
Prof. H. LAUGIER

International Union of Architects :
Mr. R. LEBRET

International Union of Family Organizations and International Union for Child Welfare :
Mr. R. BOUDET

International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources :
Prof. R. HEIM
Mr. Tracy PHILIPPS
Mrs. M. CARAM

International Union for Protecting Public Morality :
Mr. CHOPLIN
Mr. DESJOBERT

International Union for the Scientific Study of Population :
Mr. M. CROZE
Mr. L. HENRY

International Voluntary Service :
Miss D. ABBOTT
Mr. SAHNOUNE
Mr. CHOPRA

Joint Committee of International Teachers Federations :
Mr. A.M. GOSSART
Miss M-L. CAVALIER
Mr. P. DELANOUE
Mr. E. HOMBOURGER

League of Red Cross Societies :
Mr. R. ANGEBAUD

New Education Fellowship :
Mr. R. GAL

O.R.T. World Union :
Mr. C.L. LANG

Pax Romana — International Movement of Catholic Students — International Catholic Movement of Intellectual and Cultural Affairs :
Prof. O. LACOMBE
Prof. P. MAZIN
Miss M-C. VAYSSADE

Soroptimist International Association :
Dr. M. KRAEMER-BACH
Miss E. HOETER
Miss R.E. MORRIS

Union of International Associations :
Mr. G.P. SPEECKAERT
Miss G. DEVILLE
Mr. P. VASSEUR

Union of International Engineering Organizations :
Mr. L. CAMBOURNAC

Universal Esperanto Association :
Prof. I. LAPENNA
Mr. Tibor SEKELJ
Mr. J. THIERRY

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom :
Mrs. A. JOUVE
Miss PONTHEIL
Mrs. LANDY

World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations :
Mr. P.M. LIMBERT

World Assembly of Youth :
Mr. RAVINDRA VARMA
Mr. D. WIRMARK
Mr. F. FERRARI
Mr. D. BROMBART
Mr. Ralph S. DELLA CAVA
Mr. Necker DESSABLES
Mr. KRISHNASWAMY

World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts :
Miss A. TENNANT
Mrs. BUGNON-SECRETAN

World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession :
Mr. P. WELTY
Mr. W. EBERT
Miss E. BOUCHERANT

World Association for Public Opinion Research :
Miss H. RIFFAULT
Mr. M. BARIOUX

World Federation of Catholic Young Women and Girls :
Miss J. GIENS

World Federation for Mental Health :
Mr. H.M.R. KEYES

World Federation of Trade Unions :
Mrs. E. TEODORESCU
Miss J. LEVY

World Federation of United Nations Associations :
Dr. R.S. SMITH
Miss Tripti SAROBAR
Mr. S. NOUMOFF
Miss C. BRUN

World Friendship Federation :
Mr. A. McTAGGART-SHORT

World Jewish Congress :
Dr. A. STEINBERG
Mr. E. FLEG
Dr. G. RIEGNER
Mrs. A. KLAUSNER

World Movement of Mothers :
Miss M. DHELLEMMES
Mrs. PERRIN
Mrs. BOREL
Mrs. WITOCHYNSKY

World Organization for Early Childhood Education :
Mrs. HERBINIERE-LEBERT

World Power Conference :
Mr. B. de COMMINGES

World's Student Christian Federation :
Mr. Ph. MAURY

World Union of Catholic Teachers :
Mr. J. TRANCHANT
Mr. A. ALBARET
Mr. L. GIORCELLI
Miss N. ROUVILLEIS

World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations :
Miss S. des GACHONS
Miss J. HORGAN
Mrs. DE JONG
Mrs. DIEUSY
Miss SWAGEMAKERS
Miss M. PINGAUD

World Union of Jewish Students :
Mr. NUSSBAUM

World Union for Progressive Judaism :
Miss J. WEILL

World University Service :
Mr. B. DUCRET

World's Young Women's Christian Association :
Dr. A. ARNOLD
Mrs. S. DUFLE

Young Christian Workers :
Mr. A. MARTINACHE
Mr. R. MAIONI
Miss N. NEERSMAN

OBSERVERS FROM OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Admitted by the General Conference under Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure

International Academy of Ceramics :
Mr. M. GENSOLI
Mrs. Caridad RAMIREZ

International Association of Plastic Arts:
Mr. B.LARDERA

International Scientific Film Association :
Miss F. GAZAN

International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children :
Mr. J.SELOSSE
Mr. A.C. HORSLEY

International Centre for Aesthetic Studies – Cercle Paul Valéry :
Mr. GENGIS KHAN
Mrs.G. RIGAUD-BOSQUET

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace :
Mr. J. GOORMAGHTIGH

International Astronautical Federation :
Mr. VON KARMAN
Dr. F. MALINA

International Federation of Modern Language Teachers :
Mr. D.M. VAN WILLINGEN
Mr. P. MEILE

International Federation of Translators :
Mr. E. CARY

World Veterans Federation :
Mr. D. HEAPS

Ford Foundation :
Mr. W.A. NIELSEN

Rockefeller Foundation :
Mr. J. MARSHALL

International Federation of Christian Workers Movements :
Miss E. ARNOULD

International Union for the Freedom of Teaching :
Mr. E. LIZOP

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND OF THE COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT OF THE TENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

H. E. Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

H. E. Dr. Alfredo D. CALCAGNO (Argentina)
H. E. Mr. Karl Heinrich KNAPPSTEIN (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr. Juan Miguel MEJIA (Honduras)
Dr. Moshe AVIDOR (Israel)
Mr. Tamon MAEDA (Japan)
Mr. Mohammed EL FASSI (Morocco)
Mr. A.K. BROHI (Pakistan)
H. E. Mr. Atanase JOJA (Rumania)
H. E. Mr. Jesús RUBIO Y GARCIA-MINA (Spain)
Mr. A.N. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom)
Mr. Maxwell M. RABB (United States of America)

Secretary-General:
Dr. Luther H. EVANS

Secretaries:
Mr. M. MONTAGNIER
Mr. M. JIMENEZ

GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE *

Chairman:
H. E. Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)
Secretary:
Mr. M. MONTAGNIER

PROGRAMME COMMISSION

Chairman:
Dr. C.E. BEEBY (New Zealand)
Vice-Chairmen:
Dr. Adolf HOFFMEISTER (Czechoslovakia)
Dr. Pedro J. QUINTANILLA (Nicaragua)
Dr. Abdel Aziz Hamed EL-KOUSSI (United Arab Republic)
Rapporteur:
Mr. C.M.O. MATE (Ghana)
Special Rapporteur on Programme Appraisal:
Mr. B.J.E.M. de HOOG (Netherlands)
Secretaries:
Mr. J.R. BEHRSTOCK
Mr. M.J. CHASE

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

Chairman:
Mr. Jean BAUGNIET (Belgium)
Vice-Chairmen:
Dr. Mohammad ANAS (Afghanistan)
Dr. Paula ALEGRIA (Mexico)
Dr. NGUYÊN-DO (Viet-Nam)
Rapporteur:
Dr. Tha HLA (Burma)
Secretaries:
Mr. H. WILMOT
Mr. P. LE HARIVEL

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Chairman:
Mr. Oscar FUENTES PANTOJA (Chile)
Secretary:
Mr. C. LUSSIER

* The General Committee consists of the President and the twelve Vice-Presidents of the General Conference, together with the Chairmen of the following Commissions and Committees: Programme Commission, Administrative Commission, Credentials Committee, Nominations Committee, Legal Committee, Committee on Reports and Headquarters Committee.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

Chairman :
Prof. Nathaniel V. MASSAQUOI (Liberia)
Vice-Chairman :
H.E. Mr. Jean D. KALERGIS (Greece)
Secretary :
Miss L. McPHEE

LEGAL COMMITTEE

Chairman :
Shri G.C. CHATTERJEE (India)
Vice-Chairman :
Mr. A. MZALI (Tunisia)
Secretaries :
Mr. C. LUSSIER
Mr. G. PERRENOUD

REPORTS COMMITTEE

Chairman :
Prof. B. TUNCEL (Turkey)
Rapporteur :
Prof. Maria Luisa PARONETTO VALIER (Italy)
Secretary :
Mr. C. BERKOWITCH

HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE

Chairman :
H.E. Dr. C. PARRA PEREZ (Venezuela)
Vice-Chairmen :
Dr. Gianfranco POMPEI (Italy)
H.E. Mr. Tetsuro FURUKAKI (Japan)
Dr. GARDNER DAVIES (Australia)
Secretary :
Mr. P. URLIK

TIME-TABLE

DATES			Commissions		Committees							Working Parties of the Programme Commission						
		Plenary Meetings	Programme Commission	Administrative Commission	Credentials Committee	General Committee	Headquarters Committee	Legal Committee	Nominations Committee	Reports Committee*	Drafting Committee *Admin. Com.*	Working Party: Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes for the Economic and Social Council	Working Party: Cultural Activities	Working Party: Draft Conventions and Recommendations	Working Party: Education	Working Party: Mass Communication	Working Party: Natural Sciences	Working Party: Social Sciences
NOVEMBER																		
Tuesday 4	Afternoon	1			1													
	Evening				2													
Wednesday 5	Morning	2																
	Afternoon	3	1	1				1	1									
Thursday 6	Morning	4				1		2										
	Afternoon	5		2						10								
Friday 7	Morning	6		3														
	Afternoon	7		4														
Saturday 8	Morning	8		5		2												
	Afternoon	9	2	6														
Monday 10	Morning	10		7										1				
	Afternoon	11		8						11				2				
	Evening	12																
Wednesday 12	Morning	13	3			3									1		1	
	Afternoon	14	4												2		2	
Thursday 13	Morning		5						2				1					1
	Afternoon	15	6										2					2
Friday 14	Morning	16	7	9		4								3	3		3	
	Afternoon		8	10									3					
	Evening												4					
Saturday 15	Morning			11		5									4		4	3
	Afternoon														5	1		4
Monday 17	Morning			12									5		6	2		
	Afternoon			13									6			3		
Tuesday 18	Morning		9	14		6									7			
	Afternoon		10	15												4	5	
Wednesday 19	Morning		11			7										5		5
	Afternoon		12	16														
Thursday 20	Morning		13	17									7					
	Afternoon		14	18								1						
Friday 21	Morning		15			8		3			1	2				6		
	Afternoon		16	19								3						
Saturday 22	Morning	17	17	20														
	Afternoon	18	18									4						
Tuesday 25	Morning			21		9												
	Afternoon			22						12		5						
Wednesday 26	Afternoon						1			13								
Thursday 27	Morning		19	23														
	Afternoon		20															
Friday 28	Morning		21		3	10					2							
	Afternoon		22															

* This Committee held 9 meetings between 27 October and 31 October 1958

DATES		Plenary Meetings	Commissions		Committees							Working Parties of the Programme Commission						
			Programme Commission	Administrative Commission	Credentials Committee	General Committee	Headquarters Committee	Legal Committee	Nominations Committee	*Reports Committee	Drafting Committee Admin. Com.	Working Party: Appraisal of Unesco's Programme for the Economic and Social Council	Working Party: Cultural Activities	Working Party: Draft Conventions and Recommendations	Working Party: Education	Working Party: Mass Communication	Working Party: Natural Sciences	Working Party: ...
DECEMBER																		
Monday 1	Morning		**	**														
	Afternoon			24														
Tuesday 2	Morning	19	23			11												
	Afternoon	20		25														
Wednesday 3	Morning	21																
	Afternoon	22																
Thursday 4	Morning	23							3									
	Afternoon	24																
Friday 5	Morning	25																
	Afternoon	26																

* This Committee held 9 meetings between 27 October and 31 October, 1958

** Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions

OTHER MEETINGS

1. Ad hoc Working Party of the Programme Commission on an International Fund for Education, Science and Culture: 17, 18 and 20 November.
2. Ad hoc Committee of the Working Party on Mass Communication on Audio-Visual Aids in Education: 18 November.
3. Joint Working Party of the Programme and Administrative Commissions on: (1) Unesco Coupon Schemes; (2) Visitors' Service Fund; and (3) Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962: 26 and 28 November
4. Fifty-second Session of the Executive Board: 7, 13, 15, 19, 20 November and 1, 4 December
5. Fifty-third Session of the Executive Board: 5 December

LIST OF DOCUMENTS OF THE TENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

I. GENERAL DOCUMENTS

10C/1	Provisional agenda of the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/1 Rev.	Revised agenda
10C/2	Recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission to the tenth session of observers from international non-governmental organizations
10C/2 Add.	Addendum
10C/3 Introd.	Introduction to the reports by the Director-General for 1957 and for the first semester of 1958
10C/3	Report by the Director-General on the activities of the Organization (1 January- 30 June 1958)
10C/3 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/3 Add.	Addendum: Report by the Director-General on the activities of the Organization (1 July-30 September 1958)
10C/3 Add. II	Addendum II: Report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization in 1958(January-October): Decisions of the United Nations of interest to Unesco
10C/4	Reports of Member States for 1956-1957
10C/4 (Belgium)	Report (in French only)
10C/4(Bulgaria)	Report (in French only)
10C/4(France)	Report (in French only)
10C/4(Iran)	Report (in French only)
10C/4 Netherlands	Supplementary report (in English only)
10C/4(Rumania)	Report (in French only)
10C/4(Sweden)	Supplementary report (in English only)
10C/4 (Turkey)	Report (in French only)
10C/4 Annex	Analytical summary of the reports of Member States
10C/5 Rev.	Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Rev. Corr. I	Corrigendum I (changes in the Budget)
10C/5 Rev. Corr. II	Corrigendum II - (Promotion of international understanding and peaceful co-operation)
10C/5 Rev. Corr. III	Corrigendum III - (Changes in the Budget)
10C/5 Rev. Corr.IV	Corrigendum IV - (Co-operation with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in the field of primary education)
10C/5 Rev. Corr. V	Corrigendum V - (Operation of Unesco Gift Shop)
10C/5 Rev. Corr. V Add.	Corrigendum V, Addendum
10C/5 Rev. Add. I	Comments and recommendations of the Executive Board on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Rev. Add. I (contd.)	Comments and recommendations of the Executive Board concerning Corrigenda I, II, III, IV and V to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Add. II	Comments by the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and other international organizations on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Rev. Add. III	Draft resolutions, work plans and amendments, submitted by Member States, to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Rev. Add. IV	Addendum to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as revised
10C/5 Rev. Index	Index to documents and draft resolutions to be submitted to the Programme Commission
10C/6	Comments of the Executive Board on the reports by the Director-General on the activities of the Organization
10C/7	Report of the Executive Board on its own activities in 1957-1958 and study of: (a) collaboration by Member States in the application of the programme; (b) execution

UNESCO 25 ARCHIVES

	of the programme in locations away from Headquarters; (c) policy as regards consultations with National Commissions; (d) policy as regards consultations with NGOs; (e) co-ordination with the Specialized Agencies
10C/8	Methods and means of action of the National Commissions
10C/9	Provisional Report of the Reports Committee
10C/9 Part II	Provisional Report of the Reports Committee (Part II)
10C/9 Part III	Provisional Report of the Reports Committee (Part III)
10C/9 Rev. Part I	Report of the Reports Committee (Part I)
10C/9 Rev. Part I Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/9 Rev. Part II	Report of the Reports Committee (Part II)
10C/10	Appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council
10C/10 Add.	Addendum
10C/11	Draft recommendation concerning the international standardization of educational statistics
10C/12	Draft conventions concerning the international exchange of publications
10C/13	Report on the desirability of providing a common basic training for candidates for the international civil service and a specialized administrative training for candidates for certain categories of international posts
10C/13 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/14	Organization of the work of the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/14 Corr. I	Corrigendum
10C/15	Special reports submitted by Member States concerning action taken by them upon the recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session
10C/15 Add.	Addendum
10C/16	General Conference: place and date of the eleventh session
10C/17	Biennial report of the President of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind
10C/18	The use of audio-visual media in fundamental and adult education
10C/19	Nominations and elections for the posts of President and Vice-Presidents of the General Conference and Chairmen of its Commissions and Committees
10C/20	Report concerning the possibility of establishing international regulations on the most effective means of making museums accessible to everyone.
10C/21	Co-operation by Unesco with the Special Fund
10C/21 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/21 Add.	Addendum
10C/22	Library needs in underdeveloped countries
10C/23	Report by the Director-General on the advisability of preparing one or more international instruments designed to eliminate discrimination in the field of education
10C/23 Add.	Addendum: Educational considerations
10C/24	Report on the establishment of an international fund for education, science and culture
10C/25	Report on contributions by Unesco to the development of peaceful co-operation: possibility of facilitating the execution of bilateral programmes initiated by Member States
10C/26 Part I	Financial Report of the Director-General and Report of the External Auditor on the Accounts of the Organization for the Financial Period ended 31 December 1956
10C/26 Part II	Financial Report and Statements as at 31 December 1957 and Report of the External Auditor
10C/26 Part II Add.	Addendum: Decisions taken by the Executive Board
10C/27	Scale and currency of contributions of Member States for 1959-1960
10C/27 Part I	Scale of contributions of Member States for 1959-1960
10C/27 Part I Corr.	Corrigendum

10C/27 Part I Annex II	Annex II
10C/27 Part I Annex II Corr.	Annex II - Corrigendum
10C/27 Part II	Currency of contributions for 1959-1960
10C/27 Parts I and II Add. I	Recommendations of the Executive Board
10C/27 Part III	Collection of contributions
10C/27 Part III Annex II	Annex II
10C/28 Part I	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance: Financial statement as at 31 December 1956 and Report of the External Auditor
10C/28 Part II	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance: Report of the External Auditor on the statements showing the status of allocations to Unesco as at 31 December 1957
10C/28 Part II Add.	Action taken by the Executive Board
10C/29	Administration of the Working Capital Fund
10C/29 Add.	Addendum: Comments of the Executive Board
10C/30	Applications for admission to Associate Membership of Unesco: Kuwait and Federation of the West Indies
10C/31	Report on the results of a management survey of the Secretariat
10C/32	Report on the system employed in assessing the geographical distribution of posts in the Unesco Secretariat
10C/32 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/33	Staff Regulations and Rules
10C/33 Part I	Report and recommendations by the Director-General
10C/33 Part I Add.	Addendum
10C/33 Part II	Recommendations of the Executive Board
10C/33 Part III	Report by the Director-General on amendments to the Staff Rules since the ninth session of the General Conference
10C/33 Part III Appendix	Text of the Staff Regulations and Staff Rules
10C/33 Part III Appendix Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/34	Salaries, allowances and related benefits
10C/34 Part I	Report and recommendations by the Director-General on the implementation of the revised system of salaries, allowances and related benefits
10C/34 Part I Add.	Addendum
10C/34 Part II	Report and recommendations by the Director-General concerning local salaries
10C/34 Part II Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/34 Part II Add.	Addendum
10C/34 Part III	Comments and recommendations of the Executive Board
10C/35	Administrative Tribunal
10C/36	Staff Compensation Fund
10C/37	United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund - Report by the Director-General
10C/38	Proposals for amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, submitted by the Executive Board in implementation of resolutions 17 (4) and 54, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session
10C/39	Living accommodation for members of the Secretariat
10C/39 Add.	Addendum: Comments and recommendations by the Executive Board
10C/40	Draft amendments to the Constitution, the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference and the Financial Regulations - Two-thirds majority required for the adoption of certain decisions of the General Conference
10C/41	Review of the list of international non-governmental organizations admitted to consultative arrangements and evaluation of their relations with Unesco
10C/41 Add.	Addendum
10C/42	Consideration of applications by international non-governmental organizations for admission to consultative arrangements
10C/42 Add. I	Addendum I (twelfth list)

10C/42 Add. II	Addendum II (twelfth list) (Comments of Member States)
10C/42 Add. III	Addendum III (Decisions of the Executive Board)
10C/42 Add. IV	Addendum IV
10C/43	Review of the formal agreements concluded with certain international non-governmental organizations
10C/44	Quadrennial review by the Executive Board of the employment of subventions granted to international non-governmental organizations 1954-1957
10C/45	Report of the Headquarters Committee
10C/46	Extension of the Medical Benefits Fund to cover retired staff members
10C/46 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/46 Add. I	Addendum I
10C/46 Add. II	Addendum II: Recommendation by the Executive Board
10C/47	Recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the documents and records of the General Conference
10C/48	Application for admission to Associate Membership of Unesco: Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration
10C/49	Organization of work of the Programme Commission of the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/50	Draft amendments to Rules 30 (1) and 34 (1) of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference
10C/51	Right to vote of China
10C/52	Credentials Committee
10C/53	Membership of the Singapore/North Borneo Group Associate Member
10C/54	First report of the Administrative Commission to the General Conference: Right to vote of China
10C/55	Right to vote of Bolivia
10C/56	Second report of the Administrative Commission to the General Conference
10C/57	Draft report of the Working Party on Draft International Conventions and Recommendations
10C/57 Add. I	Report of the Working Party on Draft International Conventions and Recommendations
10C/58	Draft resolutions with budgetary implications received after the final date-limit
10C/59	First draft report of the Working Party on Education
10C/59 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/59 Add. I	First report of the Working Party on Education
10C/59 Add. II	Second draft report of the Working Party on Education
10C/59 Add. III	Second report of the Working Party on Education
10C/60	Draft report of the Working Party on Natural Sciences
10C/60 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/60 Add. I	Report of the Working Party on Natural Sciences
10C/61	Draft report of the Working Party on Social Sciences
10C/61 Add.	Report of the Working Party on Social Sciences
10C/62	Draft report of the Working Party on Cultural Activities
10C/62 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/62 Add. I	Report of the Working Party on Cultural Activities
10C/63	World Campaign against Hunger: Resolution adopted by the Council of FAO
10C/64	Communication from the Director-General to the President of the General Conference
10C/65	Contract between the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Director-General
10C/66	Draft report on the Working Party on Mass Communication
10C/66 Add.	Report of the Working Party on Mass Communication
10C/67	International Fund for Education, Science and Culture: Preliminary plan for the operation and structure of the Fund

10C/68	Priorities, recommended by the Working Parties of the Programme Commission
10C/68 Add.	Director-General's proposals on priorities recommended by Working Parties
10C/69	Reduction of the number, size and cost of working papers for the General Conference and the Executive Board: Draft resolution
10C/69 Annex	Documents and publications services budget for 1959-1960
10C/70	Draft report of the Working Party on the appraisal of Unesco's Programmes
10C/70 Rev.	Report of the Working Party on the appraisal of Unesco's programmes
10C/71	Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
10C/72 (Prov.)	Draft report of the Programme Commission
10C/72	Report of the Programme Commission to the General Conference
10C/73	Draft third and final report of the of the Administrative Commission
10C/73 Rev.	Third report of the Administrative Commission
10C/73 Rev. Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/74	Draft report of the Joint Working Party of the Programme and Administrative Commissions
10C/74 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/74 Rev.	Report of the Joint Working Party of the Programme and Administrative Commissions
10C/75	Credentials Committee: second report
10C/76	Report of the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions
10C/76 Add.	Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 and organization of the work of the Programme Commission at the eleventh session of the General Conference
10C/77	Provisional special report of the Programme Commission on the appraisal of Unesco's programmes
10C/77 Rev.	Special report of the Programme Commission on the appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council
10C/78	Report on the work of the Programme Commission at the next session of the General Conference

II. PROVISIONAL DOCUMENTS

Programme Commission

10C/PRG/1	Proposal of the Working Party on Draft Resolution 10C/DR/39 Rev.
10C/PRG/2	Proposed Budget for Appropriation Lines of Part II – Programme Operations and Services
10C/PRG/3	Proposal submitted by the Administrative Commission (international non-governmental organizations)
10C/PRG/4	Second Report of the Legal Committee

Working Party on Education

10C/ED/1	Tentative Agenda
10C/ED/2	Draft Resolution submitted by the delegation of Ceylon (fundamental education)
10C/ED/3	Budget Reconciliation

Working Party on Natural Sciences

10C/NS/1	Proposed modifications to the work plan of the Natural Sciences Chapter in connexion with the project on Contribution to Scientific Research
10C/NS/2	Project 2.4: Contribution to Scientific Research. Study of major research trends and of the dissemination and application of scientific knowledge for peaceful ends
10C/NS/3	Draft resolution presented by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the preparation within Unesco of an Agreement on Scientific and Technical Co-operation

Working Party on Social Sciences

Nil

Working Party on Cultural Activities

10C/CUA/1 Draft resolution presented by the delegation of the United States of America (10C/Resolution 4.82: History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind)

Working Party on Mass Communication

Nil

Administrative Commission

10C/ADM/1 Draft resolution relative to methods of financing the budget for 1959-1960 and provisional budget ceilings for 1959-1960

10C/ADM/2 First report of the Legal Committee

10C/ADM/3 First report of the Administrative Commission

10C/ADM/4 Draft resolution presented by the delegation of Cuba (documents and records of the General Conference)

10C/ADM/5 Draft resolution presented by the delegation of Korea (scale of contributions)

10C/ADM/6 Draft resolution presented by the delegations of Brazil and the United Kingdom (scale of contributions)

10C/ADM/7 Draft resolution presented by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (General Conference and Executive Board documents)

10C/ADM/8 Amendment presented by the delegation of the United Arab Republic to the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (10C/ADM/7: General Conference and Executive Board documents)

10C/ADM/9 Draft amendment presented by the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, New Zealand and the United Kingdom to the draft resolution presented by the delegation of Cuba (10C/ADM/4: General Conference documents and records)

10C/ADM/10 Proposed amendment to resolution on "Living accomodation for members of the Secretariat" - (document 10C/39 Add.)

10C/ADM/11 Proposed amendment to resolution V (document 10C/5 Rev. Add. I (continued)

10C/ADM/12 Draft amendment presented by the delegation of Switzerland to the resolution on "Living accomodation for members of the Secretariat" (document 10C/39 Add.)

10C/ADM/13 Draft amendment, submitted by the delegation of Switzerland, to the draft resolution contained in document 10C/34, Part I, Add., concerning salaries, allowances and related benefits

10C/ADM/14 Amendment presented by the delegations of Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Spain, to the draft resolution contained in document 10C/13 Corr. (training of candidates for the international civil service)

10C/ADM/15 Draft resolution relating to the Working Capital Fund

10C/ADM/16 Amendment to draft resolution 10C/ADM/15 (Working Capital Fund), proposed by the delegations of Australia and the United Kingdom

10C/ADM/17 (Does not exist)

10C/ADM/18 Proposal submitted by the delegation of India (co-operation with international non-governmental organizations)

10C/ADM/19 Proposal submitted by the delegation of Belgium (relations with international non-governmental organizations)

10C/ADM/20 Draft amendment to the draft resolution contained in document 10C/13 Corr. (training of candidates for the international civil service), presented by the Swiss delegation

10C/ADM/21 Draft resolution presented by the delegations of Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, United

	Arab Republic and Yugoslavia (geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat)
10C/ADM/22	Draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Belgium (document 10C/ADM/19), as revised by drafting committee consisting of representatives of Australia, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Arab Republic (relations with international non-governmental organizations)
10C/ADM/23	Proposal submitted by the delegations of Ecuador, India, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America (relations with international non-governmental organizations)
10C/ADM/24	Administrative Costs: Note by the Secretariat
10C/ADM/25	Draft resolution relating to the Working Capital Fund
10C/ADM/26	Draft Appropriation Resolution for 1959-1960: Note by the Secretariat
10C/ADM/27	Corrections to paragraph 51 of document 10C/73

Reports Committee

10C/REP/1	Provisional Agenda
10C/REP/2	Statement made by the representative of the Director-General, Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, at the opening session of the Committee
10C/REP/3	Time-Table of meetings
10C/REP/4	Provisional list of participants (in French only)
10C/REP/5	Proposal made by the Delegate of Australia, Mr. W. J. Weeden
10C/REP/6	Draft resolution: Form, content and frequency of reports.
10C/REP/7	Draft resolution on the implementation and appraisal of the programmes according to the Reports on Activities (1956-1957)
10C/REP/8	Draft resolution: terms of reference and composition of the Reports Committee
10C/REP/9	Provisional Report of the Reports Committee (Part IV): (VIII. Subjects to receive special attention at the eleventh session of the General Conference)

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE

10C/BUR/1	Membership of the Singapore/North Borneo group Associate Member
10C/BUR/2	Draft resolutions with budgetary implications received after the statutory deadline
10C/BUR/3	Organization of the work of the tenth session (25 November-5 December 1958)
10C/BUR/4	Suggestions by the Canadian delegation on the organization of the General Conference of Unesco for dealing with the programme
10C/BUR/5	Draft report on the work of the Programme Commission at the next session of the General Conference
10C/BUR/5 Rev.	Report on the work of the Programme Commission at the next session of the General Conference

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

Curricula Vitae

10C/NOM/1	Dr. Jorge Sanchez Camacho (Colombia)
10C/NOM/2	H.E. Dr. José Ricardo Martinez Cobo (Ecuador)
10C/NOM/3	Mr. Mohammed Nasir (Iraq)
10C/NOM/4 Rev.	Dr. John Payne Mitchell (Liberia)
10C/NOM/5	Dr. Mohammed Awad (United Arab Republic)

10C/NOM/6	Sir Ben Bowen Thomas (United Kingdom)
10C/NOM/7	Mr. Bunthin Attagara (Thailand)
10C/NOM/8	Professor Bedrettin Tuncel (Turkey)
10C/NOM/9 Rev. II	H.E. Mr. Ngo Dinh Luyen (Viet-Nam)
10C/NOM/10	H.E. Mr. Egidio Reale (Italy) (Died on 1 November 1958)
10C/NOM/11	Dr. Adolf Hoffmeister (Czechoslovakia)
10C/NOM/12	Dr. Itrat Husain Zuberi (Pakistan)
10C/NOM/13	Mr. Francisco Walker Linares (Chile)
10C/NOM/14	Mr. Kusnoto Setyodiwiryo (Indonesia)
10C/NOM/15	H.E. Professor Paulo de Berredo Carneiro (Brazil)
10C/NOM/16 Rev.	Mrs. Geronima T. Pecson (Philippines)
10C/NOM/17	Mr. G.P. Malalasekera (Ceylon)
10C/NOM/18	Mr. Hilding Eek (Sweden)
10C/NOM/19	Professor Tha Hla (Burma)
10C/NOM/20	Mr. Casely Manasseh Obuobisa Mate (Ghana)
10C/NOM/21	H.E. Mr. Mohamed El Fassi (Morocco)
10C/NOM/22	Mr. R. Soebroto (Indonesia)
10C/NOM/23	Professor Marceau Louis (Haiti)
10C/NOM/24	H.E. Mr. Ali Asghar Hekmat (Iran)
10C/NOM/25	Mr. Julien Cain (France)
10C/NOM/26	Dr. S.M. Sharif (Pakistan)
10C/NOM/27	Dr. Pedro de Alba (Mexico)
10C/NOM/28	Professor Nathaniel V. Massaquoi (Liberia)
10C/NOM/29*	Dr. Vittorino Veronese
10C/NOM/30	Nominations Committee: Proposals concerning the membership of the Headquarters, Legal and Reports Committees

V. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSALS

10C/DR/1	United Arab Republic
10C/DR/2	Yugoslavia
10C/DR/3	Poland
10C/DR/4	Bulgaria
10C/DR/5	New Zealand
10C/DR/6	Federal Republic of Germany
10C/DR/7	India
10C/DR/8	Italy
10C/DR/9	Rumania
10C/DR/10	Czechoslovakia
10C/DR/10 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/DR/11	Hungary
10C/DR/12	Australia
10C/DR/13	Ceylon
10C/DR/14	United States of America
10C/DR/15	Sudan
10C/DR/16	Viet-Nam
10C/DR/17	Thailand
10C/DR/18	Sweden
10C/DR/19	Viet-Nam
10C/DR/20	Haiti
10C/DR/21	Japan
10C/DR/22	Finland
10C/DR/23	Viet-Nam
10C/DR/24	Argentina
10C/DR/25	Mexico

Documents 10C/DR/1 to 10C/DR/25, containing draft resolutions- work plans and amendments, presented by Member States in connexion with the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, are reproduced and analysed in document 10C/5 Rev. Add. III.

10C/DR/26	Chile (Teaching and development of science)
10C/DR/27	Chile (Higher education at post-secondary level)

* Document 10 C/NOM/29, Curriculum Vitae of Dr. Vittorino Veronese, was a general information document and not intended for the Nominations Committee.

10C/DR/28	Chile (Pilot University Project of Concepción)
10C/DR/29	France (Institution of a system for the exchange of information on educational, scientific and cultural films and kinescopes)
10C/DR/30	France (World programme for the production of films, filmstrips and radio and television broadcasts)
10C/DR/31	France (Visual media; interdepartmental co-ordinating committee)
10C/DR/32	France (International standardization of films)
10C/DR/33	France (The Chronicle of Unesco and the National Commissions)
10C/DR/34	France (Organization of the Department of Mass Communication)
10C/DR/35	France (Free circulation of works of art)
10C/DR/36	France (Use of numerical processing and automatic computation in research)
10C/DR/37	France (Preparation of the future programme)
10C/DR/38	Greece (Consideration by the General Conference of Unesco of measures to be taken and recommendations to be made with a view to ensuring that Member States maintain the free functioning of education in the territories under their administration)
10C/DR/39	Chile (Latin American School of Public Administration)
10C/DR/39 Rev.	Brazil, Chile, Nicaragua and Venezuela (Revised and corrected text of previous draft resolution)
10C/DR/40	Brazil, Chile, Nicaragua and Venezuela (Budgets of the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO) and the Latin American Social Science Research Centre (CENTRE)
10C/DR/41	Czechoslovakia (International exchange of scientific personnel)
10C/DR/42	Czechoslovakia (Encyclopaedia in filmed form)
10C/DR/43	Sweden (Out-of-school education for young people and adults)
10C/DR/44	Brazil, France, Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, Sweden and Turkey (Directives for the future programme)
10C/DR/45	Brazil, France, Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, Sweden and Turkey (Participation in the activities of Member States)
10C/DR/45 Rev.	Brazil, France, Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, Sweden and Turkey (Revised and corrected list of previous draft resolution
10C/DR/46	United States of America (Discrimination in education)
10C/DR/47	United States of America (Educational needs in Arab countries)
10C/DR/48	United States of America (Space exploration)
10C/DR/49	United States of America (Dissemination of information and international understanding)
10C/DR/50	United States of America (Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands)
10C/DR/50 Rev.	United States of America (Revised and corrected text)
10C/DR/51	United States of America (Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands)
10C/DR/52	Finland (crafts and applied arts)
10C/DR/53	Colombia (Inter-American Centre for the training of staff specialized in the general planning of education)
10C/DR/54	Cuba and Spain (Admission of the World Federation for the Protection of Animals to consultative arrangements)
10C/DR/55	Colombia (Programme of international aid for in-service teacher training)
10C/DR/56	United Kingdom (Subvention to the Federation of Astronomical and Geographical Services (FAGS)
10C/DR/57	United Kingdom (Subvention to the International Union of Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN))
10C/DR/58	United Kingdom (Subvention to the International Geophysical Year)
10C/DR/59	Iraq and the United Arab Republic (Arabic edition of the "Unesco Courier")

10C/DR/60	Canada, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, United Kingdom, United States of America, Yugoslavia (Policy as regards co-ordination of Unesco's work with that of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency)
10C/DR/61	Ceylon (Exchange of publications)
10C/DR/62	Poland (International meetings of journalists)
10C/DR/63	France (Centenaries of Pierre Janet and Henri Bergson)
10C/DR/64	Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, India, Liberia, Philippines, Switzerland, United Arab Republic and United States of America (Appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council)
10C/DR/64 Rev.	Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, India, Liberia, Philippines, Switzerland, United Arab Republic and the United States of America (text revised by the Drafting Committee and the Working Party)
10C/DR/65	Argentina (Latin American Regional Centre for Mathematics)
10C/DR/66	Federal Republic of Germany (Centenaries of Friedrich von Schiller and Alexander von Humboldt)
10C/DR/67	Appointment and contract of appointment of the Director-General
10C/DR/68	United Kingdom (Singapore and Malaya/British Borneo group)
10C/DR/69	Switzerland (Invitation of experts to international scientific or technical conferences)
10C/DR/70	Netherlands and the United Kingdom (Appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council)
10C/DR/71	France and Poland (Organization of the work of the Programme Commission at the eleventh session of the General Conference)
10C/DR/72	Tribute to Dr. Luther H. Evans
10C/DR/73	United Kingdom (Headquarters Committee)

VI. GENERAL INFORMATION DOCUMENTS

10C/INF/1	Practical arrangements for the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/INF/2	Invitations to the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/INF/2 Add.	Addendum
10C/INF/3	General Conference Handbook, tenth session, Paris 1958
10C/INF/3 Corr.	Corrigendum
10C/INF/4	Documents for the tenth session of the General Conference
10C/INF/4 Rev. I	Documents for the tenth session of the General Conference: Revised list as of 6 November 1958
10C/INF/5	Provisional list of delegates, representatives and observers (trilingual edition, E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Add. I	Addendum I (trilingual E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Add. II	Addendum II (trilingual E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Add. III	Addendum III (trilingual E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Rev. I	Provisional revised list of delegates, representatives and observers (trilingual edition E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Rev. I - Corr. and Add. I	Corrigendum and Addendum I (trilingual E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Rev. I - Corr. and Add. II	Corrigendum and Addendum II (trilingual E., F., Sp.)
10C/INF/5 Rev. II	Revised list II (trilingual E., F., Sp.)

10C/INF/6	Inauguration of the Permanent Headquarters of Unesco and Inaugural Meeting of the tenth session of the General Conference	10C/INF/8	Membership of Working Parties of the Programme Commission
10C/INF/7	Information note: Membership of the Executive Board by geographical regions (1946-1958)	10C/INF/9	Draft programme of work for the Administrative Commission
10C/INF/7 Rev.	Revised	10C/INF/10	Candidates for membership of the Executive Board
		10C/INF/11	Nominations Committee: Membership of the Legal Committee, the Reports Committee and the Headquarters Committee.

STATISTICAL TABLE

Showing approximate number of documents,
pages and copies prepared for the tenth session of the General Conference

SUMMARY

Total number of documents (in each language)	498
Total number of pages in one set (four languages)	27,731
Total number of copies	1,444,420

In all approximately 19,240,000 pages were produced.

UNESCO ARCHIVES

VERBATIM RECORDS OF PLENARY MEETINGS

PLENARY MEETINGS

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

4 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Dr. Sarvepalli RADHAKRISHNAN (India)

CONTENTS

Opening of the session by the Head of the Delegation of India	39
Address by the Chairman of the Executive Board	40
Address by the Director-General of Unesco.	41
Statement by the President on arrears of contributions. . .	42
Establishment of the Credentials Committee	42

OPENING OF THE SESSION BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF INDIA

1.1 Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN (India):

May I offer a cordial welcome to the representatives of the Member States who are meeting for the first time in these new buildings, which were formally opened yesterday afternoon. It was France who blazed a continent's trail to democracy: her name has become a synonym for intelligence and enlightenment. I fervently hope that those who meet in these buildings, in the capital of France, to consider problems of education, science and culture, will be steadfast in their devotion to the ideals of peace, understanding and the happiness of man.

1.2 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the President of the last General Conference, which was held at New Delhi in 1956. He should have been here today as the leader of the Indian Delegation and, as the President of the last Conference at New Delhi, to open the present Conference. To our great sorrow he passed away on the 22nd of February this year. He was not only a great Arabic scholar and an outstanding literary figure, but also a great friend of Unesco and its ideals, and in his introduction to the "History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western", he pleaded for an understanding between East and West, for intercommunication between cultures and the promotion of cultural solidarity. He asked for a fuller interchange of thought between East and West, and the General Conference has adopted a major project designed to bring these two cultures together.

1.3 I do not wish to detail to you the steps which you are proposing to take on that major project. The days of cultural tribalism are over, we no longer have separate cultural universes. East and West have come together, never to part again, and they must settle down in some kind of peaceful coexistence which will eventually grow into active, friendly cooperation. That is essential for the future welfare of the world itself. There are many ideas about East and West which are somewhat misleading. There are some people who argue that the East is mystically minded and the West is empirical in its outlook, one is more religious, the other is more scientific; but these distinctions have arisen only in recent times. China has contributed to us many great scientific inventions - the compass, vaccination, paper, printing, silk. India has contributed logic, metaphysics, grammar, mathematics. In the last three hundred years the Asian countries have lagged behind, and Western nations have made spectacular advances in science and technology, so that the contrast is emphasized by the material backwardness of the Eastern nations and the progressive character of Western nations. This is true of only a few centuries; I remember a great statement made by Lord Acton, who tells us that he who looks at the last three hundred years overlooking the last three thousand, has no proper historical perspective. East and West are not categories indicative of different forms of consciousness or different systems of culture; they represent

aspects of every human being - the religious and the scientific, the spiritual and the rational. Let us say rather that East and West are, as it were, two sides of human nature, with sometimes greater emphasis on the religious side and sometimes on the scientific.

1.4 The distinction is only one of distribution of emphasis. We have great traditions of idealism from the time of Socrates and Plato down to our own day, and we have also great scientific achievements made by Eastern nations. We should not therefore look upon these expressions, these large generalizations, as more than working hypotheses. Now the East is in ferment; Asia is awake, Africa is on the move. They both wish to throw off the dead hand of the past and join in the stream of human progress. There have been political and economic revolutions and also revolutions of awakened desires, of roused hopes. If these longings are not satisfied, if we are not able to bring about at least a partial fulfilment of these very legitimate aims of the Eastern nations today, there will be no security for peace in this world. If we want to have enduring peace, it is essential for us to emphasize the desirability of satisfying these aspirations of the nations of Asia and Africa.

1.5 I am glad to note that this Organization has contributed a great deal by way of giving scientific advice and technical assistance to the nations who are demanding development. Yet the difficulties are there, and greater attention will have to be paid if this Organization is to be global in its character - not merely in name but in content. This global character will have to be reflected, at all levels, in all matters major and minor, in the composition of the Executive Board, in the distribution of posts in the Secretariat, in the award of grants and subventions to non-governmental international organizations.

1.6 Unless we are able to make this a truly international organization a suspicion will arise that we are sectional, that we are a bureaucracy offering little appeal to the peoples who are now suffering from destitution, ignorance, poverty and disease. To give an example, the Executive Board consists of twenty-four members. I note from its present composition that eight of them come from Asia and Africa, and sixteen from Europe and the two Americas. We cannot regard this composition of the Executive Board as either just or adequate. I know that my friend, Dr. Luther Evans, has been giving great attention to these problems. He has visited almost all the Member States in the world and has increased the expenditure for the development of backward areas in the Asian and African regions. We are grateful to him for the service he has rendered those regions during these years and I hope this Organization will continue to do so in the future too. There is another project which is to be discussed here - the extension of education in Asian regions. Literacy is essential, we must acquire knowledge, we must learn how we can keep ourselves healthy, literate, modernist and progressive.

1.7 We suffer from many disabilities, but I should like to stress that merely to attain literacy is not enough. Plato said in Charmides: "It is not the life according to knowledge which makes men act rightly and be happy, not even if it be knowledge of all the sciences, but one science only, that of good and evil". Science and technology, medicine and surgery, industry and commerce will provide us with the framework of our society, but without the knowledge of good and evil they will fail us. That knowledge is the science which enables us to take interest in the pursuit of truth and in curing the ills of suffering humanity.

1.8 Our intellectual achievements are great and our technological advance has been outstanding, yet we live on the brink of fear, at the edge of a precipice and in perpetual fear of falling over it. We do need therefore that this Organization should give ampler meaning to certain common concepts which belong to all traditions of the world - the dignity of man, the need for compassion, for understanding. We constantly speak of the inward presence of the divine in the human being, and all the great religions are an invitation to human beings to grow and change their nature; though our nature may be limited, we are capable of unlimited intimate development. They tell us that human nature need not be what it happens to be at the present moment. There is a capacity for self-renewal in the human being. This assertion of the spirit in man is the hope of the world. Have we not rid ourselves of many pestilences which devastated humanity, of cannibalism and head-hunting? There was a time when we thought that God would be pleased if we sacrificed children on the altar. We thought religion would progress and expand through massacres and inquisitions. We have grown out of all those ideas; so, also, the idea that war is essential is something that we can outgrow. There is no doubt that if human nature asserts itself, that if the spirit in man is given scope, this greatest pestilence of all ages will also be driven out by human effort.

1.9 Man is invincible if his spirit asserts itself. He has endurance and the capacity for compassion. He can stand up and say, "I will not bow down to the circumstances, I am more powerful than the material forces which confront us". Man is higher than the forces which beat around him. If this principle of the inward presence of spirit is taken by us as an assertion of human dignity, we will realize the interwovenness of human life, and will take seriously the Christian injunction to bear one another's burdens. If one man suffers, the whole of humanity suffers; for humanity has become one today. It is to the development of the oneness of mankind that we must make the great contribution. We are passing through trying times, our civilization is being tested; it may be destroyed or renewed. What will happen to it depends on ourselves, not on our stars nor upon the impersonal forces which surround us. It depends on the spirit of man, on the will of man to take these things seriously. I have no doubt that we shall go forward and that this Organization will contribute to that cultural solidarity which is the essential basis of enduring peace.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

2.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, in the name of the Executive Board, may I associate myself with the eloquent, wise and moving words you have just spoken in opening this tenth session of Unesco's General Conference; recall

and pay tribute to a great man who has died, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; and extend a welcome to the delegations of the Member States?

2.2 The General Conference held its ninth session, Mr. President, at New Delhi, the capital of the great Asian country to which you belong. Today it is meeting in Paris, in the very heart of the West. Two years ago the delegates of Member States rendered homage to India, the cradle of a rich and ancient civilization. Now they are rediscovering in this fair country of France, which most of them have long known, the treasures of European thought, culture and art.

2.3 I am convinced that this direct contact of the General Conference with East and West, which unfolds to us the variety of our Organization's world horizons, promotes the mutual appreciation of cultural values which is one of Unesco's main aims.

2.4 This is not the first time that we have met in Paris. But with yesterday's ceremony, when the opening of our permanent Headquarters was honoured by the presence of the President of the French Republic, this session becomes a landmark in Unesco's history and takes on special meaning.

2.5 I would like to assure our French friends that, although we enjoy the permanent hospitality of their noble country, our constant use of French soil for our meetings and our work in no way diminishes our sense of deep gratitude.

2.6 This assembly embraces delegations from every region of the world and includes many persons of distinction in the fields of education, science, culture and mass communication. May its deliberations and decisions enable it to give the world fresh proof of the moral and intellectual oneness of mankind!

2.7 Mr. President, the increasing interest in Unesco of which Member States give evidence, and the steady progress of our Organization towards "universality", constitute real encouragement for us all.

2.8 Since the end of the second world conflagration, we have been living in a state which, unfortunately, is more like one of truce than one of real peace - a truce that is characterized by a series of international tensions and by what has come to be called the "cold war".

2.9 This thirteen years' truce, however, has not been unproductive. The United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, though seriously handicapped by this atmosphere, have rendered indisputable services. Although, to our dismay, the guns can still be heard in certain areas, our hopes are sustained and quickened by signs of an easing - permanent, we trust - of tension. Thus at this very moment the most powerful nations are seeking together for ways in which our generations may be freed from the terrible threat of atomic war and in which these new sources of energy, endowing man with unheard-of power, may be used in the cause of peace and well-being.

2.10 If only this de facto truce could become a fundamental truce, leading, as speedily as possible, to a lasting peace based on justice, respect for human dignity, and consciences at rest.....

2.11 If that happened, mankind could benefit fully from the tremendous opportunities which the spectacular advance of science is presenting to it. Since the last session of our General Conference, man has embarked upon the conquest of interplanetary place, where harmony reigns supreme. May the thought of that harmony inspire all men of goodwill in their efforts to make life on our planet more worth living!

2.12 Mr. President, as we look at the history of mankind we are struck by the fact that every period is marked by some great idea or some great religion. But these great systems of thought and these religions, despite the loftiness of their teachings, have so far failed - though the failure cannot be ascribed to their principles - to prevent clashes and conflicts between the peoples subscribing to them. Our epoch, which possesses almost unlimited material resources, has the task of discovering the dynamic process of thought and action which will enable the peoples of every race, religion and ideology to live in peace and place their resources, material and spiritual alike, at the service of all mankind.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Director-General.

ADDRESS BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO

4.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL:

Mr. President, there is little that I need add at this stage: your address has moved us all deeply, and the Chairman of the Executive Board has spoken words full of wisdom and hope.

4.2 That you, Mr. President, have presided over a portion on all of three ordinary sessions of the General Conference and one extraordinary one - the session held to elect the Director-General - marks you as one of the great figures in the twelve years of history which we complete in Unesco today.

4.3 As this session of the General Conference opens, my mind goes back to that opening just two years ago less one day, in the capital of your great country. I think of the magnificent welcome you gave us, of the splendid new building in which we met, of the hopes and interest and sympathy which the session stirred. I think also of the dark clouds which hung over the political scene at that time, and at once I also recall the easing of the world's tension that followed, and the spirit and discipline which carried us all, delegates and staff, through those dark days.

4.4 It is impossible to think of these things without remembering the figure, the grace and the stature of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education of India and President of the General Conference at our ninth session, whose mantle you, Mr. President, have assumed as Head of your country's delegation.

4.5 There are men, not very many, from whom strength and high purpose flow almost palpably; Maulana Azad was certainly such a man and his virtues gave meaning and nobility to our proceedings. His passing was a deep blow for India, and I should like once again to express my personal sorrow.

4.6 Much has happened in these two years. Very shortly, you will examine the immediate past and our accomplishments, at the same time as you will discuss and decide upon plans for the future. You will have for the first time two not inconsiderable

aids in your task: the Reports Committee has met, strengthened as the General Conference at its last session desired, and is placing before you a well-considered and constructive report; and we of the Secretariat, with the assistance and guidance of the Executive Board, have produced an appraisal of the Organization's accomplishments and future prospects, ultimately intended for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, which I believe to be one of the most meaningful documents we have ever prepared.

4.7 It is the function of the General Conference to look back and to look forward simultaneously, and in so doing to safeguard and strengthen that continuity of purpose which, after only 12 years, is already a dominant feature of Unesco's life. But each session is marked by its own characteristics: I have just recalled those of the session at New Delhi, and many of you will have a vivid memory of the colourful and lively session of 1954 in the New World, at Montevideo, which had its own characteristic atmosphere. The particular feature here and today is, of course, our entry into this fine new permanent Headquarters, and I am struck by the coincidence which, on two consecutive occasions, has brought delegations together in brand new surroundings made ready for their special use. Let us therefore recognize this as a stimulus and a sign of the Organization's vitality. The buildings are good and lasting, and I have full confidence that Unesco's work will improve by reason of their efficiency and the lift they give the human spirit.

4.8 Again a host country has exerted itself to mark the occasion worthily and fully. As the days pass, you will have ample evidence of the efforts made by the French Government and French authorities to make this month memorable. I need not speak of course of yesterday's solemn inauguration, graced by the highest personality in the land. France is not only Unesco's host, but a true and ardent believer in its destiny, and shows it in many ways, with continuing thought and initiative.

4.9 I have to record one sad event: His Excellency Ambassador Egidio Reale, Chairman of the Italian National Commission, died suddenly early on Sunday morning while actually on his way to Paris for this session. The delegates will no doubt join me in conveying to our Italian friends our sympathy in their great loss.

4.10 Mr. President, I have one more task to perform, and it is a very happy privilege to perform it: the tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, which at its last session the General Conference authorized me to produce in the form of a book of selections from Gandhi's thought, has just been published. It is with some emotion that I hand you this first copy, for the study of Gandhi's personality, which the General Conference asked should precede the actual selections, is by your own hand. There could be no stronger assurance that the book is worthy of the great figure to whose undying memory it is dedicated.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:
Thank you, Mr. Director-General.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

5.2 I have to make a statement concerning arrears of contributions and the effect these arrears have on the rights of Member States to vote at this session of the General Conference. Under Article IV, paragraph 8 (b) of the Constitution, a Member State's right to vote is conditional upon the payments of the contribution system. The text of the paragraph reads as follows: "A Member State shall have no vote in the General Conference if the total amount of contributions due from it exceeds the total amount of contributions payable by it for the current year and the immediately preceding calendar year". At the present time, the following Member States are debarred from voting at the present session of the General Conference, because the amount of contributions due from them exceeds the total amount of the contributions paid by them for the current year and the immediately preceding calendar year: Bolivia, China and Paraguay.

5.3 Paragraph 8 (c) of Article IV stipulates that the General Conference may permit such a Member State to vote, if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member Nation. The delegations of the States concerned will therefore decide whether they see fit to ask the General Conference to apply paragraph 8 (c). Requests to this effect, if they have not already been submitted to the Director-General, should be addressed to the President of the General Conference who will transmit them to the General Committee, which in turn will decide which of the organs of the Conference should consider these requests.

5.4 The delegation of China has, by a letter dated 1 November and addressed to the President of the Conference, requested that, in accordance with Article IV 8 (c) of the Constitution, it be granted the right to vote at the present session (document 10 C/51).

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

5.5 The next item is the constitution of the Credentials Committee. According to Rule 27 of the Rules of Procedure, "the Credentials Committee shall consist of nine members, who shall be elected by the General Conference on the proposal of the temporary President. It shall elect its own Chairman". In accordance with these provisions, I propose that the following States serve on the Credentials Committee: Chile, France, Haiti, Iraq, Poland, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Executive Board has proposed that Chile provide the Chairman of the Committee. If the Conference has no objection, the Credentials Committee is so constituted and will meet immediately. It will submit its report tomorrow morning at 10.30.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

5 November 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Dr. Sarvepalli RADHAKRISHNAN (India)

CONTENTS

Report of the Credentials Committee 43

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

1. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

2.1 Mr. FUENTES PANTOJA (Chile), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, I now have to communicate the decisions taken by the Credentials Committee at its meeting yesterday evening. First report: The Credentials Committee, established on 4 November 1958 by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, at its tenth ordinary session, held two meetings that day, at 4,30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. respectively. The Committee is composed of delegates of the following States: Chile, France, Haiti, Iraq, Poland, Thailand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America.
2.2 The Committee elected as its Chairman Mr. Oscar Fuentes Pantoja, of the delegation of Chile.
2.3 The Committee proceeded to examine the credentials received by the Director-General of the Organization from the States mentioned later.
2.4 The delegates of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics lodged objections to the credentials submitted by the delegation of China and asked that those credentials be rejected. On the other hand, the delegate of the United States of America submitted the following proposal on the same subject:
"The General Conference,
(1) Decides not to consider, at its tenth session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China;
(2) Decides to reject the objection made to the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China."
2.5 The Committee rejected the proposal of the Polish and USSR delegates by 5 votes to 3. It adopted separately, by 5 votes to 3, the two paragraphs of the proposal of the United States delegate.
2.6 The United States delegate moved that the General Conference take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary. An objection to that proposal was lodged by the delegates of Poland and the USSR. When a vote was taken on the proposal, the first vote yielded no definite result, the voting figures being 3 in favour of the proposal, 3 against, and 2 abstentions.
2.7 In compliance with Rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure, the meeting was adjourned and a second meeting was held 15 minutes later. In the second vote, the proposal was adopted by a majority of 5 votes to 3. The Committee noted that, as the purpose of the vote was not to recommend invalidation of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, that delegation could, if the General Conference decided to accept the Committee's recommendation, take part provisionally in the work of the General Conference, with the same rights as other representatives, in accordance with Rule 24 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference.
2.8 The Committee decided that the delegates of the following Member States were duly accredited, in conformity with Rule 22 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, by instruments issued either by the Head of the State, the Head of the Government or the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or by another Minister authorized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to issue credentials: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Monaco, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam, Yugoslavia.
2.9 The Committee recommends that the delegations of these States be allowed to take part in the tenth session of the General Conference.
2.10 The delegates of the following States submitted credentials in the form of letters, telegrams or other instruments issued by a Minister other than the Minister of Foreign Affairs and not duly authorized

by the latter, by heads of diplomatic missions or by senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Mexico, Paraguay.

2.11 The Committee proposes that these instruments be accepted as provisional credentials for the delegations of the States in question, subject to the later submission of credentials in due form, and that meanwhile their delegations be allowed to take part in the tenth session of the General Conference.

2.12 The Committee noted that a few Member States had not furnished their delegates with credentials. It decided to authorize its Chairman to report direct to the General Conference on any credentials that might be received from these Member States before the Committee's next meeting.

2.13 The Committee considered the credentials of the delegates of Nigeria, an Associate Member.

2.14 The Committee then examined the credentials of the observers of the Holy See, not a Member of Unesco, and of the observers from Kuwait, the Federation of the West Indies and Somaliland.

2.15 The Committee recommends that the General Conference admit the observers mentioned above.

3. The PRESIDENT:

The report is now before the General Conference.

4.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Polish delegation strongly objects to the part of the Credentials Committee's report relating to the credentials of the Kuomintang representatives. As a member of that Committee, I clearly expressed this point of view, both during the discussion and when the question was put to the vote. I do not, therefore, consider myself in any way bound by the Credentials Committee's proposals, which were passed by a very small majority, mechanically and without regard to the essential features of this question - the representation of China - which is of fundamental importance not only to Unesco, but to all other international organizations.

4.2 We cannot recognize the credentials of the Kuomintang representatives and I cannot allow them to have any real force, seeing that they were issued by a group of men who call themselves a government, but who, in fact, represent no one and nothing, unless it be the particular interests of a certain Power which has nothing in common with China. This group has no authority to speak for the great Chinese people, and the power it exercises over a territory which forms part of the People's Republic of China is maintained solely by the aid of a foreign Power's military forces. The recognition of the so-called credentials issued by this self-styled government would simply be an attempt to legalize a colossal hoax perpetrated against the peoples of the world, the Chinese people, common sense and international organizations, to the detriment of the cause of peace, international co-operation, culture and science, and of the prestige of international organizations, in the interests of the very people who perpetrate, assist or tolerate such a hoax.

4.3 It is high time to put an end to the absurd fiction created by the presence of these men in our Organization; their presence is an offence to international law and morality, the provisions of our Constitution and all the principles of common sense. It is high time to admit to Unesco the true and lawful representatives of the Chinese people and their magnificent culture, and to exclude those who usurp a place and a title to which they have no right. The question of the representation of China has been placed on the agenda of our General Conference at the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union and will be discussed in due time; it must be obvious to everyone that only the Government of the People's Republic of China is authorized by the 650,000,000 inhabitants of that country to represent their interests at the international level. It is the ostrich policy supported by the partisans of the notorious "China lobby" which is entirely responsible for the fact that the credentials presented to us today are not genuine credentials issued by the only lawful Government of China.

4.4 For the reasons I have just given, we shall vote against that part of the report which recommends the recognition of the credentials of the Kuomintang representatives.

4.5 The Polish delegation also objects to that part of the Credentials Committee's report which recommends that no decision be taken during the tenth session with regard to the credentials issued by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Polish delegation takes the view that the considerations which gave rise to this proposal are identical with those leading the advocates of both these proposals to support the Kuomintang group's efforts to supplant the lawful representatives of China in international organizations. These considerations are: Hostility towards governments representing the will of the peoples that have freed themselves from the influence of imperialism, and the desire to use the methods of the cold war in dealing with them. The Polish delegation is categorically opposed to this attempt to embitter the atmosphere of the General Conference and discriminate against the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, a country with which a large majority of Member States maintain normal diplomatic relations.

4.6 We shall therefore vote against that part of the Credentials Committee's report which recommends the adjournment of a decision regarding the acceptance of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, and shall vote in favour of the immediate acceptance of the credentials issued by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Soviet Union considers itself bound to draw the attention of the General Conference, at its tenth session, to the manifest and flagrant anomaly of the fact that one of the Great Powers, one of the most important States in the world - the People's Republic of China - is not as yet represented in Unesco.

6.2 For many years now, the true and lawful representatives of the Chinese people, constituting one-quarter of the world's population, have been unable, on grounds which are completely indefensible

and unreasonable, to take part in Unesco's work. The first effect of this is to hinder the normal activities of Unesco itself, to render extremely difficult the performance of its fundamental tasks as defined in its Constitution, and considerably to discredit its plans for organizing cultural exchanges between the Orient and the Occident.

6.3 The absurdity of this situation is tied up with the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's people, who represent no one but a clique of political corpses, are unlawfully occupying the place of the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

6.4 The whole world knows that there is only one lawful Chinese Government, supported by the whole of its people; and that is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

6.5 Only the representative of that Government, expressing the will and the rights of the great Chinese people, can and should take his lawful place in Unesco.

6.6 The stubborn refusal of certain countries to take account of this historical fact simply leads to a steadily increasing alienation of their foreign policy from the realities of international life and the interests of peace throughout the world, and is detrimental to those countries themselves.

6.7 The countries opposed to the restoration of China's lawful rights in Unesco bear a heavy responsibility for hindering the complete development of Unesco's activities and the performance of its fundamental tasks.

6.8 The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that, at Unesco, the cause of reason and justice should triumph and a realistic outlook should prevail, and it is categorically opposed to the continuance of the unlawful and unreasonable practice of disregarding the interests of the great Chinese people.

6.9 For these reasons, the delegation of the Soviet Union deems it necessary to declare once again that the Chiang Kai-shek representatives are unlawfully and treacherously taking China's place in Unesco, and strongly objects to this gross and scandalous injustice.

6.10 Mr. President, I request that separate votes be taken on my proposal and on the general resolution concerning the Credential Committee's report.

6.11 Further, I should like to make a few remarks about the slanderous and provocative proposal made by the United States delegate with regard to the credentials issued by the Hungarian People's Republic. The real purport of this proposal is clear to everyone: the representative of the United States of America is trying to revive the cold war and therefore seeking to sow discord among the members of Unesco, which should unite the peoples of the world with a view to cultural co-operation, not divide them.

6.12 The Hungarian People's Republic exists, regardless of the opinions of the United States representatives, and its Government is the only unquestionably lawful Government of the country, exercising the sovereign rights of the nation and the State. This Government lawfully issued credentials to its delegation to the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, and we have absolutely no grounds, either in law or in fact, for rejecting these credentials.

6.13 I suggest that the proposal of the United States delegate should not be discussed and that the competence of the Hungarian delegation be recognized.

6.14 I do not object to the Credentials Committee's report as a whole, but the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will vote against those parts of it which concern China and Hungary.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of Bulgaria.

8.1 Mr. BACHEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, gentlemen, the question of the Kuomintang delegation's credentials is not a new one, either for the Credentials Committee or for the Conference. On several previous occasions, certain delegations, including that of the United States of America, have vainly endeavoured to prove that the Kuomintang delegate's absurd claim to represent China, its culture and people, is legitimate and in conformity with the basic texts of Unesco. The Chinese people themselves have already decided this question. They have pronounced their verdict, beyond possibility of challenge, by abolishing the Kuomintang régime and setting up a government of their own choice, the People's Government. This historic change was brought about not by a small section of the nation, but by virtually the entire people, i.e. 600,000,000 Chinese citizens, representing more than a quarter of the world's population. This proud and hard-working nation supports its People's Government alone, and will not suffer any but this freely chosen government to speak or act on its behalf. This state of affairs is recognized, moreover, by the peoples of the entire world and by dozens of States which maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the People's Republic of China. Accordingly - under the terms of Unesco's Constitution and the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference - there cannot be any duly authorized delegates of China other than the representatives of the only lawful Government of China, the People's Government. The Kuomintang delegates cannot represent China's citizens, who have denied them this right once for all - together with all other rights.

8.2 The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria therefore considers that there is only one just solution: to put an end to the anomalous situation where China's legitimate place in Unesco and in this Conference is taken by persons who, as has already been explained and proved, cannot represent anyone but themselves. We are of the opinion that any other decision would be extremely prejudicial to our Organization's prestige and efficiency.

8.3 The arguments adduced in support of the United States delegation's proposal that no immediate decision be taken on the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic are just as void of legal and moral sense. For the reasons indicated by previous speakers, we endorse the proposal that a vote be taken immediately on the recognition of the credentials of the delegates of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our delegation will vote in favour of the Credentials Committee's report, as a whole, with the exception of the part concerning China and Hungary.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I call on the delegate of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

10.1 Mr. UMREIKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, delegates, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic wholeheartedly supports the proposal made by several other delegations for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in Unesco, and the rejection of the credentials of Chiang Kai-shek's people, who represent no one but themselves. It is well known that there is only one lawful Government of China, supported by all its 650,000,000 inhabitants, namely the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Only the representative of this Government, expressing the will and rights of the great Chinese people, is lawfully entitled to represent China at Unesco and should take that country's place in the Organization. The stubborn, biased and obviously tendentious efforts of certain countries to ignore the existence of the only lawful Government of the People's Republic of China are steadily undermining their international authority and seriously prejudicing Unesco's activity as an international organization. It is obvious that the countries opposed to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in Unesco are in fact paralysing the work of this world Organization, and we must not permit such a state of affairs.

10.2 For these reasons, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic deems it necessary to state that, to please certain circles among the imperialist powers, and contrary to the hopes of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world, Chiang Kai-shek's people are unlawfully occupying China's place in Unesco; and the delegation strongly objects to this crying injustice. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic appeals to the Conference, and strongly urges it, to reject the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives, as the seat which they occupy belongs lawfully to the representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The delegation is also opposed to the Credentials Committee's proposal discriminating against the Hungarian People's Republic. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic will therefore vote against these proposals by the Committee; and insists on rejection of the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives and recognition of the legality of the credentials issued by the Hungarian People's Republic.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of China.

12.1 Mr. CHEN Hiong-Fei (China) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is much against my will that I am obliged to speak at this first meeting, but my delegation is glad of the opportunity of greeting all our distinguished colleagues who are present today.

12.2 We are gathered here, in the General Conference, at our Organization's Headquarters - this time established in its own building - in Paris, this city of incomparable charm and prestige, which, ten years ago, as was so aptly mentioned the day before yesterday by Mr. Berthoin, the French Minister of Education, was the cradle of our Universal Declaration of Human Rights. France, our host country, traditionally honours freedom of thought; its heroic history, to which new pages are today being added, is summed up in those words which are carved above the portals of all its public buildings: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity". Here, amidst so many distinguished persons from all parts of the world, all equally devoted to the common ideal of universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for human rights and fundamental freedoms for everyone, without any form of discrimination, the members of the Chinese delegation experience a deep sense of consolation and appreciate to the full the nobility of the task before us, of the cause which we are all called upon to serve.

12.3 From the first, Mr. President, China brought its contribution to Unesco, being one of the founder Members. The Chinese people, imbued with their traditions going back over thousands of years, and to whom Confucius, whose memory we have honoured, taught universal harmony and brotherhood, saw in the aim that the Organization was setting itself the proclamation of a new era of international peace and concord. Our Government therefore ascribes the greatest importance to the Organization's work and nourishes the greatest hopes in all the fields of international co-operation in which Unesco under the terms of its Constitution, is to work. It is represented at this session of the General Conference by our delegation, furnished with credentials issued to it in good and due form, on which there can, in point of fact, be no discussion. Its delegates have their place in all the organizations and Specialized Agencies of the United Nations; its part in Unesco's activities is undisputed and, moreover, it was regularly invited to the present session.

12.4 The discussion which took place in the Credentials Committee did not, however, surprise anyone. The repeated intervention of the Soviet delegates, driving home their alleged objections to the validity of our delegation's credentials, is nothing new. At the instance of the Soviet member of the Executive Board, a new item concerning the so-called question of the representation of China was placed on our provisional agenda. Our Executive Board communicated this item to us, together with a very pertinent resolution, which is set out in our documents. In point of fact, at our many previous sessions, the USSR delegation, or the delegations under the orders of Soviet imperialism, have played over again the same old record that we have heard at all the meetings of international organizations. Each time their proposal has been rejected. Here, once again, certain delegations have obviously been asked to do their duty, and have more or less zealously imitated their master's voice. Will others, who are perhaps acting in good faith, but whom I venture to warn of the uselessness of their design, refuse to allow themselves to be dragged still further along the dangerous path on which they have set their feet? You will understand, Mr. President, why I take no notice of the abuse they included in their diatribe: Chinese civilization - genuine Chinese civilization - teaches everywhere moderation and tolerance. This kind of civilization is still dear - and more so every day - to hundreds of millions of Chinese, of whom my Government, established in

accordance with the Constitution freely adopted by all Chinese citizens, is the only lawful representative and authorized spokesman. I shall say nothing to you of the nature of this Soviet-created régime which is styled the People's Republic of China. You have no doubt already heard often enough, among other things, that, for this régime, the benefits of culture began with the horrors of brain-washing and all that goes with it. My respect for you and our international cultural Organization forbids my wronging you by thinking for a single moment that you, dedicated as you all are to Unesco's mission, could accept such a precept, which is the absolute denial of the smallest shred of human dignity and of the most fundamental human freedoms.

12.5 Mr. President, delegates, I do not think I have trespassed too long upon your time, which should be entirely devoted to our normal activities during the session. The Chinese delegation has put these few considerations very briefly before you and, at the same time, wishes to put on record its hope that your Credentials Committee's report, together with the resolution contained therein regarding its own participation in the Conference's work, will be adopted without delay.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the United States of America.

14.1 Mr. HANES (United States of America):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is with real regret that I have felt it necessary to take the rostrum this morning; it is with real regret that I see the opening of our session already marred by matters which should not properly come before this body. The kind words, Mr. President, with which you opened our session, gave cause for hope that we could rapidly move on to the proper business of Unesco, which is the purpose for which my delegation, and as I know the purpose for which the overwhelming majority of all other delegations, are here at this Conference.

14.2 It is regrettable that the representative of the USSR, echoed by the representatives of Poland, Bulgaria and Byelorussia, are disputing the report of the Credentials Committee at the very beginning of the General Conference. I do not wish to respond in any way to certain of the remarks which have been made by the representatives with regard to my own country. As a member of the Credentials Committee, however, I cannot overlook the fact that the Soviet representative termed the proposals, duly made by the Credentials Committee, as provocative and slanderous. This was not a reflection against my delegation, but it seems to me an improper reference to a duly made report by a duly constituted committee of this Conference, comprised of nine reputable full Member States of the Conference. My delegation fully supports the report and proposals of the Credentials Committee, and we urge that this report and these proposals be adopted by the General Conference.

14.3 On the question of Chinese representation which has been raised by the Soviet delegate, it is our belief that we should not undertake, in the General Conference of Unesco, to discuss political questions which are properly subjects for consideration by other bodies. The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly decided not to consider proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, or to seat representatives of the Chinese Communist régime. Similarly, it is the recommendation of the Credentials Committee of this Conference that this General Conference should decide not to consider any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, or to seat representatives of the Chinese Communist régime. It is the further recommendation of this Credentials Committee that the objection made to the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China be rejected.

14.4 A similar proposal by the Credentials Committee was adopted by the Unesco General Conference two years ago in New Delhi during its ninth session. Similar action has been taken repeatedly in this Organization as well as in other Agencies in the United Nations system. Very recently, the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 23 September, adopted the same resolution by an overwhelming majority. We believe that the procedural resolutions, as proposed by the Credentials Committee, should be adopted by this General Conference at this time.

14.5 The report of the Credentials Committee also includes the recommendation that the General Conference take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary. This motion was approved in the Credentials Committee. It is entirely in accord with the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly at the regular session in 1956, at the regular session in 1957, and at the special emergency session during this past summer. It is also in accord with the decisions that have repeatedly been taken in other bodies of the United Nations system, since the Hungarian Revolution took place.

14.6 The United Nations General Assembly on 14 September 1957 adopted a resolution in which it found that, and I quote: "The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". I have quoted directly from Resolution 1133 adopted at the XIth session of the United Nations General Assembly. There have been no subsequent developments to justify a different judgement today. Should this Conference take different action from that which has repeatedly been followed in the United Nations General Assembly, and repeatedly followed in the other organs of the United Nations, this would indeed be a political action which we consider to be entirely inappropriate at a General Conference of Unesco.

14.7 I should like, if I may, to reread once again a pertinent passage from the report of the Credentials Committee to this General Conference which we are suggesting be accepted and adopted. This passage refers to the matter of the Hungarian credentials which I have just been discussing. "The Committee noted that, as the purpose of the vote was not to recommend invalidation of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, that delegation could, if the General Conference decided to accept the Committee's proposal, take part provisionally in the work of the General Conference with the same rights as other representatives, in accordance with Rule 24 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference."

14.8 Accordingly, Mr. President, to sum up, it is the view of my delegation that the report and recommendations of the Credentials Committee, including the portion that I have just read and the other related recommendations, should be approved by the General Conference of Unesco.

15. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Japan.

16.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, some of the previous speakers have referred to China as though it were a country having no part at all in this Organization. The National Government of China is the Government that has always been recognized by Unesco and the United Nations. If, owing to political and economic difficulties, China has been unable to perform all its obligations and is thus in the situation mentioned in Article IV, paragraph 8(b), of the Constitution, we must recognize that this is due to circumstances beyond its control.
16.2 The increase of its contribution by $10,000 is evidence of its good faith, and we must be sympathetic towards the effort it has made in this respect. It is with these considerations in mind, and in accordance with Article IV, paragraph 8(c), of the Constitution, that I would move that the Credentials Committee's proposal be approved and that China be granted the right to vote.
16.3 The Committee has also proposed that no decision be taken with regard to the credentials submitted by the Hungarian representative. This proposal is in conformity with the procedure followed by the United Nations General Assembly. The speeches made this morning, in the General Conference, have in my view furnished no argument sufficiently convincing to justify a departure from the United Nations procedure. Unesco ought not to adopt an attitude, in political matters, different from that adopted by the United Nations.
16.4 I therefore endorse the Credentials Committee's proposal to postpone a decision on the Hungarian delegate's credentials.
16.5 In conclusion, I should like to state that the Japanese delegation will vote for the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report as a whole.

17. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Hungary.

18.1 Mrs. JOBORU (Hungary):
The Hungarian delegation protests against the section of the Credentials Committee's report which proposes that the General Conference should take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representative of Hungary.
18.2 The Hungarian delegation proposes that the General Conference accept its credentials, as it has accepted those of other delegations, by rejecting this particular part of the report of the Credentials Committee. It is well known that certain foreign political circles provided many-sided material and moral support for the counter-revolutionary attempt in Hungary in 1956, and after its defeat they have done everything in their power in order to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary and to discredit its legal Government. The present attempt in Unesco is contrary to international law and the Constitution of Unesco. It is obviously considered by the circles mentioned above as a suitable means of influencing, misleading and deceiving international public opinion. The Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that Unesco, as an international organization created for the promotion of peaceful co-operation in the field of education, science and culture, must not follow this line of discrimination. We expect this all the more because Unesco itself is well aware of the great results achieved in the field of education, science and culture in Hungary in the past thirteen years. The Hungarian People's Republic is also an active member of Unesco and has developed lively scientific and cultural co-operation with a great number of Unesco's Member States. Furthermore, it seems strange to us that the representatives of the governments of some Member States who have diplomatic relations with Hungary have proposed and adopted this discriminatory motion.
18.3 In conclusion, we wish to declare that the Hungarian People's Republic is a full Member of Unesco, and that any discrimination against its delegation is entirely groundless and deeply unjust. We would also state that it would be unworthy of Unesco to collaborate - contrary to its basic objectives - in the campaign of calumny being carried on by certain political circles against the Hungarian People's Republic, and which would be prejudicial to Unesco's authority. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic appeals to the General Conference to accept its credentials without exercising discrimination.
18.4 With reference to the proposal of the Credentials Committee regarding the representation of the Chinese people, and without going into detail, I wish to deal with two aspects of the question: The Chinese People's Republic represents an enormous force in the struggle of the peoples for peace and security. No true international co-operation can be realized without its participation. All the world recognizes the striking results which have been achieved by the People's Republic of China in the field of economic construction, of education, science and culture. It will suffice merely to refer to the fact that the Chinese People's Republic has doubled the number of its university students in the last year and increased the number of its secondary school pupils nearly threefold in the past two years; it is also well on the way to abolishing illiteracy throughout the country. Can Unesco ignore this splendid development? Has not the time come to give up this ridiculous position which is contrary to Unesco's basic principles and cannot but undermine Unesco's authority? We believe it is high time that Unesco changed this intolerable attitude.
18.5 At the General Conference in New Delhi, a number of delegations expressed their hope that the tenth General Conference would definitely settle the question of the representation of the Chinese people. Unfortunately we are again faced with a proposal aiming at the postponement of the question. We must ask how many times this proposal can be repeated. How long does the United States want to prevent the representation of the more than 600 million Chinese people? We are of the opinion that the proposal aiming at the postponement cannot be sincere; its real purpose cannot but be a repeated attempt to prevent

the lawful representation of the great Chinese people in Unesco. Those who are in favour of this proposal of the Credentials Committee vote in fact against the participation of the great Chinese people in Unesco's activities. World public opinion will surely regard this matter in the same light. The only legal representative of the Chinese people is the Chinese People's Republic. Consequently, the Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that the proposal of the Credentials Committee regarding the so-called credentials of the Kuomintang clique cannot be accepted, and the Hungarian delegation will vote against it.

19. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Rumania.

20.1 Mr. JOJA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the Rumanian delegation, express our pleasure at the opening of the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference? It is undoubtedly an important event in which intellectuals, scientists, scholars and artists throughout the world are interested. We hope that the Unesco Conference will make a substantial contribution to the international intellectual collaboration, the peaceful co-operation, and the mutual understanding among the peoples, which are the fundamental aims of our Organization. At the very beginning of this session, however, we are obliged to note that one of the greatest peoples - great not only because of the size of its population, but also because of its civilization and its culture, covering a period of several thousand years - is not represented here. A nation of 650,000,000 souls, approximately thirty per cent of the world's population, is arbitrarily and unjustly excluded from our Organization. This intolerable situation has existed for several years and it is high time to end it in accordance with the wishes of all who are interested in intellectual life, have the progress of world culture at heart, and are striving for co-operation, peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of world peace. Unesco's Constitution sets forth the Organization's aims: peace, peaceful coexistence, international collaboration and progress; but it is quite impossible for Unesco to achieve those aims so long as it excludes the representatives of a nation 650,000,000 strong.
20.2 The People's Republic of China occupies a preponderant place in Asia and in the world as a whole. There is no need to draw attention to its growing importance in the political, economic and cultural spheres. China has not only given the world, in the past, a magnificent culture - one of the richest, most fruitful and most stimulating known to us - but, still today, its scientists and artists are making a remarkable contribution to the progress of science and art. We feel justified in saying that our Organization will be severely judged by future historians, if it persists in excluding the representatives of China, a nation made illustrious by such great men as Lao-tse, Chuang-tse, Lieh-tse and Mo Ti, who rank among the greatest philosophers of all times. A French writer has said, with good reason, that "the personal genius of Lao-tse, Chuang-tse and Lieh-tse had embraced the entire universe and, six centuries before our era, had presented some of the theses of contemporary Hegelian philosophy and evolutionism". It is well to remember that, up to 1750, China published more books than the rest of the civilized world. And I may add that the Arithmetical Classic of the Gnomon and Circular Path (Chou Pei Suan Ching), formulated the theorem about the square on the hypotenuse six centuries before Pythagoras.
20.3 Gentlemen, these are irrefutable titles to culture. Furthermore, the People's Republic of China has given proof of its political, economic and cultural vigour. The manufacturing industries are developing in China at a dizzy speed; intensive agriculture is being organized on a large scale; the standard of living is rapidly improving; education is being reorganized and illiteracy gradually eradicated; the alphabet itself is being simplified so as to make things easier for the masses.
20.4 The People's Republic of China is an essential factor in the maintenance of world peace, one of the major factors in achieving peaceful coexistence and progress, and yet the Chinese people is excluded from our Organization. On the other hand, the agent of the Kuomintang, which has no longer any place in history and is now a mere laughing stock, still occupies a seat among us, in this Organization to which the Kuomintang for years past, has failed to pay its statutory contribution.
20.5 Mr. President, the Rumanian delegation considers that our General Conference would gain in prestige by excluding the Kuomintang representative and inviting the People's Republic of China to be represented at Unesco.
20.6 The Rumanian delegation will therefore vote against paragraphs (4) and (5) of the Credentials Committee's report. It will also vote against the decision suggested in paragraphs 6 and 7, concerning the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Rumanian delegation requests that the credentials of the Hungarian delegates be fully recognized. The United States delegation, which moved that the Committee take no decision concerning the Hungarian delegation's credentials, has certainly forgotten that the United States of America maintains diplomatic relations with the Hungarian People's Republic and that its proposal is therefore contrary to the usages of international law, international ethics, the interests of Unesco, and the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence.

21. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of India.

22.1 Mr. HUSAIN (India):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, in accordance with Rule 22.1 of the Rules of Procedure, the Credentials of the delegates and alternates shall be issued by the Head of State on behalf of the Government or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In pursuance of this Rule the Credentials Committee had before it a very simple task. The Committee was asked to state whether the credentials presented were from the Head of State, or the Government or the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a country known as China. It is patent, and no one has denied it, that the credentials presented before the Credentials Committee were not issued by the Government of China - the People's Republic of China - which exercises power over the territory of China and is accepted by the broad masses of the

people there, but by a Government of a tiny island off the mainland of China, called Formosa. This being so, it is important that we should consider the matter here more carefully than has been done in the Credentials Committee.

22.2 The question before us is not that of the admission, but of the proper representation, of China. This seems to spring, inter alia, from the view that we are here to deal only with educational, scientific, and cultural matters, and that as this is a political question and Unesco is not the proper place to discuss it, it had better be left to the United Nations General Assembly; and that since that body has postponed its consideration year after year, we should follow suit without further thought and proper consideration. This, in the view of my delegation, is unwarranted and does not do credit to our Organization. Unesco is an independent Organization, and its General Conference controls its own procedure and is competent under the terms of its Constitution to decide all such questions, without waiting for cues from elsewhere. If the General Assembly were to decide not only the question of representation at its own sessions, but also of representation at the sessions of Specialized Agencies, there would be no purpose whatever in having separate Credentials Committees for these organizations and instead we should be receiving orders from another body. The fact is that the other organs of the United Nations as well as the Specialized Agencies, being masters of their own procedure, are not governed by the General Assembly procedure. Therefore, what is done by the General Assembly in no way takes away the right and the duty of the Credentials Committee of this Conference to examine and to pronounce upon the validity of the credentials of a delegation of Formosa, putting itself forward as the delegation of China. This is what it is intended that the Credentials Committee should do, and what it has failed to do in this case.

22.3 The second reason given for our not fully examining the credentials presented on behalf of China is that, on the last occasion and also before that, a majority decided to let the existing practice continue, and that we should do so now. This, fellow delegates, in the opinion of my delegation is not a sound argument. If we went wrong last time or before that and did not consider the matter properly, it does not mean that we should continue to make the same mistake and adhere to the same hasty judgement, year after year and forever. We must consider the matter carefully as it obtains today, and take a decision according to our best lights and in the interest of this Organization.

22.4 It has also been suggested that any change in the representation of China would cause unnecessary conflict and bitterness if Unesco dealt with it. But, the fact is that we are not concerned here with particular ideologies or political and social systems which exist in various countries. We are not concerned here with the question of the endorsement or otherwise of the present régime in China, or any of its actions. This is not required by the Constitution of Unesco. Unesco is not a body of like-minded nations; it is not a closed club of one political complexion; the views of one Member State about another are not relevant to the question of the proper representation of that Member State. Whether any particular country wishes or does not wish to recognize the People's Republic of China and to establish diplomatic relations is a matter for that country to decide. We are here concerned only with the interests of this world Organization, the membership of which under Article II, 2 of its Constitution, has been envisaged as even more extensive than that of the United Nations. The most diverse social systems and forms of government are represented in Unesco, so that the total resources of education, science, and culture that are developing in the different countries may be pressed into service for the common good. This is justly regarded as a great merit of our Organization, which is an international forum for uniting the efforts of all member countries in the promotion of peace. Unesco is a centre for harmonizing the diverse social systems of the world and, with this in view, one may well ask "What kind of a centre is this, in which the representatives of a State inhabited by one-fourth to one-fifth of mankind are excluded from this harmonizing process aimed at softening the clashes of conflicting ideologies?" If we were to judge credentials on the basis of the approval of other countries, then one of us would be here because one or another would disapprove of somebody else. Therefore, if our Organization is to achieve what it was intended to, it must avoid political affiliation and antipathy and concentrate on bringing together all cultures and working towards the ideal of the fellowship of man. There are certain facts which cannot be denied: here is a sub-continent of 639 million people which is not represented at this Conference, and the representatives of a few million Chinese emigrants to the island of Formosa occupy the seat of that people. Unless China, the present Government of China, takes its rightful place, we must recognize that one of the leading countries of Asia and the most important in the Far East is absent, and our deliberations, to that extent, are unreal. At this Conference, my delegation does not wish to raise political questions as to whether Formosa is to be considered a part of China, or as to the binding character of the Cairo or the Potsdam Declarations, or the controversy about two Chinas, regarding which India has expressed views elsewhere. What is important for us, here, is that we claim in this Organization to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men, we claim to eradicate suspicion and distrust between the peoples of the world, we claim to secure peace through the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and finally we recognize, as our Constitution states, that peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. And yet, we are trying to do this by excluding from our councils one-fourth to one-fifth of mankind. We say that the purpose of Unesco is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations, through education, science and culture. And yet, here again, we exclude the education, science and culture - indeed one of the most ancient cultures in the world - of a major segment of humanity. We are thus importing political controversy into our deliberations, while our function is to avoid and to ease and to diminish such controversy. At the first session of the General Conference in 1946, China was one of the

27 original founder members of this Organization. It is important to note that it was the State of China, not the then Government of China, which became a member of Unesco. Governments of a country come and go, but the country, the people and the State remain. If membership of an international organization consisted of governments, and furthermore, if the political complexion of governments came to be considered relevant, it would be impossible to have a workable international organization, indeed it would not be international at all. In accordance with Article I, 3 of the Constitution, the members of the Organization are States, not governments; and the State of China is not represented here. Among the members of the United Nations, twenty-nine recognize the People's Republic of China, including two permanent members of the Security Council who maintain diplomatic relations with that Government. It is revealing that the States recognizing the People's Republic of China have a variety of social systems and belong to three continents, Europe, Asia, Africa. The People's Republic of China has trade relations with at least 68 other countries, and cultural relations with an even larger number. The countries which recognize this Government have a population of over 1,040 million people; if one adds to that figure the population of China itself, which is today 639 million, we arrive at a figure of 1,679 million out of a total world population of 2,737 million. In other words, this represents over 61% of the population of the world. Therefore, in refusing the seat to China, we are really ignoring the view of the large majority of the world. It is well known that China is a country which has been rich in history and culture for many thousands of years. Now, during the last nine years, rapid developments have been taking place in the fields of industry and agriculture. In the field of science, the ten-year development plan is in progress and, as a part of the cultural revolution, there is an ambitious programme for the liquidation of illiteracy. Are we to shut ourselves off from the impact of these developments? In the field of international relations, we are aware that, at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the People's Republic of China was one of the 29 countries to subscribe to the now famous ten Bandung principles of peaceful coexistence. China's relations with its neighbours, India, Burma, Nepal, Indonesia, Cambodia and others, are a testimonial to its adherence to these principles. It is the view of my delegation that, in the light of these facts, the present anomalous position based on fictitious premises, which has endured since 1950, cannot be permitted to continue without serious detriment to our deliberations. It is not in the interests of Unesco and its goals that the question of the representation of this large and important country should be permitted to be governed by emotions. By refusing to face facts, and by evading the issue and living in a world of delusions, do we really solve anything? Nor will the refusal to allow the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in Unesco eliminate that Government, or that country, from the international field. We have done, and we shall continue to stultify our deliberations if we continue to permit the absence of one of the major nations of Asia. One of the important projects of Unesco concerns the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western values; the objectives of this Project will not be achieved with the exclusion of China. Unesco cannot prosper, so long as it shuts itself off from a large segment of Asia.

22.5 In the light of these considerations, Mr. President, it is the view of my delegation that the recommendations of the Credentials Committee in regard to Chinese representation should be rejected, and the credentials of the Formosan representative should not be accepted as the representative of China. In regard to the recommendation of the Credentials Committee concerning the credentials of the Hungarian delegation, it is the view of my delegation that the proposal discriminates against a government with which most of the countries have diplomatic relations. Therefore, my delegation will vote against that section of the Credentials Committee's report.

23. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Albania.

24.1 Mr. TRESKA (Albania) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, delegates, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is a question of fundamental importance, which should be earnestly examined by our Organization and solved without delay.

24.2 We find with great indignation that the place that the People's Republic of China has earned in our Organization is still usurped by the representatives of a band of traitors to their own people, who are now completely bankrupt. This is a quite intolerable situation, extremely detrimental to Unesco's prestige and to the cause it serves. Bowing to the will of the ruling circles in the United States of America, Unesco has so far unjustly shut out a great people, representing nearly a quarter of mankind and the creator of one of the oldest and richest cultures in the world.

24.3 The credentials submitted by the delegates of the puppet Government of Chiang Kai-shek, installed in Taiwan under the protection of the guns of the American Seventh Fleet, are legally and morally worthless.

24.4 The Albanian delegation is therefore completely opposed to the decision taken by the Credentials Committee by a very small majority, suggesting the acceptance of the credentials of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. For years past, artificial obstacles have been placed in the way of the great Chinese people in order to prevent it from taking part in the work of international organizations; and this absurd situation, which is detrimental to our Organization, is being prolonged owing to the United States' hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China. We must not - and cannot - allow our Organization to serve the interests of a single Power, whose aims constitute a direct threat to the freedom and independence of China, as well as to the preservation of world peace.

24.5 Such an attitude on the part of the United States of America and certain other Powers - an attitude inspired by purely political considerations - is completely incompatible with the noble tasks assigned to our Organization by its Constitution and does irreparable harm to Unesco's universality.

24.6 There can be no universality without the important contribution which the age-old culture of the Chinese people has made to the treasury of world culture, or the important contribution which the Chinese people is still making to the later development of mankind's culture as a whole. We are of the opinion that the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values cannot be promoted without the direct participation of the true representatives of the Chinese people, whose culture is one of the corner-stones of the edifice of human culture throughout time. That is why the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China will be a vital factor in enhancing the importance and prestige of our Organization and a decisive help in the implementation of its programme. The person unlawfully occupying China's seat represents nothing. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China, around which the entire Chinese people has rallied, is in a position to perform, on the latter's behalf, the obligations imposed by Unesco's Constitution.

24.7 The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania accordingly protests most strongly against the presence in our Organization of the representative of that political corpse, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and urges that China's place in Unesco be occupied by the lawful representatives of the Chinese people, furnished with credentials issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

24.8 We are also completely opposed to the Credentials Committee's decision concerning the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Government which has accredited the Hungarian delegation is the only lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, while voting for the report as a whole, will vote against the decisions relating to China and Hungary.

25. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Czechoslovakia.

26.1 Mr. PAZUR (Czechoslovakia (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Czechoslovak delegation is strongly opposed to the Credentials Committee's proposal concerning the credentials of the Kuomintang representatives.

26.2 These persons represent neither the people nor the Government of China and, in this respect, we agree with the views expressed by the delegates of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, India and other countries.

26.3 So far as the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic are concerned, the Czechoslovak delegation vigorously protests against the Credentials Committee's decision. It regards it simply as a further attempt at provocation and intervention in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and holds this decision to be completely at variance with the principles proclaimed in our Organization's Constitution.

26.4 The credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic are fully valid from the legal standpoint, for they were issued in accordance with the Constitution of that Republic by the lawful Government, which was invited by our Organization to be represented at the tenth session of the General Conference.

26.5 In these circumstances, the Czechoslovak delegation is strongly opposed to the Credentials Committee's decision and will vote against the Committee's proposal concerning the Hungarian delegation's credentials.

26.6 The Czechoslovak delegation supports the Soviet proposal and notes that a separate vote be taken on the question of the Hungarian delegation's credentials (paragraph 7 of document 10 C/52). It proposes that the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic be recognized.

27. The PRESIDENT:
I call on the delegate of Cuba.

28.1 Mr. FERRARA MARINO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, delegates, I am speaking simply in order to defend a principle which I have already upheld in the Executive Board and at other sessions of the General Conference. In my opinion, the question of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of a State cannot be discussed in connexion with credentials. The question is not whether China is great or small, whether it has or has not a large population or a lengthy history; the question is a purely legal one, i.e. whether those who issued the credentials for this session of the Conference were or were not competent to do so.

28.2 I might agree with everything said by the distinguished members who have maintained the need to replace immediately the credentials of one State by those of another, or the representatives of one State by other representatives of the same State. I might agree with all that, but I should nevertheless be obliged to vote against such a change; I should be obliged to vote against the so-called People's Republic of China; for gentlemen, although we represent peoples, we act, for the greater part, in accordance with the instructions of States. It is true that, if the People's Republic of China had not the institutions which it does in fact possess, many of the previous speakers would not have spoken as they did. We represent States and we are under their protection; I myself, for instance, although I do not entirely agree with all that has been said here, with certain words which it would have been better to have left unsaid, may not be able to vote in favour of the People's Republic of China, because my Government has not recognized it. If most of the States represented here have not recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China but another Government, how can we be asked, on a purely procedural question, to change the situation, as though we were simply a group of individuals meeting together by chance? We have a past history and relations with other similar international organizations; each of us has a State with its own history, and we must accomplish our mission in accordance with the instructions given by our respective States, even if our personal interests or personal convictions are not in line with the policy of the States we represent.

28.3 In these circumstances and for these reasons the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics itself, represented as it is by intelligent men, has realized that

this is not the moment to discuss the question. And the USSR has accordingly moved the addition of item 23, relating to China's representation in Unesco, to the agenda of the Conference.

28.4 In any case, we also belong to a great international organization. It is true that we are independent and can freely resolve all the questions which concern us, but the international society which is in process of development already has its own machinery, and it is our duty to work with that machinery, co-operating within the limits of our own particular functions and, first and foremost, acknowledging those limits. Possessing an international political organ, can we put ourselves in its place? Would we permit the United Nations, whose headquarters are in New York, to act in our stead in the field of public education?

28.5 This international society is steadily developing, becoming more perfect and complete, and, as it does so, each of its members must form an accurate idea of it and adapt its own activities, accordingly, to the questions with which it is competent to deal.

28.6 We have listened here to arguments which would have been very appropriate in a political assembly, but which had nothing to do with education, science and culture. We have heard it said that the people concerned deserves to be admitted to the human community. I do not question the fact. All that I know is that I cannot, and should not, decide the question. What would the Ministry of Foreign Affairs say if I decided here which States are or are not worthy to be accepted? What could we say here on the question whether the world should be steered to the Right or the Left? What programmes, documents or precedents established by this Conference authorize us to perform such a function? Therefore, as all we can do is to vote in favour of a situation which already exists and which we are unable to alter, a situation which is beyond our competence, I feel there is no other solution - and it is a solution which should be accepted even by those who spoke of China's greatness - than to vote for the maintenance of the present situation.

29. The PRESIDENT:
I now call upon the delegate of Turkey.

30. Mr. TUNCEL (Turkey) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, delegates, I shall be very brief. It is not the first time that the General Conference has discussed this question. Since the Conferences in Montevideo and New Delhi, this question has always taken up the best part of our time from the start of our work, and we are now sufficiently acquainted with the arguments "for" and "against". I have come to this rostrum in order to draw the Conference's attention to this state of affairs, which is liable to prolong our discussions indefinitely. It would be wise and practical to abide by the report of the Credentials Committee, which is the organ responsible for informing us on all questions relating to credentials. I therefore propose, Mr. President, that we adopt the Committee's report.

31. The PRESIDENT:
The delegate of Lebanon.

32. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, gentlemen, at the very beginning of this tenth session of the General Conference, I may perhaps be allowed to express our sadness and disappointment. We would have liked our discussions to take place in a different atmosphere; that prevailing today is most disturbing to us and I am afraid that this "original sin", as it were, may influence all the rest of our debates. An oft-quoted Arab proverb says that "When the wind and the sea are at variance, it is the tiny bark which suffers". There are in this Conference room many tiny barks which, for the sake of our work's success, would like the wind and the sea to calm down and become reconciled. The Lebanese delegation's abstention from voting on the Credentials Committee's report is to be interpreted as an earnest recommendation to that effect.

33. The PRESIDENT:
I now call upon the delegate of Finland.

34.1 Mr. OITTINEN (Finland):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the central aim of Unesco is to fight against ignorance, suspicion and prejudices, in order to build up a firm basis for international co-operation and the preservation of peace. In this endeavour, Unesco appeals to all nations and to all men in order to create positive action and to encourage a desire to share this noble work. It is therefore unfortunate that it has not so far been possible to find the means to attach to this work one of the greatest nations of the world, the people of China, especially since that nation gives evidence of a sincere desire to participate in these activities. In Finland, we have positive experience gained from our cultural contacts with the People's Republic of China. Finnish experts have during many years visited China, to study Chinese art, historical monuments, social, geographical and ethnographical features, agricultural and other problems. The exchange of scholars and students is about to start, and at present there is a great exhibition of Finnish art in China. These and many other aspects of cultural exchange show that, in spite of the great distance and the differences in social, political and economic systems, cultural contacts are both possible and fruitful. There is, at present, in Finland a great interest in and knowledge of China, such as might hardly have been thought about previously. On the basis of this positive experience, and as, in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Government of Finland has supported the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, the Finnish delegation here supports such measures as will lead as soon as possible to the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of Unesco. Such measures are justified, among other reasons, by the fact that it would thus be possible to take significant steps towards the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values.

34.2 So long as the 600 million Chinese, in fact, remain outside this vital Major Project, the work for the mutual understanding between the East and West cannot assume the importance with which it would otherwise be invested.

34.3 The Finnish delegation will vote for the approval

of the report of the Credentials Committee, with the exception of the proposals concerning the credentials of China and the Hungarian People's Republic. In the case of Hungary, we see no reason for political demonstration.

35. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

36.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I am sure that we would all agree that we have been privileged this morning to listen to a very remarkable debate, and that this debate must augur well for the discussions that will take place in this hall, and in other rooms within these buildings in the course of the next few weeks.
36.2 It is, Mr. President, the view of the United Kingdom, that in a broad sense, and having regard to the aims of this Organization, the debate is not in order. It has, rather, the character of a forum - which might have been associated with, rather than an integral part of, our work - to discuss the urgent importance of Unesco's achieving global dimensions as soon as possible. But, Mr. President, the United Kingdom would submit that the particular matter under discussion is simply the adoption or otherwise of the report of the Credentials Committee.
36.3 We were privileged to serve on that Committee, and we advocate the adoption of the report in its entirety. We do not feel that in doing so this Organization is in any way sacrificing its independence. The members of the Credentials Committee, acting on our behalf, studied this matter and they responsibly assure us that the two controversial issues that have commanded so much attention this morning, namely, the question of China and that of Hungary, are essentially political, and that they are being looked after most satisfactorily by the bodies best placed to deal with political matters. The Committee consequently invites us to recognize that fact, and to adhere to our own prescribed sphere of influence. Secondly, we must wait until the discussions now continuing in those bodies will have been developed. Subject to the development of these discussions and the achievement of their aims in the place proper for the discussion of political matters, the Credentials Committee advises us, responsibly as an independent body, to recognize that fact and to march with the discussions that are taking place in the United Nations. It is for that reason Mr. President, that the United Kingdom would support the motion that the report of the Credentials Committee be adopted in its entirety.

37. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of France.

38.1 Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, delegates, today, at the conclusion of this long debate - at least I hope it is the conclusion - we have a definite fact before us: the fact that a majority of the members of the Credentials Committee recommended that no decision be taken. It is true that, this morning, in the course of the discussion, certain delegates remarked that it was a comparatively small majority, but I venture to point out that this argument carries no weight in any democratic country and that, once the majority has expressed an opinion, that majority opinion must be respected.
38.2 Furthermore, as some of my colleagues have already remarked, the United Nations itself, which is our guide and, to some extent, guardian, has so far also refrained from taking a decision in the matter. In these circumstances, it would be strange and most unusual for Unesco to take such a decision, considering that the Organization, in accordance with established tradition, has proclaimed in its Constitution, and in many debates, that it is not a political body; for, if it did so, it would be endeavouring to dictate to the United Nations, which would be paradoxical.
38.3 I may add, as we are finishing this debate, that I feel that, as was eloquently remarked by the Turkish delegate, we should set to work. We have an extremely heavy agenda, and for that reason, Mr. President, I propose the closure of the present debate; France will vote for the adoption of the report.

39. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Brazil.

40. Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Brazilian delegation's attitude with regard to this question has been determined in the United Nations General Assembly. The delegation attending this session of the General Conference is neither qualified nor competent to reopen the consideration of a question that Brazil placed in the hands of its political delegation to the United Nations, which is a political organization. It is not, however, simply in order to confirm the position adopted by my Government at the appropriate time and in the appropriate place that I have come to this rostrum, but in order to express the hope that the decision which our respective governments adopt, in accordance with the views previously expressed at the United Nations, will not divide the Conference at the beginning of its work. Our governments cannot hold two different opinions, one here in Paris, and the other at the United Nations in New York. We must reconcile ourselves in advance to the fact that there is a difference of opinion and endeavour to lessen its unfortunate consequences and disadvantages; and, in the course of our work, which is about to begin and will be concerned with educational, scientific and cultural questions, our aim must be not to widen the gulf dividing the world into two, but to dress and heal our wounds as far as possible. It is essential, therefore, Mr. President, that this vote be taken in a spirit of mutual respect and goodwill, in accordance with the decisions of our respective governments, but without detriment to the work of moral and intellectual salvation which we are endeavouring to accomplish at Unesco House, amid the tragedies of our century.

41. The PRESIDENT:
We now proceed to the vote on the Credentials Committee's report. A special request has been made for a vote by roll-call. I first put to the vote clauses 4 and 5 of the report of the Credentials Committee, dealing with China.

42. The vote was taken by roll-call.

Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Austria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Israel, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Morocco, Norway, Sudan, Switzerland, Tunisia.

Absent: Nepal, Saudi Arabia.

43.1 *The PRESIDENT:*

The result of the vote on clauses 4 and 5 concerning the credentials of the delegation of China is as follows: in favour 41; against 21; abstentions 14; absent 2.

43.2 We now proceed to vote on clauses 6 and 7 of the report concerning the credentials of the delegation of Hungary.

44. The vote was taken by roll-call.

Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Poland, Rumania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Afghanistan, Austria, Cambodia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iran, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Morocco, Panama, Switzerland, Tunisia, Venezuela.

Absent: Nepal, Saudi Arabia.

45.1 The PRESIDENT:

The result of the voting is as follows: in favour 39; against 20; abstentions 17; absent 2.

45.2 The report of the Credentials Committee is thus adopted in full.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

III

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

5 November 1958, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Dr. Sarvepalli RADHAKRISHNAN (India)
later: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the revised agenda	56
Establishment of the Nominations Committee	58
Report of the Nominations Committee and election of President and Vice-Presidents of the General Conference	58
Appointment of Chairmen of Commissions	60

ADOPTION OF THE REVISED AGENDA

1. The PRESIDENT:
The Meeting will come to order. The Chairman of the Executive Board will propose the provisional agenda.

2. Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board, (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, in conformity with Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, I have the honour to submit for the approval of the General Conference the revised agenda of the tenth session. This is contained in document 10 C/1 Rev. May I remind you that the Executive Board, at its fiftieth session, drew up the provisional agenda, which was communicated to Member States within the required time? Later, at its fifty-second session, the Executive Board drew up the revised agenda which is now in the hands of the delegations, basing it on the provisional agenda and the supplementary list. With regard to item 23, I should point out that the Board issued, for consideration by the General Conference, a comment in the form of a resolution, which is reproduced in document 10 C/1 Rev. Further, on account of the increase in the number of Member States - which, of course, gives it great satisfaction - the Executive Board recommends that the General Conference amend its Rules of Procedure so as to increase the number of Vice-Presidents of the General Conference from 10 to 12. The recommendation on this question will be found in document 10 C/50, which has been distributed. For practical reasons, the Executive Board suggests that the General Conference might agree to put this question on its agenda and discuss it immediately. The Nominations Committee, which is to meet in a few minutes, could then, if the General Conference came to an affirmative decision, present all the candidatures to the posts of Vice-President of the General Conference at the same time.

3. The PRESIDENT:
The revised provisional agenda is before you and the draft amendment to Rules 25, 30, 34 and 38 of the Rules of Procedure is also before you. It raises the number of Vice-Presidents from 10 to 12. Has it the approval of the Conference? I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

4. Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):
Mr. President, the United Kingdom wishes to ask the General Conference for permission to include a new item on the agenda of the Conference, under Rule of Procedure 14, sub-section 2. This item is concerned with the membership of the Singapore-North Borneo Group Associate Member.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:
The proposal of the United Kingdom delegation to include the question of Singapore in the agenda, according to our Rules, will be referred to the General Committee and will be taken up here after the meeting of the General Committee.
5.2 I call upon the delegate of the United States.

6. Mr. HANES (United States of America):
Mr. President, it is my understanding that we are at present considering the adoption of the revised agenda 10 C/1 Rev. As one of its items, this agenda contains item 23 "The Representation of China in Unesco". Just this morning, Mr. President, this Conference decided, by a very large majority, not to consider at its tenth session any proposal to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. I submit that, in adopting this proposal this morning, we have already rejected the inclusion in our agenda of an item entitled "The Representation of China in Unesco". The Executive Board, in transmitting the Soviet request to the General Conference for the inclusion of this item on the agenda, drew our attention, as will be found on page 6 of document 10 C/1 Rev., to the fact that on 23 September of this year the General Assembly of the United Nations

rejected a request that it inscribe a similar item in its agenda, and decided, for the duration of its thirteenth session, not to consider any proposals to exclude representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. As I have noted, this General Conference has already, this morning, decided to adopt a course identical to that followed in the General Assembly. It is the clear implication of the Executive Board resolution that the General Conference should consider adopting the procedure followed by the United Nations under identical circumstances, namely that, having already decided not to consider this item, we have in fact decided to reject the inclusion of this item on our agenda. I would respectfully submit, Mr. President, that the item "The Representation of China in Unesco" should be deleted from document 10 C/1 Rev., the revised draft agenda of the tenth session of the General Conference.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics raised this question in the Executive Board and asked for a report to be made to the Conference on the delegation's desire that the question of the representation of China in Unesco be included in the Conference's agenda.

8.2 I shall take the liberty of stating briefly the reasons why we consider it essential that this question be included in the agenda and discussed; it will take only a few minutes, and it seems to me that the subject warrants the spending of that time. In bringing this question before the Conference, I am convinced that it has no connexion with the subject on which we reached a decision at this morning's meeting. On that occasion we were considering the question of the credentials of those who are now present, whereas the question of the future of Unesco, its future relations with the People's Republic of China and how the latter is to be included in Unesco's work, is an entirely independent question. The objection raised by the delegation of the United States of America has, therefore, no bearing on the subject. I do not think that the Conference, by deciding the question of credentials, has disposed of the subject in general; that would be quite wrong. This morning we listened to an excellent speech by the delegate of India, in which he described contemporary China. I think that his speech gave us reasons enough why the Conference should consider this question more thoroughly and really come to an understanding of it. I should like to elaborate a little on the ideas so well expressed by my Indian colleague, both as to form and as to content, by adding certain remarks.

8.3 It is the opinion of the delegation of the Soviet Union that one of the worst organic defects in the work of our Organization is that the People's Republic of China is not represented in it. In speaking of this we should remember what contemporary China represents. One out of every four inhabitants of the earth is Chinese. The work of an Organization which claims to be international cannot be regarded as successful if the People's Republic of China is not represented in it. Next year the People's Republic of China will have been in existence for ten years. The unprecedented achievements of the People's Republic in those years have indeed been the admiration of its friends and the confusion of its enemies. Once a backward, semi-colonial country, torn by the continual intestine struggles of militaristic cliques, rent by foreign imperialists, enduring constantly recurring famines, bad harvests, epidemics and the calamities of nature, illiterate and backward, China has, before our eyes, become a powerful State, which is carrying out radical reforms in politics, economics and culture at tremendous speed. Today the people of China are solving a colossal problem of great historical importance - the problem of a technical and cultural revolution.

8.4 I should now like to give a brief factual description of contemporary China. During the first five-year plan, which the Chinese workers carried out from 1953 to 1957, the foundations of Socialist industry were laid in China. In this period, 825 heavy industrial plants were constructed, more than half of which are already in operation. The metallurgical industries are developing especially quickly. In old China, from 1901 till 1948 - nearly half a century - only a little more than 7 million tons of steel were smelted. In the new China, in 1958 alone, the metal-workers will have smelted more than 10 million tons of steel. This means that China, which before the war was seventeenth among the world producers of steel, is now sixth. The metal industries of China employ more than 20 million men. Coal output is increasing rapidly. In the period when the people have held the power in China, modern departments of industry have come into being, such as machine-tool construction, motor car construction, aeroplane construction, the production of measuring instruments, ball-bearings, and equipment for the metallurgical, mining, power, chemical, oil and radio industries. In different parts of the country great thermal and hydro-electric power stations are being built and long railway-lines laid down. The progress China has made in agriculture is no less striking. In the winter of 1957-1958, irrigation works of unprecedented scope were undertaken in China, as a result of which 32 million hectares of arable land were irrigated. China now has more than a third of all the irrigated land in the world. The volume of navvying work done by China in the last year was 373 times as great as that done in China in past centuries, during the construction of one of the eight wonders of the world - the Great Wall of China, which is 5,000 kilometres long. Last winter more than 100 million people were employed at once on the irrigation works in China. In their vast land the great, industrious, intelligent people of China are building a new life. They are bringing about tremendous revolutions not only in economic and industrial life, but also in culture, on a new technological basis. All over China a great struggle is going on to abolish illiteracy and develop primary, secondary and higher education. In the current school year there are 84 million pupils in the primary schools alone.

8.5 The new Socialist China has become a great power. By its example it exerts a great and beneficent influence on other nations which have thrown off the colonial yoke or are fighting for national freedom against imperialism. How can we talk of the advantages of promoting mutual understanding between Eastern and Western cultures if we deliberately ignore the oldest culture in the world, which is also that of the largest nation in the world? As our honoured President said in his address, the compass was first invented in China, as were paper, gunpowder and porcelain, and there the art of printing was first learnt. And this is the country, a torchbearer of progress in our day, that we are leaving out of the work of an international organization whose task it is to promote cultural co-operation. How can we speak of the aspirations and union of all nations if among the Members of Unesco we retain all this time a political corpse, which spreads a disgusting odour of corruption all around it - the Kuomintang clique?
8.6 The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics asks the Conference to put on the agenda the question of admitting the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in Unesco. It asks that this question be considered with an open mind and without prejudice, in accordance with justice and reason. It is time to end this irregular, disgraceful state of affairs, which is hindering the work of this international cultural Organization. I would urge delegates to support the proposal made by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is dictated not by mere political considerations but by the interests of the work of our international Organization.

9. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

10. Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):
Mr. President, I should like to propose to the plenary session that the question now being discussed be referred to the General Committee. This would avoid a further repetition of the debate on the subject here and now, and I believe that procedure would be to the convenience of the plenary session. I therefore move that the matter now under discussion be referred forthwith to the General Committee.

11.1 The PRESIDENT:
It has been moved that the matter under discussion be referred to the General Committee of the General Conference in order to avoid a repetition of the kind of discussion which we have had this morning. To facilitate the work of the General Conference, it is moved that this question be referred to the General Committee.
11.2 The motion is carried, and, with that exception, the revised agenda is adopted.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

12. The PRESIDENT:
According to rule 29 of the Rules of Procedure the Nominations Committee shall consist of the Heads of all delegations entitled to vote in the Conference. The Nominations Committee will meet now in Room 4 and will return here, I take it, in about half an hour's time.

(The meeting was suspended at 4.30 p.m. and resumed at 5.30 p.m.)

REPORT OF THE NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE AND ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND TWELVE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

13. The PRESIDENT:
I will now ask for the report of the Chairman of the Nominations Committee.

14.1 Mr. MASSAQUOI (Liberia), Chairman of the Nominations Committee:
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Nominations Committee has met and I would like to report its recommendation that the following persons and countries be elected to the posts hereafter mentioned.
14.2 As President of the tenth session of this General Conference the Committee selected France.
14.3 For Vice-Presidents we recommend the following countries: The Federal Republic of Germany, Argentina, the United States of America, Spain, Honduras, Israel, Japan, Morocco, Pakistan, Rumania, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For the posts of the various commissions and committees, the Committee recommends Professor Baugniet of Belgium as the Chairman of the Administrative Commission; for the Programme Commission, Dr. Beeby of New Zealand; for the Legal Committee, Professor Chatterjee of India, who, as you know, has already been appointed; for the Nominations Committee, Professor Massaquoi of Liberia; for the Credentials Committee, Dr. Fuentes Pantoja of Chile, who has already been appointed and, in fact, submitted his report this morning; for the Committee on Reports of Member States, also already appointed, Professor Tuncel of Turkey; for the Headquarters Committee, also appointed, Dr. Parra Perez of Venezuela.
14.4 The Committee further recommends or suggests that the election of the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteurs take place in the various commissions or committees, and that you should take into consideration, in the selection of the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteurs, the views expressed by certain Member States during the meeting of the Nominations Committee.

15. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Jordan.

16. Mr. SALIM (Jordan):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I do not wish to repeat the same argument to which you have listened before, I wish only to request that, under Rule 85, we have a separate vote for the posts of Vice-President and, in application of Rules 85 and 87, paragraph 2, that the vote be taken by secret ballot.

17.1 The PRESIDENT:
Is that agreed to? Rule 85 states: "Parts of a

proposal shall be voted on separately, if a Member requests that the proposal be divided. The resulting proposal shall then be put to a final vote in its entirety." And Rule 87: "All other elections and decisions relating to individuals shall be voted on by secret ballot whenever five or more Members shall so request or if the President so decides". Is it agreed that the elections for Vice-Presidents should take place separately? Agreed.

17.2 I will ask France to nominate its delegate, who will be President of the Conference.

18. Mr. SEYDOUX (France), (Translation from the French):

France proposes Mr. Jean Berthoin, Minister of Education, as President of the General Conference.

19. The PRESIDENT:

Fellow delegates, it is most appropriate that the first conference to be held in these new buildings should be presided over by a representative of France, an eminent intellectual who, on the opening day, by his eloquent plea for Human Rights, enchanted us all. I now request the Minister of Education and the leader of the Delegation to come and relieve me of my office, and assume this great distinction.

(Mr. Berthoin took the Chair).

20.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to express, in a few simple but heartfelt words, my deep appreciation of the honour which, in electing me, you have done to my country.

20.2 I accept this honour, indeed, but it is with great humility that I assume the important responsibilities it involves, especially since, during this session of the Conference, my governmental duties will prevent me from presiding as regularly as I would have wished over the work of the Conference.

20.3 If you are agreeable, I propose to speak at greater length tomorrow, at the opening of our afternoon meeting, when I shall tell you what is my view of Unesco, of our ideal and of the urgent tasks we have to carry out - tasks which, perhaps more now than at any time in the past, we should hasten to accomplish. I shall also have to convey to you the sincere thanks of all your Officers, and I thank you now, on their behalf.

20.4 Ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with Rule 89 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, which deals with elections to two or more posts, we shall proceed to the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, as we have been asked to do so and that request must be met. I shall ask that the nominations be read out.

20.5 May I ask Mr. Aboussouan, of the Lebanese delegation, and Mr. Pazur, of the Czechoslovak delegation, to act as tellers? Are those gentlemen present?

20.6 The following are the proposals of the Nominations Committee for the chairmanship of the various commissions and committees. Programme Commission: Dr. Beeby (New Zealand); Administrative Commission: Professor Baugniet (Belgium); Legal Committee: at the next meeting of this Committee, which is to take place in a few minutes, the name of Professor Chatterjee (India) will be submitted to it.

20.7 I will also repeat the names of the Chairmen already elected. Reports Committee: Professor Tuncel (Turkey); Headquarters Committee: His Excellency Dr. Parra-Perrez (Venezuela); Credentials Committee: Mr. Fuentes Pantoja (Chile).

20.8 Before proceeding to the election of the Vice-Presidents, I should like to ask the delegate of Jordan to come up to the rostrum and repeat his proposal concerning the procedure to be followed for this election.

21. Mr. SALIM (Jordan):

Mr. President, in accordance with the rules and regulations, I wish to request that Rule 87, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure be applied in the election of the twelve Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

22. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I shall now read Rule 87, paragraph 2 of the Rules of Procedure: "All other elections and decisions relating to individuals shall be voted on by secret ballot whenever five or more Members shall so request or if the President so decides". That is the wording; I should point out that, for the moment, we are concerned with the nomination of countries. I therefore ask the assembly to indicate whether it wishes this second paragraph to be interpreted as meaning that I should accept a vote by secret ballot. Will those in favour of a secret ballot please raise their hands? Thank you. Those against? The request is rejected. We shall therefore put to the vote the proposals that have just been made by the Chairman of the Nominations Committee. I call upon the Secretary to read out those proposals.

23. Mr. MONTAGNIER, Secretary of the General Conference, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the following is the list of countries proposed by the Nominations Committee for the posts of Vice-President: The Federal Republic of Germany, Argentina, Spain, United States of America, Honduras, Israel, Japan, Morocco, Pakistan, Rumania, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

24.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

The meeting has heard the list read out. Does it approve the proposals?

(The vote was taken by a show of hands).

24.2 The Committee's proposals are adopted by 54 votes to 9. The following twelve countries are therefore elected to occupy the posts of Vice-President of the General Conference: The Federal Republic of Germany, Argentina, Spain, United States of America, Honduras, Israel, Japan, Morocco, Pakistan, Rumania, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

APPOINTMENT OF CHAIRMEN OF COMMISSIONS

24.3 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I propose that we should now proceed with the appointment of the Chairmen of the Programme Commission and the Administrative Commission. In this way the membership of the General Committee will be completed, except for the Chairman of the Legal Committee who will be elected when that Committee holds its first meeting. This will also enable the Chairmen of the two main Commissions to begin preparing the work of their Commissions.

24.4 Following the procedure adopted at previous sessions of the General Conference I propose to adjourn this plenary meeting and request delegates to remain in their places. I shall then formally convene the first meeting of the Programme Commission and ask it to elect its Chairman, having regard to the recommendation made by the Nominations Committee. When this is done I shall adjourn the Programme Commission and immediately convene a meeting of the Administrative Commission and ask it to elect its Chairman in the same way.

24.5 The plenary meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

6 November 1958, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Maxwell M. RABB (United States of America)

CONTENTS

Admission of Associate Members of the Organization . . . 61
Admission of observers from international non-governmental organizations 64
Presentation by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 and of the Executive Board's Report on its own Activities 68
General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960: Speech by the delegate of the Netherlands 71

ADMISSION OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION

1. The PRESIDENT:

The fourth plenary meeting is hereby called to order. The first item on the agenda is the admission of Associate Members of the Organization. The Director-General will present the report.

2.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL:

Mr. President and delegates, document 10 C/30 reports that I received a letter dated 30 April, informing me that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom wished to submit to Unesco, under Article II. 3 of the Constitution, an application on behalf of Kuwait for Associate Membership of the Organization. The text of the letter is reproduced and I need not read it to you.

2.2 I also received from Her Majesty's Government a letter dated 22 August, in the same sense, as regards the Federation of the West Indies: the text of the letter is also given. In paragraph 5, it is noted that the territories which constitute the British Caribbean Group are now an Associate Member of Unesco, and the list of territories concerned is given.

2.3 I addressed a letter to the Director of Education of Kuwait, inviting the Government of Kuwait to send one or more observers to the tenth session of the General Conference, pursuant to a decision adopted by the Executive Board at its 50th session. I also invited the Executive Board, at its 51st session, to authorize the extension of an invitation to the Government of the Federation of the West Indies to send observers to the tenth session of the General Conference; that also has been done.

2.4 It is now for the General Conference, under Article II. 3 of the Constitution, and under Rule 92, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure, to decide whether it wishes to admit Kuwait and the Federation of the West Indies to Associate Membership of Unesco. In accordance with Article II. 2 of the Constitution, and Rule 81 of the Rules of Procedure, a majority of two-thirds is required.

2.5 Mr. President, I now call your attention to document 10 C/48, in which the same procedures are noted as having taken place in regard to the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. A request was presented by the Italian Government, and the Executive Board took favourable action on it at the 51st session. In accordance with its authorization, I have invited Somaliland to send observers to the tenth session of the General Conference. I need not repeat the Articles of the Constitution, and the Rules of Procedure; they are the same as I referred to earlier.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

4.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, I should like to say a very few words in support of the admission of Kuwait and the Federation of the West Indies as Associate Members of the Organization, as the United Kingdom was the sponsor of these two countries and, indeed, it was the United Kingdom who invented this procedure of admitting Associate Members of Unesco. We are very glad indeed that the two countries, Ghana and Malaya, who were the first two countries to be sponsored as Associate Members, have now become full Members, and I am very pleased to speak in support of the admission of Kuwait and the Federation of the West Indies as Associate Members this morning.

4.2 We, in Britain, are paying close regard to the affairs of Kuwait, partly for reasons which were familiar to me when I was Junior Minister at the Treasury, but partly because of the very long and

happy association which we have had with their Ruler. We wish their country very well indeed for the future.
4.3 So far as the Federation of the West Indies is concerned, the countries of the West Indies have made remarkable political and economic progress under conditions of very great difficulty, with a severe shortage of money and great transport difficulties. We, in Britain, congratulate them on their achievements and we wish them well, now that they are on the very last step to becoming a full member of the Commonwealth. I do very much hope that the plenary meeting this morning will be able to support the admission of Kuwait and the Federation as Associate Members of Unesco.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:
You have before you the proposal to admit three Associate Members. I will take these one by one.
5.2 In the case of Kuwait do I consider this manifestation as approval?
5.3 Is there any objection? If not the Conference has approved this item. I would like the delegate of Kuwait to come to the rostrum.

6.1 Mr. DABBAGH (Kuwait):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honour for me to extend to you the thanks of the Government of Kuwait on this occasion of its being admitted as an Associate Member of Unesco.
6.2 Kuwait may be a small country, as far as area and number of inhabitants go, but it is at the same time a part of the Arab world, with which it shares the Arabs' cultural heritage of the past and their aspirations for the future. It is very gratifying for us now, as a new member of Unesco, to find that both our heritage and aspirations are in harmony with the ideals of Unesco, of striving to found a world in which man's dignity is preserved and in which men live in peace.
6.3 It is in this spirit that we take our place among you, ready to make the best use of the undisputed services of Unesco and willing, at the same time, to lend a hand in upholding its ideals.

7.1 The PRESIDENT:
I thank the delegate of Kuwait and I would like to say that we are delighted to welcome him with us.
7.2 We now come to the second part of this proposal: the question of admission, as Associate Member of the Organization, of the Federation of the West Indies. I would like to put this to a vote. All those in favour please express their approval. Is there any objection?
7.3 This now becomes official and we would like to hear from the delegate of the Federation of the West Indies.

8.1 Mrs. ALLFREY (Federation of the West Indies):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, I am here to thank the General Conference of Unesco for giving our new Federation a great lift. This change from Caribbean group membership to Associate Membership means more to us than an alteration on a list. It is a sort of interim recognition of our new nationhood, before we attain the full privileges of membership.
8.2 In this vast and wonderful building, now part of the enchantment of Paris, with its solid rectangular marvels and touched by the brush of that deep great joker, Picasso, you see me standing here as a delegate from a sparkling and extremely individualist group of islands which, for practical, human and civilized reasons, have joined together federally. At the last General Conference of Unesco the Caribbean group numbered five: Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Dominica and Granada. Now, we are ten island units: Antigua, St. Kitts with its appendages, Nevis and Anguilla, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Montserrat. All these islands have fairly large stretches of water between them, and it is easier, as you know, to federate a mass of lands than to federate anything between which the sea or even the river flows. Now why, may you ask, does this Anglo-Saxon-looking woman represent three and three-quarter million island peoples who are mainly coloured persons of African and mixed descent? I will tell you, my friends. I was elected to stand here by a large majority of coloured people, this year, before we became a federation, and I represent them in the West Indian House of Representatives, our Parliament. I regard, therefore, that election and my ministerial appointment as the triumph of tolerance over skin-deep differences and even over historical prejudices. May I add that it is a triumph of tolerance over creed, as well as race.
8.3 Now I would not wish anyone in this room, because I have listened to some of the previous speeches, to regard me as a British stooge. I have been, from my childhood, an anti-imperialist, in fact, in Committee Room 13 of the House of Commons once, when I sat with other West Indians of varying shades, I even wrote a poem, two lines of which went: "But no frown hints at the terminating trusteeship, Or at the adolescence too prolonged". But let me say this, my friends, I am firmly in favour of free association within the Commonwealth and that adolescence is now receiving some smiling prods.
8.4 On the opening day, here in this great hall, I saw such a galaxy of Ministers of Education that I felt extremely modest and shrinking. You see, education is only a part of my Ministry: I am really the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of the Federal West Indies, and "social affairs" does not mean cocktail parties at Government House - it means health, education, housing and the social services. So you see, I carry a rather large portfolio. When I spoke just now of health and education I was reminded, by seeing the UNICEF representatives in this building, that health and education for us go hand in hand. This is obvious, and if you had seen the children in a little village called "Good Hope", where the teacher had no benches for them to sit on and where, because UNICEF milk was five or six months delayed owing to some governmental hold-up, those children were so weak they had to be carried home, you would know what I mean by saying Unesco and UNICEF, to us, really go hand in hand.
8.5 Now, may I say what Unesco has done for our people in the past. We have much gratitude to give. Unesco has sent us literary consultants, fellowships in fundamental education, experts on school literature, craft teacher trainers and, most important, technical educators. I hope I am not taking too much of your time, but we are a small country and I may

never get the chance to tell you this again.

8.6 When I was leaving the island in which I was born, which is the island of Dominica, a labourer in the airport came up to me and this is what he said: "Suggest to the world that we have some of our convent and grammar school pupils to learn about airports, so that we can look after our own airport properly". Now that was a man who had been clearing the coconut trees from the airport, and I was rather struck because he said "suggest to the world"; he did not know where I was going, he thought I was going to Trinidad. Secondly, he told me "the convent people, the girls". My friends, I am not going to say too much more, except that we are a proud little nation: we want to give as well as to take. What can we people of the Federated West Indies contribute to Unesco, or in fact to the world, to the learning and well-being of the people of the world? We may well be able to provide a laboratory for the art of living together, without prejudice and partiality, since we have already begun to do so. All the races in the West Indies save the Arawaks and the Caribs began as strangers - they had been uprooted. To us nationalism means something other than race: it means an ideal of a country. It means the words that we have inscribed beneath our national emblem: "To dwell together in unity", that is our text. Our nation of a few million people, so varied and so vital, scattered in little islands as different as the physical groups, is one where human beings can mingle freely and tolerantly. Yes, it is in the field of human relations that we are going to make our great experiment and our contribution. We have to settle our own little differences first, because we are only mortal. But, in spite of the terrible shortage of schools and teachers and the too gradual relief of our economic conditions, our people are now writing novels, drama, poetry; they are painting at last - it used to be just a rich man's pastime to paint - they are developing their special zest for creative music and dancing. There is no doubt that Unesco has helped these things to happen lately. We have started empty-handed, without even a national gallery, without federal libraries or museums and without the special polytechnic and technical schools which our young people need, otherwise they migrate to the cold countries to seek skills and they are sometimes filled with discouragement.

8.7 I was told to invite Unesco to hold a session in a really rough, backward, part of the West Indies - everything is so smooth here - but I am also told it is not my privilege yet. I am not a member, so all I can do is to invite the Spartan souls among you to hold a rough seminar in one of those islands where the children carry stones to the school to sit on. I hope you will come, to see under what conditions we, who have a real gift for words, have to learn to read and write. Now, friends, on behalf of Sir Grantley Adams, our Prime Minister, the Government and peoples of the West Indies, I thank the United Kingdom Government for proposing us for Associate Membership. And I thank the General Conference of Unesco for letting us stand on this privileged stepping-stone, midway to the attainment of full membership.

9. The PRESIDENT:

May I thank the delegate from the Federation of the West Indies and say how pleased we are to welcome her with us? Now we come to the question of the admission of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, as an Associate Member. We will hear from the leader of the Italian delegation.

10.1 Mr. CONTI (Italy) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Italian Government has had the honour of presenting the request for admission to Unesco, as Associate Member, of the Government of Somaliland under Italian administration. We are confident that the General Conference will receive this request favourably; for the presence of Somaliland in the great Unesco family will not only be the cause of legitimate satisfaction to the people of the Territory, who will now be able to contribute to the work of the Organization, but will also give keen pleasure to the Italian Government as a recognition of the work done by Italy, as Administering Authority, for the progress and economic and spiritual development of the Somali people.

10.2 We shall also interpret the admission of Somaliland as a reminder of the path which Italy herself has trod. My country entered the great family of the United Nations through Unesco; and in asking you to approve the proposal before you, we hope that the people of Somaliland may embark upon the course of international co-operation, and pursue it with the earnestness and determination which they have always displayed in accomplishing their national tasks.

11. The PRESIDENT:

We will put to the vote the question of the admission, as Associate Member of the Organization, of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. All those who approve may indicate their approval. Are there any objections? There being none, it is the consensus of this meeting that Associate Membership has been approved for Somaliland. I would like the delegate from the Trust Territory of Somaliland to come to the rostrum.

12.1 Mr. OMAR (Somaliland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, my emotion at this moment is only equalled by the honour you have conferred upon my country by admitting it to Associate Membership of the International Organization for Education, Science and Culture.

12.2 It is a great honour, and my emotion is also great. I ask you to bear this in mind in judging the value and meaning of my words, which may not be adequate to express all that I think and feel and all that it is my duty to say to you in the name of the nation and the Government which I am representing here today.

12.3 My fellow-countrymen know a great deal about this Organization which, under the emblem of the United Nations, is making the invaluable resources of knowledge available for the advancement of civilization and the well-being of the peoples, wherever the need arises. They wish me to express to Unesco their keen sense of gratitude and their most fervent hope and desire for the growth of this Organization, which never ceases its efforts to improve the lot

of mankind and to lead men, through science and culture, towards universal brotherhood.

12.4 As you know, in 1950 the General Assembly of the United Nations decided that Somaliland should become an indepent State on 2 December 1960, and entrusted the administration of this Territory to Italy. Since that date, my country has made remarkable progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, and has strengthened its free, democratic institutions. This was made abundantly clear to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations at its XIIth session this year; the Council unanimously adopted 24 resolutions clearly showing the excellent results obtained and the favourable prospects for the future, which will enable my country to approach the end of the period of Italian trusteeship with confidence.

12.5 In May 1956, the Italian Administration gave Somaliland the option of setting up its own government and its own legislative assembly. Since then, these bodies have been exercising their legislative and executive powers independently, and through them the people of Somaliland have been able to take part effectively and enthusiastically in the progress which I have already mentioned and of which they are justly proud.

12.6 For all this we are indebted to the United Nations which, in 1950, decided that the people of Somaliland were capable of self-government and that their political maturity justified this advance; and to the Italian Administration which, loyally and attentively, has in all respects endeavoured to promote and encourage our country's accession to political autonomy. In this place and in the presence of so many illustrious representatives of progress and of the future of culture and science, the people of Somaliland wish to express their full gratitude to the United Nations and to the Italian Government. Gratitude is also due to the Consultative Council of the United Nations at Mogadiscio, for its unceasing efforts to solve the problems of Somaliland, including that development of education which has always received particular attention.

12.7 Since the commencement of the trusteeship, Unesco's work in Somaliland has taken two forms: assistance from Unesco experts in the preparation of plans for the development of education, and the establishment of the first fundamental education centre, designed to train Somali officials and specialists.

12.8 The fundamental education centre at Dinsor has achieved the desired results, and on the basis of the experience gained there it is now possible to establish another centre of this type, at Villabruzzi. These centres are, in Somaliland, advance positions for the introduction and spreading of education among the agricultural and pastoral populations of the most remote areas.

12.9 The Government of Somaliland is now preparing to carry out a new five-year plan for education, in which the country's political and economic development is taken into account and provision is accordingly made for the training of staffs who will later be called upon to act as leaders in Somali public and non-official life.

12.10 In this task my Government also confidently hopes to obtain the help and advice of a Unesco expert.

12.11 To show the importance my Government attaches to the development of culture and education in our country, I shall read the words spoken by the Prime Minister, His Excellency Abdullahi Issa, to the Legislative Assembly of Somaliland, at the presentation of the first social development programme drawn up by the Government: "In the fields of culture and education, our principle and our programme may be summed up in a well-known saying: through education you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free".

12.12 With Unesco's assistance and advice, my Government is confident that it can successfully carry out this programme, based on respect for freedom of conscience and on that knowledge of realities which alone can enable man to work effectively to improve his lot and safeguard the future of his country.

13.1 The PRESIDENT:

To the delegate of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, may I say that it is a great pleasure to welcome him to the family of Unesco.

13.2 We come to the item on the agenda, "Recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission, to the tenth session, of observers from international non-governmental organizations". I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

ADMISSION OF OBSERVERS FROM INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

14. Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, may I present to the General Conference the Executive Board's recommendations concerning the admission of observers to the tenth session of the General Conference (item 5 of the agenda). These recommendations are the subject of documents 10 C/2 and 10 C/2 Addendum, which the delegations have before them.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of Jordan who wishes to speak on a point of order.

16.1 Mr. SALIM (Jordan):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I did not wish to interrupt the happy moment when we took the decision to admit the new Associate Members to our Organization. I felt obliged, however, to ask to speak on a point of order, before we proceed with any further discussion. I believe, Mr. President, that in the very first moment of your applauded presidency you were given misleading advice. Upon my request, your eminent predessor ruled, yesterday, that the election of the twelve Vice-Presidents be held by secret ballot, in accordance with paragraph 2 of Rule 87. The new President of the General Conference, was also kind enough to rule that the Conference would follow the requested practice; he even went further and appointed two tellers from Lebanon and Czechoslovakia. For reasons which I do not yet understand, I was asked to repeat my motion and, in the meantime, the President was given the wrong

advice, that the Rule applies only to the election of individuals and not to the election of Member States. This interpretation was put to the vote.

16.2 Mr. President, paragraph 2 of Rule 87 states "All other elections and decisions relating to individuals shall be voted on by secret ballot whenever five or more Members shall so request, or if the President so decides". I beg your pardon, Mr. President, if I underline the words "all other elections"; there could be no doubt that the Rule applies to all elections, whether involving individuals or Member States, whether these individuals are persons or individual Member States. I do not wish to dwell further on the significant meaning and implications of the advice given, I merely want to say that we felt obliged to say no to the whole list, because we did not approve the list as a whole. We wanted to vote the Vice-Presidencies, country by country, so that we could support the majority of the countries which were to be elected. Therefore, Mr. President, I wish to ask for legal advice on whether yesterday's vote meant an amendment of the Rule in such a way as to eliminate all elections, or meant a suspension of the Rule. If the House does not intend to do so, I would again ask for legal advice on the validity of yesterday's vote, when so many Member States expressed their wish to have a secret ballot.

17. The PRESIDENT:

I will now call upon the Legal Adviser to explain this matter.

18. Mr. SABA, Legal Adviser, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the difficulty which has been raised relates to the fact that yesterday the meeting voted on the list presented by the Nominations Committee. This is a list of countries for nomination to the Vice-Presidencies, and not a list of persons. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances in which the decision was taken, for I was attending a meeting of the Legal Committee when the discussions were in progress here. I do not know whether the conditions set out in Rule 87, to which the delegate of Jordan refers, were fulfilled. In any case, I consider that any objection to the procedure adopted should have been made and examined immediately, and I do not think that the decision which was approved by a majority yesterday can be reviewed now.

19.1 The PRESIDENT:

You have just heard from the Legal Adviser, and the ruling of the Presidency is in accord with what he has just said.

19.2 I call upon the delegate of Czechoslovakia.

20.1 Mr. HOFFMEISTER (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Czechoslovak delegation has noted with interest the Executive Board's recommendation concerning the invitation of representatives of certain non-governmental organizations. Our delegation has noted, however, that no account has been taken of the requests for admission, as observers to the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference, of the representatives of certain other international non-governmental organizations.

20.2 The Czechoslovak delegation notes with regret that Unesco is adopting a more and more negative attitude towards these organizations. Yet they are organizations which in the past have had consultative status with Unesco. It was only when tendencies hostile to international co-operation and even to the principles laid down in the Constitution appeared in our Organization that the legitimacy of their collaboration with Unesco began to be questioned.

20.3 Ladies and gentlemen, I entirely agree with those who think that students, for example, cannot and should not be prevented from sharing in Unesco's work, since these are the people who will one day have to bear the burden of the responsibilities which are at present yours, and the promotion of Unesco's ideas and aims will be in their hands.

20.4 In my capacity of professor at the Prague Academy of Decorative Arts, I am in constant touch with young people who are training to be artists, painters, sculptors, architects, or scenario-writers. I therefore feel obliged to request that a place among you, at least as observer, be reserved for the International Union of Students, which has expressed the desire to take part in the discussions at the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference in Paris.

20.5 Most of you have been students; and if you recall your years at college, school or university, you cannot ignore these young people's request.

20.6 If you wish to set an example to those who will fill the responsible post of delegate after you, you should give them the right to observe you during your deliberations.

20.7 I shall also take the liberty of suggesting that you ask your sons and daughters for their opinion. They are students of universities in all parts of the world, and I am sure their advice will be that you should adopt my standpoint on this question, which is of interest to all young people.

20.8 It is because students have often distinguished themselves in our country's history by their patriotic and progressive élan that the Czechoslovak delegation urges so particularly the admission of the International Union of Students to the sessions of Unesco's General Conference. Throughout the world, 17 November 1939 is observed as the anniversary of the heroic death of the Prague students who rose against the oppressor of a free people, against the occupier of their country. That anniversary is almost upon us, and I really should not like to have to refuse such a simple, natural request from students the world over; such a refusal might well reach them on the very day when they were thinking of their brothers and friends who met their death on 17 November.

20.9 I cannot forget that, in memory of the rising of the Prague students on 17 November 1939, Czechoslovakia has always been honoured in the person of a Czechoslovak student who is unanimously elected President of the International Union of Students.

20.10 The Czechoslovak delegation would be false to the spirit animating it if it failed to raise its voice in the defence of the rights of students. And it would be a betrayal of the spirit of Unesco if this distinguished assembly did not grant the young people the humble position of observers.

20.11 Ladies and gentlemen, I ask that you should

refer this decision back to the Executive Board, requesting it to reconsider its position as expressed in its recommendations concerning the admission of observers of international non-governmental organizations to the tenth session, and to give a favourable decision on the application made by the International Union of Students.

21.1 The PRESIDENT:
You have heard the motion. It is in good order; we will now open it for discussion. The motion is to refer the proposal to the Board for reconsideration, because the General Conference cannot act without the recommendation of the Executive Board.
21.2 I call upon the delegate of Hungary.

22.1 Mr. PATAKI (Hungary) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and delegates, according to the Rules of Procedure of Unesco's General Conference, representatives of international non-governmental organizations may attend the sessions of the Conference and its Commissions as observers.
22.2 On this basis, the representatives of many international non-governmental organizations are present in this room. It cannot be said, however, that all the most important organizations are represented here.
22.3 As we all know, Unesco is active in all sorts of fields in which youth is concerned. It is all the more astonishing that no invitation to this Conference has been issued to the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which represents ten million young people and has been outstandingly successful in safeguarding the interests of youth.
22.4 With the help of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, world festivals of young people and students are organized, which are attended by tens of thousands of young people from all over the world. Last year Unesco, too, sent its observer to the VIIth festival, held in Moscow. In recent years, the World Federation of Democratic Youth has participated in a number of international enterprises organized by Unesco. Moreover, it carries out a yearly international programme, covering the most varied fields of culture and knowledge in which young people are interested.
22.5 Apart from that programme, the aims and tasks of the Federation are in line with the principles set forth in Unesco's Constitution, inasmuch as its main mission is to strengthen understanding and co-operation between the young people of the entire world, without discrimination.
22.6 For these reasons, Mr. President, in the name of the Hungarian delegation I propose that the World Federation of Democratic Youth be invited to send its observers to the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference. Unless it has the active co-operation of this Federation, Unesco cannot really deal effectively with questions affecting youth. In the interests of Unesco's work, we cannot allow such important questions to be decided by political considerations. I therefore repeat my proposal that representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth be invited, and I propose that this question be reconsidered by the Executive Board.
22.7 In the name of the Hungarian delegation I also propose that an invitation should be extended to the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which has made and is still making great strides towards the fulfilment of its main task, in accordance with the slogan "The law in the service of peace". By its own energies and with the help of its national organizations in many of the countries of the world, this Association organizes international meetings and supports international co-operation, thus strengthening the rôle of the law in the maintenance of peace and the preservation of human dignity. For these reasons the Hungarian delegation proposes that this Association be invited to the General Conference.

23. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Bulgaria.

24.1 Mr. MILEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and delegates, in document 10 C/2 the Executive Board recommends that we admit to the tenth session of the General Conference four non-governmental foundations and six international non-governmental organizations. There is no need to enumerate them now. But from document 50 EX/25 we learn that it was not only these organizations which asked to be represented by observers; 28 other organizations made a similar request.
24.2 These latter organizations include some which have tens of millions of members throughout the whole world: the International Broadcasting Organization (OIR), the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), etc.
24.3 I do not wish to engage in a lengthy examination of the arguments which the Executive Board has advanced in recommending to us the four foundations and the six organizations I have mentioned, or of the reasons why the Board refused admission to the other 28 organizations.
24.4 What I should like to say - and this I found very striking - is that the Executive Board did not see fit to recommend an organization which, in my opinion, has all the qualities required of organizations requesting to be represented by observers at our General Conference. I wish, with your permission, to speak of the International Broadcasting Organization. Although I do not intend to tell you my life-history, I may mention that I love the theatre, as the very fact of my profession of producer indicates. I only wish to record my love for human dialogue - simple and complex, cruel and touching - and to say that I can admire a mimed dialogue, in the style of Marcel Marceau, but that I cannot bear a "dialogue of the deaf", especially when the speakers are organizations which deserve the full measure of our respect.
24.5 To what dialogue do I allude? To an unusual one - between an organization like the International Broadcasting Organization, which has made request after request that it be granted consultative or observer's status with Unesco, and the Executive Board. The Board does not refuse to answer; but it rejects OIR's applications, for reasons which, to say the least, are illogical. What are we to say, for example, of its refusal to recognize the international character of an organization with a membership of 21 national broadcasting centres which reach more

than a thousand million men and women and have tens of millions of subscribers? What can we say of its attitude in denying, against all evidence, the similarity - one might almost say the identity - of OIR's aims and methods, which are clearly peaceful, and those of Unesco?

24.6 Gentlemen, I wish to speak the language of truth, which is the language we all prize. In February 1957, OIR promoted and organized an international conference on the access of the general public to symphonic and chamber music. Only a few weeks age, in October of this year, during a festival, OIR investigated the effects of light music on listeners in general. In June 1957 at Prague and in January 1958 at Bucharest, two conferences were held which drew up an international programme for "Science in the service of peace". Under OIR auspices, a conference took place in Warsaw, in 1957, which determined measures to be taken to improve radio broadcasts for young listeners of school age. In March and again in May 1958, OIR organized a competition for films produced by its members for television. In connexion with this competition, educational films were shown in Moscow by United States of America television.

24.7 None of the broadcasting stations which are members of OIR supports the cold war or nuclear war, in any form or under any pretext, as a remedy against the ills of a society which is losing its way as it wanders beneath the lowering sky of the atomic storm.

24.8 In view of all these facts, it would be flying in the face of the evidence to maintain that the aims of OIR are in the slightest degree different from those of Unesco.

24.9 Is it not strange, or perhaps tragic, that in this dialogue one of the protagonists often invites his opponent to join in his game and thus - truth being stronger than any subterfuge - admits that he has the status and dignity of an institution with undeniable authority in the international sphere? On several occasions, OIR has been asked to take part in international conferences and meetings organized by Unesco. That was the case in Tangier, in September 1955, when OIR took part in the meeting of experts held to establish international collaboration between film and television; in London, in 1954, where an international conference was held on educational and cultural television programmes; and in Paris, in 1956, in connexion with exchanges of televised films. Finally, in Leipzig in 1955, a Unesco representative took part in the second session of OIR's Programme Committee.

24.10 Now, Unesco is again seeking to collaborate with OIR. It is inviting it to take part in the work of the World Committee for the establishment of an International Association for Mass Communication Research. This invitation has been accepted by OIR, as befits a broad-minded organization which considers that the work, and not some mental reservation, is the main thing. Not long ago, in August 1958, it also attended the Geneva Conference on Copyright.

24.11 At Unesco's suggestion, OIR three times - in September 1957 at Edinburgh, and in May and October 1958 in Paris - took part in conferences which met to set up an International Council for Film and Television attached to Unesco. Again at Unesco's invitation, OIR informed its national centres of Unesco's decisions concerning the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights.

24.12 There have been still more invitations and meetings. More important still, OIR is a corresponding member of the Union of International Associations, at Brussels, which has consultative status with Unesco. And to crown it all, OIR is one of the non-governmental organizations which have consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which, as you know, exercises a directing influence on Unesco's activities. It reminds me of the simile current in my country, to the effect that the mayor of the town gives permission for wood to be cut down, but the rural policeman subordinate to him refuses to pass on that authorization.

24.13 It would seem that there is envy of the abstract wall paintings in the building in which we are now trying to preserve the spirit of complete understanding between men! Unfortunately, however, the dialogue is not yet over. We learn, not without astonishment, that this International Broadcasting Organization, which is sometimes accused of every sin and is refused the smallest recognition of status in the Unesco family, has already been permitted to send observers to the ninth session of the General Conference, at New Delhi.

24.14 In fact, gentlemen, we are moving in a vicious circle which may well make us doubt our own judgement. And with a view to this contest ending in a way which will be to the satisfaction of both parties - that is, of us all - I would like to make the following statement on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

24.15 The evidence shows that OIR is an organization unquestionably wedded to Unesco's lofty aims, to peace which ripens within the minds of men, and to co-operation among men of goodwill, which excludes any use of force in the sphere of intellectual development.

24.16 It is undeniable that, by reason of OIR's origin and the number of its national centres, the work of this body is the work of a clearly international organization, capable of spreading a knowledge of the great tasks which fall to Unesco and of contributing to their fulfilment.

24.17 It is time we recognized the fact that there has long been effective collaboration between Unesco and OIR, and that this collaboration continues even today.

24.18 So, gentlemen, let us welcome to our midst the International Broadcasting Organization, which has always been our friend. Let us return to it the right of being represented by observers at our tenth session, the right which it already enjoyed at the ninth session.

25. The PRESIDENT:
The delegate of Ecuador has asked to be heard.

26. Mr. MARTINEZ COBO (Ecuador) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and delegates, the delegation of Ecuador does not think that this is the proper occasion on which to embark upon the history, analysis and praise of non-governmental organizations, since the Administrative Commission will in the next few days

have to consider these organizations and their relations with Unesco. In order, therefore, to prevent this debate from continuing indefinitely, the delegation of Ecuador formally proposes the adoption of the Executive Board's recommendation as contained in document 10 C/2, leaving it open for all non-governmental organizations desiring to send observers to this Conference to make their requests, for consideration by the Executive Board, whose opinion must be given before this Conference can take its decision.

27.1 The PRESIDENT:

The motion pending before this body is the proposal which has been submitted by the delegation of Ecuador, that you adopt 10 C/2 and 10 C/2 Addendum, and refer to the Executive Board, for reconsideration, all other proposals regarding admission of observers from non-governmental organizations. Does anyone else wish to speak on this motion? If not, I will submit it to a vote. This requires a two-thirds majority. All those in favour of this proposal please so indicate by a show of hands. All those opposed; abstentions. The results of the vote are as follows: In favour, 45; against, 0; abstentions, 10. The motion is carried.

27.2 We will now proceed to the next item on the agenda: the presentation by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Reports of the Director-General and of the proposed programme and budget, and also the report of the Executive Board on its own activities.

27.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

PRESENTATION BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 AND OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD'S REPORT ON ITS OWN ACTIVITIES

28.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, now that the agenda has been approved and the General Committee constituted, and the work of the General Conference has begun, it is my honour and duty to present to the Conference a number of important documents which will form the basis of the discussions in plenary meeting and in the Commissions. I could have presented them separately, Mr. President, and spoken several times, with your permission. But because of the many connexions between these various documents, it has seemed to me preferable to present them with one speech.

28.2 I therefore intend to make only one statement, so that I shall have to claim the attention of the Conference for a certain time. Your patience, therefore, will be put to the test but once and, I may venture to say, without interruption ... unless I am obliged by the youthful caprice of our microphones and our simultaneous translation system to pause and stop at times, which would perhaps be welcome.

28.3 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with Article V.9 of the Constitution I have the honour to present to the General Conference the Director-General's report on the activities of the Organization in 1957 and the supplementary report concerning the first six months of 1958 (document 10 C/3).

28.4 During the past two-year period, the Executiv Board has on several occasions had an opportunity to examine the reports on the activities of the Organization presented to it by the Director-General. The Board has formulated comments on them which have been communicated to the General Conference in document 10 C/6, and which the Reports Committee, meeting last week, was asked to consider as part of its work, in accordance with the procedure laid down at the last session of the General Conference (resolution 51). I do not think it necessary at this stage to give a detailed account of the text of these comments.

28.5 However, I wish to state that at the beginning of 1957 the Executive Board, in agreement with the Director-General, fixed a standard interval for the submission to the Board of the reports on the activities of the Organization. This time-table, which is co-ordinated with that for the reports intended for presentation to the General Conference, has made it possible to systematize the Secretariat's work in this regard. Indeed, with one exception, the same documents are now examined by the Executive Board and the General Conference in succession.

28.6 Moreover, I should not fail to record the satisfaction expressed by the Board as to the form and presentation of the reports submitted to it by the Director-General since the introduction of this new system, and as to the way in which the Director-General, in drawing up these reports, has used the suggestions made to him in the course of the Board's discussions.

28.7 In the words of the Constitution, the Executive Board is responsible for the execution of the programme, and accordingly examines the Director-General's reports and his proposals for amending the work plans. It is also its duty to assist the Director-General, by its deliberations and advice, in the preparation of the future programme and budget.

28.8 I should like to say that in the last two years, as in the past, there has been a spirit of complete co-operation between the Executive Board and the Secretariat on these subjects, which I have taken as examples because of their importance. In the name of the Board, I wish to express to the Director-General and his colleagues our very deep appreciation of, and our sincere thanks for, all the assistance they have given the Board in the performance of its duties.

28.9 Now, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, I have the honour to present to the Conference the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (document 10 C/5 Revised), which, as you know, is the outcome of the most detailed work on the part of the Director-General, undertaken in consultation with the Member States and the international organizations, and in the preparation of which the Executive Board has been closely associated.

28.10 At three successive stages, in fact, the Board was consulted by the Director-General on the Proposed Programme and Budget for the next two years, in conformity with the procedure laid down at the ninth session of the General Conference.

28.11 The first exchange of views on the main lines of the Proposed Programme took place at the

48th session of the Board, in May 1957. Subsequently, when examining document 10 C/5, which was a preliminary Proposed Programme and Budget, the Board formulated provisional comments, which constituted its recommendations to the Director-General for the revision of that document. Document 10 C/5 Revised, which the General Conference is about to examine and which it is my privilege to present to it, was examined by the Board in September; on this document the Board made comments and recommendations which appear in document 10 C/5 Rev. Add. I. Further, at its 52nd session held last week, the Board examined Corrigenda I-V to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. Its observations and recommendations appear as a supplement to document 10 C/5 Rev. Add. I which I have just mentioned.

28.12 I should like to emphasize that in preparing the revised proposed programme the Director-General took the fullest account of the Executive Board's comments, and that for this reason the comments and recommendations which the Board is now presenting to the General Conference on the revised document concern only a comparatively small number of questions.

28.13 Mr. President, it is also my duty to present to the General Conference the report which the Executive Board has submitted to it, in document 10 C/7, concerning its own activities since the last session of the General Conference. For reasons which I shall indicate, this part of my statement will be rather more detailed.

28.14 This is, indeed, the first time that the Board's activities have been the subject of a written report, separate from the Director-General's reports on the activities of the Organization. In the past, the General Conference has been informed of the Board's activities, either by a chapter incorporated in the Director-General's report or, more recently, by an oral statement made by the Chairman of the Executive Board to the General Conference.

28.15 In the current two-year period, the Executive Board has been conscious of the fact that its task has broadened considerably as a result of the expansion of Unesco's programmes, and that it was assuming additional responsibilities because of its present status as an intergovernmental body. The Board therefore thought that it should, by presenting the General Conference with a relatively detailed overall picture of the Board's activities, enable the Conference to have a first-hand account of the Board's work.

28.16 In introducing the report, I am glad to take the opportunity of paying a tribute to my eminent predecessor, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, who until recently performed the duties of Chairman of the Executive Board so authoritatively, objectively and ably. In carrying out his important duties, it has been Dr. Veronese's constant aim to find ways of improving the Executive Board's working methods, so that, acting in close collaboration with the Director-General and the Secretariat, it may accomplish its task with the greatest efficiency and under the best possible conditions.

28.17 The Executive Board made a point of keeping separate the two parts of this report, which it regards as complementary.

28.18 Part I which is made up of nine sections, gives a very succinct account of the internal organization of the Board as a whole, and of the work it has accomplished. It seemed neither possible nor desirable to summarize the Board's deliberations and conclusions on each question. Indeed, the questions dealt with in this part of the report are the same as those which the General Conference will be examining in the course of its work, and the outcome of the collaboration between the Board and the Director-General is to be seen in the documents submitted to the Conference, which, where necessary, contain fuller information on the Board's discussions and on the recommendations made by the Board to the General Conference, and on which the latter is asked to give a decision.

28.19 Accordingly, after an introduction which deals in particular with the membership of the Board, the duties of its subsidiary bodies and the number and duration of its sessions, the aim in sections II and III has been to give an account of the part played by the Board in the execution of the programme and in the preparation of the future programme.

28.20 As to the execution of the programme, the Board did not confine itself to examining the Director-General's reports on the activities of the Organization. It also gave careful attention to the proposed modifications to the work plans submitted to it by the Director-General in cases where the plans, drawn up before and during the ninth session of the General Conference, had to be adapted to circumstances, because of new factors which arose during 1957 and 1958.

28.21 Further, in conformity with the special mandate given to it by the General Conference at its ninth session, the Executive Board proceeded with the balancing of the budget. In accordance with the procedure laid down by the General Conference, it also drew up work plans for the three major projects adopted by the Conference. Lastly, it gave special attention to the execution of the Participation Programme, the activities of Member States and the Technical Assistance Programme.

28.22 Section III deals with the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. I referred to its contents a moment ago, when I presented document 10 C/5 Revised, which the Programme Commission will shortly begin studying.

28.23 Co-operation with the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, which is developing and expanding every year, is dealt with in Section IV. In a few minutes I shall explain how this section is completed by a study in the second part of the document.

28.24 Section V deals with relations with international non-governmental organizations. The directives concerning these relations, which were adopted by the General Conference, impose upon the Executive Board a number of tasks in this matter. This was the main field of action of our External Relations Commission, under the chairmanship of our lamented colleague, Mr. Juan Estelrich y Artigues, and, later, Mgr Maroun. The Commission is to be congratulated upon the methodical accomplishment of its task.

28.25 Section VI is devoted to Administrative and Financial Questions. As well as work for which the Board was responsible under the regulations in force and the resolutions adopted at the last session of the

General Conference - for example, resolution 9 C/27, which concerns the examination of the administrative management of the Secretariat - the Board had to undertake fresh tasks as a result of circumstances which could not be foreseen. Thus, the change in the exchange rate of the French franc and the rising cost of living made it necessary for the Director-General and the Executive Board to adopt a series of measures which are shown in the relevant documents. Here special mention should be made of the assistance in this field that the Board received from its Administrative Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Gardner Davies, whose experience and ability are well known to the General Conference. The Commission made a careful study of these questions and submitted to the Board recommendations which greatly eased its task. The work of the Commission deserves the highest praise.

28.26 Section VII comprises a number of other items which the Board had to consider in view of the tenth session of the Conference and which were not directly connected with any of the preceding sections.

28.27 Before I speak of the conclusions, which are the subject of the last section of Part I, I shall give a short account of the contents of Part II, which consists of a number of studies on which, for various reasons, the Board thought it useful to report to the General Conference.

28.28 At its last session, the General Conference requested the Executive Board (resolution 9 C/16) to make a study, in close co-operation with the Director-General, of the major problems which confront the Organization - problems relating to the execution of its programme and the development of its work within the framework of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, with particular attention to the following points:

(a) Firstly, the extent to which Member States are collaborating effectively in the application of the programme in fields where their participation is required;

(b) Secondly, policy relating to the execution of the field programme by bodies such as Regional Fundamental Education Centres, special institutes, etc.;

(c) Thirdly, policy as regards consultations with National Commissions;

(d) Fourthly, policy as regards the composition and functions of advisory committees, and consultations with these committees and with non-governmental organizations;

(e) Finally, policy regarding co-ordination of Unesco's activities with those of the other bodies of the United Nations and those of the Specialized Agencies.

28.29 Because of the scope of this study, it did not seem practicable to examine all the problems mentioned in it in one session. The Board therefore studied them separately; in some cases - in particular, that of co-ordination and concerted action and that of methods of consultation with National Commissions - it resumed the study it had already undertaken, and continued it at its next session, in order to be able to take new factors into account.

28.30 In Chapter 1 of the second part of its report, the Board presents to the General Conference these studies of various aspects of the general policy of the Organization. It may cause some surprise, Mr. President, that in some of these studies no definite conclusions are reached. It is my opinion, however, that by their nature they could have no other object than to widen perspectives - this is especially true of co-ordination and concerted action - and these perspectives lead to a future which it is our duty to build.

28.31 Chapter 2 reports on a study of the delimitation of the respective responsibilities and functions of the Executive Board and the Director-General. The Board commenced this study after it had examined the Report of the Management Survey Committee. It thought the conclusions it reached would interest the General Conference, and therefore considered it advisable to give an account of this study in its report.

28.32 Chapter 3 deals with work plans. When balancing the budget in accordance with the Directives given it by the General Conference, the Board proceeded to discuss the nature and legal implications of the work plans examined by the General Conference in relation to the programme resolutions. Here again it seemed desirable to transmit to the General Conference the observations it had made on this subject, so that the Conference might, if it wished, give its opinion of the conclusions that the Executive Board had reached.

28.33 Chapter 4 deals with the decisions and recommendations of the Executive Board with regard to reducing the number and volume of official documents. The Board has been concerned with the growing cost to the Organization of producing these documents, and it undertook to consider steps which might be taken to reduce this burden. With the assistance of the Director-General, from whom it received pertinent comments, the Board took steps to make substantial savings in regard to its own documents. The Board's recommendations on General Conference documents are submitted to the Conference in a separate document (document 10 C/47).

28.34 Our Organization has, of course, grown very quickly. At the first session of the General Conference, in 1946, there were 27 Member States; four years later, at the end of the fifth session, in 1950, that number had more than doubled. Today there are three times as many, and we may rejoice that Unesco now has 81 Member States and several Associate Members, and collaborates with nearly 150 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. In view of this growth, it is essential that the organs of Unesco should realize their capacities and their limitations; for its own part, the Executive Board has been conscious of its increasingly important task and, to cope with it, has striven to improve its working methods. In the last few years, several factors have contributed to add to the Board's responsibilities.

28.35 I should like to make special mention of a few of these: First, the adoption of biennial sessions of the General Conference: the longer interval between sessions has made the Board's rôle more important and more difficult. Secondly, the change in the status of members of the Executive Board, who, as representatives of their governments, have to consult the latter on many questions and often cannot answer questions they are asked until they have held those consultations. Lastly, the increase in the Board's membership and in the number of

working languages, which undoubtedly affects the length of the Board's meetings.

28.36 On account of these factors, with their inevitable repercussions on the number and length of sessions, the Board has striven to revise its working methods, in order to perform its duties with maximum efficiency. Thus it has reduced the number of its permanent commissions to two, making them more representative, and has made very wide use of their findings. Many of the items on the Board's agenda were studied by both the Administrative Commission and the External Relations Commission immediately prior to the Board's sessions. The observations and recommendations which they submitted to the Board did much to facilitate its task and enabled it to devote a large part of its time to questions concerning the Organization's programme. Furthermore, the study of a number of problems which had to be examined between the Board's sessions was entrusted to committees and working parties, which have also done very useful work. I should like to pay a tribute to the skill and industry of their chairmen and members.

28.37 These reforms in the Board's working methods and its efforts to reduce and rationalize its documentation have had results which the Board submits to the General Conference for appraisal, I think, however, that in the present circumstances and in view of the numerous duties entrusted to the Board under the Constitution and the various rules of the Organization, it must be agreed that the Board cannot possibly carry out its duties in a shorter time. In mentioning the results that have been obtained, I would merely express the hope that constant efforts will be made, in close collaboration with the Secretariat, to improve the Board's working methods.

28.38 In submitting the report of its activities to the General Conference, the Board hopes that the report, and especially the studies given in the second part of it, will help the General Conference in its work. The Reports Committee has already had an opportunity to consider some of the chapters, notably, the sections of the study undertaken in pursuance of resolution 9 C/16, concerning the collaboration of Member States in the execution of the programme, consultations with National Commissions and observations relating to the periodical reports on human rights. The Board hopes that the Programme Commission and the Administrative Commission will also find in this report material which they can take into consideration in their discussions.

28.39 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Board would like the General Conference to say whether it wishes to be presented with a similar report at its eleventh session and, if so, to make recommendations as to its content and form of presentation.

28.40 Mr. President, in a few days' time the Executive Board will be reconstituted in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, and the new Board will have to carry on the task that has been ours for the past two years. May it find in our work not perhaps a complete and perfect achievement - for no one in this world can claim perfection - but at least the fruits of an experience which will enable it successfully to continue our humble endeavours in the service of the Organization.

29. The PRESIDENT:

You have heard the report of the Chairman of the Executive Board, Mr. Raadi, on the reports of the Director-General and on the programme and budget, and also on the activities of the Executive Board. I thank the Chairman of the Executive Board and wish to advise him that his suggestions will be taken up at the end of the general discussion. The general discussion on the report of the Director-General and on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 will now commence. The first speaker is Mr. Cals, delegate of the Netherlands.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960

30.1 Mr. CALS (Netherlands) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, after six years' absence, the Unesco General Conference meets again in Paris for its tenth session, where it also held its first.

30.2 We have returned to the place where the Organization first spread its wings; and we are occupying new quarters, which have all the charm as well as all the disadvantages of a new home; we are in a permanent building, in one of the chief centres of world culture. We have good reason, Mr. President, for self-congratulation, and we can offer many themes for an academic, poetic speech, especially to a Minister for Arts and Sciences. Would that the item on the agenda were not "Consideration of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959 and 1960" and would I were not bound, as Minister for Education, to set an example of strict obedience to the master's rules!

30.3 I venture to believe, however, Mr. President, that all these factors - renewed awareness of the basic objectives of our work in common, new tools, eagerly desired but not yet entirely under our control, and a maturity the fruits of which only avail the picking - all these factors are to be found in the projects which appear on our agenda.

30.4 After a period of trial and error, during which we did not perhaps pay enough attention to hard facts, the Organization has set itself resolutely to a task directed towards concrete achievements. Its maturity can be seen in the universal scope of its activity and in its full awareness of the "top priorities" in the work to be done. It is not too much to say that in Unesco the world today possesses an instrument which can be of great service to the cultural uplift of mankind, to the promotion of international co-operation in matters of the intellect and of technology and to a better international understanding among the peoples - all indispensable factors if a just and lasting peace is to be secured.

30.5 "Concrete achievements", Mr. President, should not be taken to mean "practical results". This brings me to the much-debated question of the division of the programme between so-called "general activities" and "special activities". This year, once again, the sums set aside for the latter have been increased at the cost of the former. Mr. President, the appeals to the Organization by many Member States for help in solving their most concrete and

most pressing problems may be perfectly legitimate - and, as you know, the Netherlands Government does all it can, within the framework of the United Nations, to encourage help to underdeveloped countries. But Unesco must not forget that one of its aims according to the Constitution is to help "maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge ... by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity". Unesco inherited this task from the League of Nations International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and has broadened and deepened it. I notice with keen interest that in the document headed "Appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council" the Director-General refers to "Development of International Co-operation" as the first of the fields of action of our Organization and that, in the introductory paragraph to this chapter, the problem is set out briefly and clearly. Mr. President, I cannot find the corollary of all these ideas in the proposed programme. Is it not a matter of urgency, for example, to make a substantial increase, within the framework of present budget, in subsidies granted to large international non-governmental institutions, such as the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and the International Council of Scientific Unions, which work within the field under consideration? Is there not a need to develop the "General Activities" section of the Department of Cultural Activities? All the arguments on this question which were so well stated by the distinguished Chairman of the French delegation at the General Conference at Montevideo in 1954 are still valid - indeed, I should say that they are reinforced by the change in circumstances since then. It can never be made too clear that technical assistance and direct aid depend upon constant scientific progress. I should add that in the long run scientific progress cannot be valid unless it is based on spiritual and intellectual advancement, both that of man, who originates it, and that of the human personality, which benefits directly from it.

30.6 The second point to which I wish to call your attention - and it gives me great satisfaction to do so - is that in the proposed programme for the coming years emphasis has been placed on the concentration of the Organization's activities on a few problems which are especially urgent in the present historical circumstances, and need to be solved as quickly as possible by united and intensified efforts.

30.7 The extension of primary education in Latin America, scientific research on arid zones and the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values are not only problems to which Unesco's greatest efforts and a large proportion of its resources should be devoted; the very fact that Unesco, with the world-wide prestige it now enjoys and with the unanimous support of its Member States, should plan a programme of active effort in these fields gives the whole world a new and a great hope - hope of a higher standard of education, of increased material well-being and, above all, of general cultural enrichment, based on nations' improved knowledge of each other and therefore on better international understanding. I shall pause for a moment, Mr. President, to consider the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, in relation to which the following problems occur to me. There is a real danger - and the Director-General, I know, is well aware of it - of regarding this project as if it related to two blocs, each homogeneous, each with its own character, placed side by side or - still more serious - face to face. The situation is in fact quite different and, as is always the case, not nearly so clear-cut. It seems to me that what we must do is to discover the main currents of civilization throughout the world - the culture of Hinduism, for example, or that of Buddha, the culture of Islam, the world of the Chinese alphabet, as well as the great spiritual and cultural currents deriving from classical humanism and Christianity. A monolithic, black-and-white conception of the problem may well hinder understanding rather than encourage it. At the other extreme is a danger equally great - the danger of seeing the National State as the formative as well as the representative element in a culture. The State may be greater or smaller than the cultural values the comprehension of which is to be encouraged. It may be smaller in the sense that cultural streams often reach far beyond national frontiers; it may be greater in the sense that there may be several very different centres of culture within one State, especially if it is a large one geographically.

30.8 We all know that both in the conception and in in the execution of this Major Project there are many other points which will have to be worked out after careful study by the Advisory Committee and the Secretariat. In the realization of this project, however, the main point appears to be, not the adoption of new methods of cultural co-operation nor even the organization of new activities, but a new orientation which would put all our activities in a world perspective. The technical tools at our disposal, Mr. President, are on the whole adequate. Here again, it is the spirit infusing us which will determine the effect of our action.

30.9 I now come, Mr. President, to my third and last point - a fresh awareness of our work in common, coinciding with the permanent establishment of the Organization in a new building, in the heart of the French capital.

30.10 The Government of the Netherlands has warmly supported the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations relating to the overall appraisal of programmes that the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies will undertake in the economic and social fields in the next five years. In the opinion of my government, this study is of the greatest interest to the United Nations, to the Specialized Agencies - both singly and together - and also, and not least, to the governments which provide them with the means of working for the improvement of economic and social conditions throughout the world. This study will permit of an entirely fresh appraisal of the various international activities and of the direction they will take, and will also show whether as a whole these activities meet the real and urgent needs of man as effectively as possible.

30.11 It will, moreover, reveal the relationship between these activities and so will encourage closer collaboration and concerted action on the part of the interested organizations, as well as the concentration of efforts that we all desire. The appraisal made

possible by this study will make it easier for governments to strike a true balance in the distribution of the total funds they will be able to allocate between the activities undertaken within the framework of the United Nations family.

20.12 As for Unesco, the General Conference will be able to use such a study as a basis for determining the content of the Organization's programme and the funds which will be required to execute it, while bearing in mind the intrinsic worth of the proposed activities. The Netherlands delegation hopes to see this question settled in the not too distant future, and it is in this spirit, Mr. President, that it will favour the global increase in the budget proposed by the Director-General for the two-year period 1959-1960.

30.13 My delegation considers it very important that our Organization, after conscientiously examining the road it has already traversed, should use its experience to determine its exact aims for the coming years. Tribute is due to the Director-General and his colleagues, as well as to the Executive Board, for their efforts to establish a synthesis and to use creative imagination in drawing up the document relating to this question.

30.14 Mr. President, the move to this new building may be of great importance to the delegates who are attending this General Conference, but its main interest is for the Secretariat staff. In the setting of this new building, erected in accordance with the principles of modern architecture and, I imagine, fitted with all the technical facilities of our day, in this building, to the erection of which the Director-General, to his great credit, has devoted untiring efforts, the men and women of the Secretariat will have to give of their best day by day. International civil service work is an exacting vocation. As well as the difficulty of its organization there are serious psychological disadvantages in living away from one's own traditional background, among people of a different culture and a different mentality, not to speak of the need to use a language which is most often not one's mother tongue.

30.15 It will be the duty of the General Conference to study the Director-General's report on the results of a management survey of the Secretariat. I find some very pertinent suggestions in this survey. It is indeed essential that Member States should always be able to rely on a sound administration of international organizations. Countries will be much more ready to give their aid if they are certain that the international machine will use the means provided for it with maximum effectiveness and competence. It is not my intention, Mr. President, to go into this question now, but in the presence of this illustrious gathering I wish to stress one point - whatever the technical facilities of the new buildings, however high a degree of perfection is reached by the organization of the Secretariat, it would all mean nothing, or almost nothing, if there were not, in the mind and heart of every man and woman in the Secretariat, a spark of that sacred flame which makes us love our neighbour as ourselves. It is the difficult yet noble task of the Director-General to keep this flame alive in the heart of each of his colleagues and to use the goodwill thus gained for the service of the concrete aims of the Organization. In view of the international composition of the Secretariat, Mr. President, I wonder whether this is not perhaps an important Major Project in mutual comprehension to be carried out. It is not for the General Conference to fix a programme in this field, which in any case it could not formulate, since its realization is in the hands of the Director-General and his colleagues. That is why the Netherlands delegation hopes that the objective I have just indicated will always be kept clearly in the mind of the man who carries the heaviest responsibility in the Secretariat.

30.16 I am glad to have this opportunity, at this stage in my speech, to express the gratitude of the Netherlands delegation for the work accomplished by the Director-General, Dr. Evans. Its quality is unmistakable, and I feel that in this survey of the activities and assets of Unesco I should not fail to emphasize it.

30.17 To conclude, Mr. President, I should like, with your permission, to address a few words of thanks to the Government which is our host at this tenth session and to our friends of the French delegation. True, many countries have contributed gifts towards the furnishing of Unesco House, but our heartfelt gratitude is due to the French Government, to whom we are indebted for making the land available, lending us large sums of money interest-free and providing us with many other facilities. Unesco House appears to us not only as the symbol of the desire of all peoples to understand each other better through increasingly close cultural relations, but also as a fresh proof of the esteem of the French people and of their Government for the permanent and most precious of human values.

30.18 These values, Mr. President, receive the constant and very special attention of my country and, as Head of the Netherlands delegation at this tenth session of the General Conference, I have tried to bear witness to that fact. In so doing, I may have abused the patience of the meeting; if so, may I hope that you will attribute the length of my speech to the keen interest which my Government and myself as Minister for Education, Arts and Sciences take in the work of this Conference and of Unesco generally.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

6 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)
later: Mr. Juan Miguel MEJIA (Honduras)

CONTENTS

Address by the delegate of Ghana 74
Address by the President 76
General Committee's recommendations (inter alia on the question of the representation of China in Unesco) 79
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of Afghanistan, Venezuela, Switzerland and Turkey 85

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, our colleague Mr. Nylander, who is Head of the delegation of Ghana, has asked to speak to you at the beginning of this meeting. I therefore call upon Mr. Nylander.

ADDRESS BY THE DELEGATE OF GHANA

2.1 Mr. NYLANDER (Ghana):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I am very proud indeed to be the leader of the first delegation of the independent State of Ghana to attend a Unesco General Conference. I am proud, and so, also, is the Government which I represent, that since April this year Ghana has become a full Member of this great international Organization.

2.2 I and the other members of the Ghana delegation consider it a great honour that the occasion of our admission to full membership of Unesco should coincide with the opening of this most beautiful building, the final home of this Organization. We are greatly impressed by the proportions and the symmetry of the building and desire to express our grateful thanks to the host country of France for all it has done to make it possible for this meeting to open here.

2.3 On this occasion we are glad to pay tribute to the Government of the United Kingdom for their kindness and foresight in sponsoring, in 1954, our admission to Unesco as an Associate Member. They have every right to take a legitimate pride in our attainment now to full membership of this august body.

2.4 We may have some points to make about the programme, and this we shall do in Committee, but at this time I wish to bring you the felicitations of our Government and the people of the independent State of Ghana.

2.5 As delegates are aware, my country was admitted to Associate Membership of Unesco in 1954 and, since then, has been actively participating in the work of this Organization in a number of spheres. Unesco experts have been sent to assist us in various fields, particularly in the production and sale of vernacular literature, and we have profited from scholarships awarded to selected individuals to enable them to study educational and social developments abroad. In return, we have been very pleased to contribute to the common pool by accepting persons from abroad who wished to study our achievements in fundamental education, community development and the provision of library services.

2.6 Now that my country has entered into full membership of Unesco, I hope that this programme of mutual assistance will be extended, and that Ghana will be able to play an increasing rôle in the work of Unesco in striving to secure a better life for the peoples of all lands.

2.7 In this connexion, I should like to mention that my Government has just recently agreed in principle that Ghana should act as host country for a Seminar for Administrators of Vocational and Technical Education, and provisional arrangements are already being made for the seminar to be held at the University College of Ghana, in April 1960. My Government is honoured that Ghana should have been selected as the venue for this seminar, which we hope will make a considerable contribution towards the all-important development of technical education in Africa. We welcome this early opportunity of showing that we take very seriously our new responsibilities as a full Member State. Another indication of our serious intentions is the setting up, early this year, of a Ghana National Commission for Unesco which, with the assistance of its various supporting bodies, will act as a national co-ordinating centre for all Unesco matters.

2.8 As Minister of Education in the Ghana Government, I am glad to report the continued progress of my country in educational and cultural spheres since the last General Conference. Two years ago, at

New Delhi, Mr. Maté, who was the leader of the then Gold Coast delegation, had to refer to the difficult financial position facing my Government owing to the fall of the world price of cocoa and the consequent reduction in the amount of money available for educational development. Since then, I am glad to say, the cocoa price has recovered and the emphasis can once more be placed on expansion. Indeed, my Government is now finalizing its proposals for a new development plan to begin next year, in which I am sure that educational development will play a prominent part.

2.9 In one important educational sphere, which is the provision of primary schooling for all who want it, I think my Government can now claim to have succeeded. Our middle school system has continued to expand and I am especially glad to report that the number of girls receiving education in such schools has nearly trebled in the last seven years. Much progress has also been made in secondary education, but it must be admitted that the number of places in secondary schools is still not nearly enough to satisfy the demand for them or to provide for the personnel needs of modern Ghana. Great attention is being given to this problem in drawing up proposals for the next development plan. My Government is also much concerned with the development of technical education: in this sphere the greatest handicap is the shortage of qualified teachers. The world-wide expansion in technical education makes overseas recruitment extremely difficult and we are therefore making plans for the establishment, with the anticipated assistance of training staff provided under one of the technical aid programmes, of a permanent technical teacher-training course in Ghana.

2.10 I am glad, also, to be able to report continued progress in the sphere of community development which, in Ghana, embraces the field of fundamental education and is regarded as a means of improving the way of life of our people through their active participation in the programme. There is keen international interest in my Government's work in this sphere as is indicated by the number of visitors from other countries who have come to study it. The community development organization now covers the whole country and includes four main fields; adult literacy, work among women in the sphere of home economics, self-help construction projects and extension services in the rural areas, conducted on behalf of other government departments. In all these four fields a considerable advance has been made in recent years. From April 1952 up to the end of 1957, 129,000 persons were awarded the Ghana certificate of literacy, obtained through mass education classes conducted by voluntary teachers. By the end of 1957 there were over 24,000 women in home economics classes in the rural areas. By the same date, more than 1,200 village self-help construction projects had been completed. These projects cover a wide variety of services such as post offices, minor roads, schools, clinics, sanitary services and water supplies; all the unskilled labour is provided by the people themselves assisted by technical guidance and equipment provided by the Government. Extension campaigns carried out on behalf of other government departments have been principally in the fields of health and agriculture and have done much to raise local standards in the rural areas.

2.11 In connexion with the adult literacy campaign I should mention that the National Literature Bureau, the main function of which was the publication of material for new literates in the various national languages, has now been reorganized as The Bureau of National Languages of Ghana. The rôle of the Bureau has now been broadened so as to place the main emphasis on the publication of literature for the general public, with special regard to the needs of schoolchildren for suitable textbooks and supplementary reading books.

2.12 In the sphere of mass communication, I am also able to report progress. There has been a most striking increase in radio audiences in Ghana during the past two years, in fact they have almost doubled. There are now estimated to be 600,000 listeners - which is about 12% of the population - and the number continues to grow. The increase in size of the audience has been accompanied by improvements in the broadcasting service, including a new and more powerful transmitter, a new Broadcasting House at Accra, and improved and extended studio and recording facilities in the regions. Radio Ghana now broadcasts for 100 hours a week, in English and six of the main Ghana languages, and about 20% of this time is devoted to adult educational programmes. A school broadcasting section arranges special broadcasts to secondary schools and teacher training colleges, and I hope that this service will be extended soon to the primary and middle schools, with emphasis on the teaching of the English language in these schools. The expansion of broadcasting and the increase in local programmes has provided a valuable outlet for the writers of our new nation. It was no accident therefore that the first anthology of Ghanaian writing in English - "Voices of Ghana" published this year - consisted of poems, short stories and plays which had been contributed to Radio Ghana. As part of its contribution to the Unesco Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, it is proposed to send recordings of Ghanaian music to broadcasting organizations throughout the world.

2.13 Another important development in mass communication has been the setting up, with the co-operation of Reuter's, of the Ghana News Agency, which has greatly improved the flow of news inside Ghana and between Ghana and the rest of the world.

2.14 May I now briefly mention progress made by my country in some of the other spheres covered by Unesco's programme. The Central Library is now well established and the Ghana Library Board is steadily improving its regional services. The new national museum building is now open to the public and has attracted much attention from visitors. Very shortly it is proposed to introduce into Parliament a bill to set up an Arts Council of Ghana, with the function of developing and encouraging appreciation of all forms of art, especially the traditional arts of Ghana. In all these spheres, we feel we have much to gain from our association with Unesco, and we hope that we can contribute the benefit of our experience to the common stock of knowledge. Joint enterprises, such as the Major

Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures, which are designed to bridge the cultural gaps between the nations of the world, have the active support of my Government. We have also watched with interest and satisfaction the setting up by Unesco of such new international cultural institutions as the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.

2.15 In conclusion, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I once again express my personal satisfaction, and that of my Government, that Ghana is now numbered amongst the full Member States of this great Organization. We are very proud to belong to Unesco, and we shall certainly do our best to play our full share in achieving the great ideals for which Unesco was created and for which it stands, and shall continue to stand.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, this assembly is one of the most disinterested, one of the purest, in spirit and intention, that can be found in the world; and it has done the chairman of the French delegation the very great honour of electing him to the presidency of your General Conference. There can be no doubt that you have, in this manner, sought to pay tribute, through me, to Paris, which is now your host and is serving as a kind of capital for the international republic of the human conscience; to French education and culture, the spread and development of which it is my task, as a member of the French Government, to promote; and to my country, whose historic vocation it has been to make national concepts harmonize with universal ones, and which has proved able also to adapt its most cherished traditions to the needs of the modern world.

3.2 Only recently France has been giving to its action in this spirit a practical, flexible, human form which world evolution and the logical transformation of the territories or states receiving France's aid require. The community now being created will make it possible for the economic and social development of these countries, reinforced by a fraternal helping hand, to coincide with the flowering of their individual genius, which stems from original and respected civilizations; it will be possible for this free expression of natural gifts to be associated with the benefits of education, which is the keystone of the whole edifice.

3.3 Need I add that I bring you the assurance of France's cordial fellowship? We will do all within our power, and with a feeling of real joy, to provide Unesco with the material facilities necessary to its life and to maintain an intellectual - nay, a spiritual - atmosphere in which it may thrive.

3.4 This being said, I will no longer defer the immediate duties which fall upon me.

3.5 The first is to offer our tribute, and more especially my own, to Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, to whom it is my intimidating honour to succeed. I am sure of conveying the feelings of everyone in telling him that we cherish the memory of the time he filled as our President. He did so with a kindly and unquestioned authority backed by the prestige which attaches to his great country and to his own name, and by a lofty, profoundly human way of thinking reflected in every one of his speeches to us.

3.6 My second duty is, I believe, to act as the rapporteur for the cause of human solidarity which we all intend to serve faithfully. This spirit stands in need of such conscientious zeal. I think of it - and my words are more than a metaphor - as an indefatigable traveller visiting misfortune, constantly discovering new cases and anxious to overlook none of them; and though its goodwill is ever alert and remains undulled, its spirit cannot be altogether immune to discouragement and weariness. It is in our house that that spirit will derive new strength. Here we must sum up what solidarity has accomplished determine its programmes, criticize its action and reanimate its energies to fresh endeavour.

3.7 I spoke of myself as "Rapporteur". That austere function is an exacting one. It would need much more detailed information than is mine today. At most I should like to sum up the results Unesco has achieved in a few fields that may be considered essential and pre-eminent over all others. I should also like to add a few reflections which have occurred to me, and which, I hope, concur with yours.

3.8 We might indeed have cause for self-congratulation when we consider that, in twelve years, the membership of this union has risen from 27 to 81. But a heart-rending thought at once invades us. Of some 80 delegations listening to my words, more than two-thirds represent States which have not yet had the chance to bring their economic and social advancement to the level of their cultural riches. The increase in our assets and resources may well have been more than counter-balanced by the expansion of the fields of action open to our multiple forms of co-operation and by the daily discovery of new areas of human suffering, of which it seems that we shall never see the end.

3.9 I therefore believe that we must firmly resist any temptation to be complacent about a task which is fine enough to dispense with eulogy. We are resolved that our work shall continue and that it shall be improved and we shall seek, uncompromisingly and with clearness of vision, whatever may make it more effective or may further ennoble it.

3.10 Undoubtedly, thanks to the collaboration of international scientific associations and to the many subventions granted to laboratories, Unesco has, under the expert guidance of Dr. Luther Evans, a leading pioneer in this great adventure, been able "to sustain and co-ordinate research on the improvement of arid lands", a problem which, you must remember, still weighs heavily on some 40 countries. However - and I refer to official documents - it is the opinion of the very specialists who were sent into the field and carried out their surveys scrupulously, that a general programme is lacking, although admittedly the diversity of situations makes it very difficult to lay down any general line of conduct.

3.11 Thus the desert is successfully fighting us off. And there are other immense areas of resistance - humid tropical zones, almost impossible to transform in the present state of physical and chemical processes, oceans as yet unsounded - though the knowledge of geologists and oceanographers

and the heroism of explorers lead us to suppose that these still unexploitable riches could supply the world with enough energy and food resources to solve the problem closest to our hearts: the problem of hunger. For hunger is still, literally and ruthlessly, causing the death of one-third of the children in one-third of the world!

3.12 There is also another form of hunger, the hunger for knowledge. Here again we are urged by the need to track down illiteracy in its places of refuge, places which the sophistry of mistrust - familiar to us, but nonetheless one of the tragedies of our time - has even called blessed.

3.13 Let me remind you of what the then Director-General, the eminent ambassador Torres-Bodet, wrote in 1951: "We are spreading the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and I am astonished that we should dare to call it universal, when not one man in two is able to read it."

3.14 Since those bitter but necessary words were spoken, seven years of effort and ingenuity directed against the lack of schools and teachers, and against the habits of routine which refused to provide them, have borne fruit. We have our reply to the sceptics: in more than a quarter of the countries where ignorance prevailed, the proportion of illiterates has fallen from 60 to 40%.

3.15 During the same period, Unesco has continued to assert the principles underlying its method - which is to use all the resources of the most modern technique in the crusade against social inequality. This inequality, we believe, is what breeds misunderstanding between peoples. The Organization has recruited, not only teachers devoted to their mission, but what I would call practitioners, both men and women, engineers, chemists, radio technicians, all kinds of experts who have entered eagerly into the struggle - to say nothing of psychologists who have undertaken to find new applications and new openings for this determined campaign.

3.16 In this way, combining all possible means which its own studies and these Conferences have brought to light, Unesco continues to heed the great imperative of universal assistance. It tries to keep intellectual and social progress in step, at the same time to raise standards of living and to exalt the dignity of man.

3.17 These are great ambitions and noble purposes. But the burden is so heavy that one sometimes feels one is lifting the weight of an impossible Utopia; that impatience and discouragement may unexpectedly seep in amongst our solid reasons for hoping and believing.

3.18 Then it is that our faith must find new sustenance. For that, what better opportunity could be offered us than the opening of this General Conference? It is the tenth since the one held in Paris under the Presidency of Léon Blum, one of the most generous and sincere minds of our time. Remember that this Conference was itself the outcome of talks in London. In that ancestral citadel of freedom, the old Charter of John Lackland had long since preceded our Declaration of Human Rights; the great city, after heroically serving as a bastion of civilization, was nurturing amidst its ruins the dream of a genuine reconciliation of peoples, and men there were seeking the peace of brotherhood.

3.19 I wish we could conjure for a moment the image of these forerunners of ours, men illumined by the prevision of a truth which, for them, transformed their grim surroundings. When they met to grapple with the problems about to face so many martyred countries bled of their youth, they had to pass through streets littered with rubble and dead memories. Haunted by tragedies the ashes of which were not yet cleared away, they were yet resolved to bury their memories in a generous forgetfulness and even to derive from them a seemingly desperate hope. Since the rejection of peace arose in the minds of men, then it was through the intellectual and moral solidarity of the human mind, a fellowship at last recognized and cherished, that peace might be established, based upon common regret for past violence, upon the desire of men to be brothers and to inscribe the word "peace" once and for all, in every language, on the portals to the future.

3.20 Of course, I know what the sceptics say against us. I have often heard them talk and seen what good and reputedly impartial writers have written. By continually providing laboratories with improved research tools, by enlarging libraries, by translating and disseminating masterpieces and opening new museums, by sending pictures and paintings - to say nothing of psychologists - on tour, with the idea that their readers, spectators and listeners would become better men, Unesco was running a great risk of falling into a restricted form of philanthropy for the benefits of savants and aesthetes; and the worthy members of the Organization were coming to look like mountebanks robed as officials.

3.21 And so - these people argued - the claim was that all men and women and all States had equal rights? Nonsense! The world had always consisted, and would always consist, whether we will or not, of great and small, rich and poor, the active and the indifferent, the profiteers and the exploited. Could not Unesco see that, for all its inspiring purpose, it was yielding to the modern temptation to submerge the world in a mass-produced civilization? The men it would create would be ill-favoured mental robots, botched and hasty imitations of a standardized moral pattern.

3.22 And they poured scorn on prefabricated minds and processed virtue.

3.23 Yes, we have read and heard all that. And here is my answer.

3.24 Of course, diversity is alone fruitful. Whatever is great and profound derives from its specificity, from being spontaneously individual in origin. Certainly nothing of moral value can be accomplished which does not arise from the depths of human awareness, and no experimental directives or joint research can bring it to birth. No theory of fire can strike a flame.

3.25 All this may be true. But what we do know is that fire appeared with the moment that the first pale spark was drawn from a piece of flint. Would fire have been any less useful if it had come from a lighter we had offered to primitive man, saving him time and effort - would fire from this source have been any less real?

3.26 This is only a figure of speech. But it could, I think, be applied to the awakening of a more delicate and still more precious flame, human affection.
3.27 "Instruction?" I have heard it said, "Intellectual attainments? All well and good! But what about emotional attainments? Do you think you will be able to cultivate the deep and almost secret affective tendencies of men or succeed in putting misguided feelings back on the right road?"
3.28 My answer is: "Yes. Gradually we shall succeed, if we are convinced that we can do so. We must first believe and want to do so, and feel we can, with all our might."
3.29 Let us look more carefully at the whole indictment, if only to draw profit from it. Think what the situation was like twelve years ago. Was not Unesco, in its determination to take emergency action, obliged throughout to shape its intellectual and social policies along realistic lines? We must not forget that this planned use of its resources has brought results which no one disputes and which bear the promise of much more to come; admirable work has already been accomplished.
3.30 No, indeed, we have not taken the wrong path. But the road to human brotherhood is a long and difficult one and sometimes leads through the heart of a jungle, far from any beaten tracks. I think that we are now at a cross-roads where we should do well to stop a moment and take our bearings.
3.31 Not all charges against us have been gratuitous and of no account. Some have been made by sincere friends loth to bring them.
3.32 Let us begin by saying that we abjure none of our principles. We shall not, tomorrow any more than yesterday, dispute the value of the search for common denominators which may be rapidly applied, the rationalization of methods adjusted to the irreversible course of creative evolution. It is certain that, in many fields now offered to our desire to work for the good of mankind, nothing can ever replace these principles.
3.33 But, equally obviously, no complete solution can be found to the ethical problem. What we need is for every Member State to cherish the same ideal and work to ennoble it with the same strength of will.
3.34 The question is no doubt one of education. Whether we are thinking of élites, who are always needed and must be chosen by merit alone, or of average men whom educators must keep constantly in mind, there is no doubt of one thing. Every effort made, even without waiting for the miracle of collective assistance from the outside, to raise the national level of education and culture - and the national framework is the most natural one - is an indirect but fruitful preparation for the attainment of that international sensibility, without which the subtlest techniques for human betterment might prove almost unavailing.
3.35 Thus, to foster the birth and growth of a kind of intelligence which is not mechanized to the point of repudiating all traditional sentiment, of an intelligence imbued with a spirit of considered humanity, inclined by preference, and in accordance with a habit instilled by its counsellors, towards just and charitable solutions - this has always been the rôle of educators worthy of the name. And their loftiest mission will always be to sustain, within the heart of each growing child - and indeed of each adult - that striving of our fathers, who were not lesser men than we, after honesty and goodness. None of this is outworn.
3.36 Today, a vertiginous expansion of technology and productive efficiency - phenomena from which Unesco knows how to profit - seem to absorb mankind's activities and even, one might say, his most cherished desires. Yet what a mistake it would be to imagine that the human soul can be left to fashion itself unaided! On the contrary, it needs to be assigned its due place and to be associated in everything.
3.37 The principles of personal conduct, confirmed and transmitted by great philosophies or age-old religions, have lost none of their imperious claims. They all lead to a mental balance and to the practice of virtue - matters which should not raise a smile, but to which Unesco, if it is not to miss its ultimate aim, must devote more and more of its attention. Through its practical activities, its mission is already a lofty one, and the same objectives must be firmly pursued at the ethical level. Our Organization was conceived as a federation of States for the education of man. It stands above mere knowledge in the clearer atmosphere of the spiritual heights. Our task is therefore not confined to remedying social misfortune, repairing injustices, filling gaps, laying new foundations or playing the notable part of an international welfare agency, whose generous purpose would alone be enough to give grandeur to our name. Unesco is something more. Its very awareness of reality and the rule it has assigned itself to better human life oblige it to confront what is perhaps the most difficult duty of all.
3.38 The total support it has won makes Unesco eminently qualified to assume the high function of tempering the possible effects, upon the human mind and heart, of the major trends in science, which, by making life too abstract or too mechanical, might end, if we are not careful, by imposing upon our existence a frosty limpidity or streamlined gloss.
3.39 Unesco must humanize the aridities of logic; it must bring harmony to the conditions of man's spiritual existence. For today, he has to struggle not merely with poverty and ignorance, but with the materialistic life he leads; and swayed by modern forces which are almost all of them quantitative, he has to become specialized in order to survive, and sometimes in order to think.
3.40 Just as the body and the mind must be free from hunger, the soul must be sheltered from this barren chill.
3.41 Unesco must keep watch over the soul of universal man, even as each government keeps watch over the soul of its country, and each man over his individual soul.
3.42 Let all States share this conviction that the chances of ultimate understanding will lie principally in human hearts which have preserved the leaven of humanity; let them apply themselves to solve this grave problem of educational psychology; and peace, which our Organization has desired above all to establish logically, while safeguarding its human values, will not be far away; prepared for in the heart of each of us, it will be indestructible for all.
3.43 This will be a slow and difficult task, costly

in treasure and in labour. The long, long road will tax our determination and severely try our faith. But I believe that, to persist in our course, we need only remember what we are: soldiers under a common flag in the struggle against hate.

3.44 There is only one flag of its kind. It bears in its folds no triumphal motto. The only victory we envisage is that which mankind may win, some day, over the evil deep within himself, and the triumph need then be recorded nowhere but in the world's heart.

3.45 To those who are vowed to its defence, it seems, at times, as though this banner were stirred by a mysterious breeze - the sad sigh of past centuries which failed to free themselves from their murderous passions and which behold our age, standing in dread above an ever-deepening abyss, yet offering men the sweet, the ineffable hope, of becoming better men and - who knows? - of learning to love one another.

GENERAL COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS(INTER ALIA ON THE QUESTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF CHINA IN UNESCO)

4.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, before we resume the general discussion, I should like to tell you of the recommendations formulated by the General Committee of the Conference at its first meeting this morning. All the members representing the delegations of the General Conference were present.

4.2 First of all, as regards the organization of the work of the session, the General Committee noted the recommendations of the Executive Board concerning this organization of work contained in documents distributed to you under the following numbers: 10 C/14 and 10 C/14 Corrigendum. The General Committee recommends that the General Conference and its commissions and committees should adopt the proposals set forth in these documents. It recommends, likewise, that the items in the agenda should be referred to the various bodies of the General Conference, as indicated in the first paragraph of document 10 C/14. Since there is no objection to the adoption of these recommendations, they are adopted.

4.3 The General Committee also recommends that item 15.3.3 of the agenda (that is, the report on the desirability of providing a common basic training for candidates for international civil service) should be referred to the appropriate commission, which is the Administrative Commission. Its functions, as you know, include staff problems. In this connexion, your General Committee draws the Programme Commission's attention to the proposals in document 10 C/49, which has also been distributed to you. These proposals concern the organization of the work of this Commission and its working parties. The General Committee has also taken note of the list of delegations desiring to speak in the general discussion during the series of eight plenary meetings which began today and will continue until the afternoon of Monday, 10 November. The General Committee has decided that delegations which have not yet asked to speak may so request and may be allowed to do so at the meetings of Saturday, 8 November in the afternoon, or of Monday, 10 November. Are there any observations concerning these proposals? Very well, then, they are adopted.

4.4 We now come to the second item in the draft agenda already communicated to you. I must inform you that your General Committee, to which the question was referred, has decided, by 12 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions, to recommend the General Conference not to include in its agenda the following question: "Representation of China in Unesco". I must inform the General Conference that the chairman of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics opposed this recommendation and reserved the right to speak in plenary meeting. Mr. Hanes, on behalf of the United States of America, and a representative of the delegation of India have also asked to speak on the same question. Consequently, in the discussion which is now open, I call upon Mr. Kuznetsov on behalf of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

REPRESENTATION OF CHINA IN UNESCO

5.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we have just heard a report on the recommendations of our General Committee. It was preceded by a well-turned speech by the President, which, I must confess, moved me to lofty thoughts or, I might almost say, reverie. I even had the feeling that we had entered a quiet reach in the flow of our Conference. Alas! when the speech was over I reawoke to the fact that we must return to the stern realities of today. The President very truly remarked that our Organization is a federation for the education of mankind, that we must care for the soul of the world and so on. This is all very true, but, unfortunately, it is not always possible to do so in practice. To be a federation for all mankind is, I feel, a very difficult matter when one-quarter of the world's population is unjustifiably and unjustly excluded from this federation.

5.2 The General Committee did not think it expedient to place on the agenda the question put forward by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the representation of China in Unesco. I am at a loss to understand how it can be thought inexpedient to discuss such an important and vexed question. It seems to me that the fact that we have shelved this question year after year, that we are loth to go into it and give our unbiased opinion on the substance of it, cannot but detract from the international prestige of our Organization. We have accepted the great responsibility of being an international forum whose duty it is to thrash out problems in a spirit of sincerity. I cannot see how we can resolve problems in conscience and honestly, when we refuse to give a proper hearing to the arguments in support of at last receiving into our family the Chinese nation, 650 million strong.

5.3 We are told that the United Nations General Assembly has decided that we must wait until the

United Nations goes into the question and gives its decision. But we are an autonomous organization; we have no hierarchical link with the United Nations. We give it our assistance, but we are not at all obliged to follow the General Assembly's decisions automatically. It is not only our right, but our duty to express our own opinion.

5.4 We are told that we have already ruled on the question, seeing that a decision was reached yesterday on the question of credentials and the proposal brought forward by the delegate of the United States of America was adopted. But I must point out that the decision which we reached yesterday referred only to the question of credentials in respect of those actually present here. The question that we want put on the agenda is a much wider one than that of the credentials of a particular delegate present. And we must in all conscience admit that the decision which the delegate of the United States of America managed to foist upon the Conference is an infringement of its rights, for the Conference has its own Constitution, its own Rules of Procedure which state that every Member of our Organization may place a question on the agenda.

5.5 By accepting the formula proposed by the delegate of the United States of America, we were already guilty of breaking the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. Well, so be it, the rules have been broken. Let us now get to grips with the main issue - is it possible to discuss this question independently of the question of credentials? In the opinion of our delegation, it is both possible and necessary. The sooner we rectify the irregular situation which has come about within Unesco, the better - and the greater will be the authority of our Organization. We cannot for ever evade responsibility for important international questions.

5.6 In the view of my Government, this question is a crucial one; for there are not two Chinas, but only one, and it should be here. Its rightful place is here. It is time we settled this question; it is time we had done with the problem, which is being thrust upon us for no real reason, and the settlement of which is being deliberately delayed. We are told that this is a matter of politics. We are not concerned with politics; our business is culture, and nothing else. But is not the refusal to settle this question political? Politics are involved here too - but bad politics. It is unhappily true that in this sinful world there is as yet no culture that is free from all connexion with politics. As long as there are political struggles and difficulties between nations, we must reckon with that fact. We must not let ourselves be led astray. In a speech digressions are permissible, but in real life we must not let ourselves be distracted from the real facts of the situation which filter through to us. It is very difficult to avoid a question with which life itself confronts us. We may put it off today, tomorrow, and the day after that, but it has to be answered, and our answer must be in the interests of peace between nations, in the interests, in fact, of the federation of all peoples. And if this is indeed a federation, we cannot leave one-quarter of the human race outside it. The question is too serious to be put aside because of formal considerations. An attempt is being made to gag us by referring to the General Assembly resolution. Why? we ask. What is the point of ever meeting here if we cannot state our views on a question of such vital importance for our times? This cannot be permitted. Unesco must not be the blind tool of American policy. There is no hierarchical connexion between Unesco and the United Nations. The question we are raising, gentlemen, is wider than the question of credentials, and we beg you to give the deepest possible thought to this matter and to consider the consequences of our continual avoidance of the crucial question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in our Organization.

5.7 Mr. President, I request that a vote be taken on the proposal of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in Unesco be given special and separate consideration, as proposed by the Executive Board, under item 23.

6. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Hanes, Head of the United States delegation.

7.1 Mr. HANES (United States of America): I deeply deplore, Mr. President, this further interruption to the orderly work of our Conference, and my necessary participation in it. Yesterday morning we had a lengthy debate on substantially the question which is before us again at this time. Following this debate, the General Conference, by the overwhelming vote of 41 votes to 21 votes, decided not to consider at its tenth session any proposals concerning the representation of China. Yesterday afternoon, despite this decision, again the Soviet delegation attempted to re-open a debate on substantially the same subject, until the wise ruling of our President referred the matter to the General Committee. This morning, the General Committee by the vote of 12 to 3, with 3 abstentions, recommends to the General Conference that it reject the request for the inclusion on the agenda of this same subject. Surely, Mr. President, the vote yesterday of the General Conference expressed the desire of this Conference to put aside this question, and to move on with the business of our Conference.

7.2 This afternoon again we are discussing whether to include this question on the agenda, and we have heard another speech on the subject. If this item is included on the agenda, then again at a later time in our debate we will have a further lengthy debate on this question. I am confident, Mr. President, that it is the wish of the overwhelming majority of this Conference, shared by the delegation of the United States, that this should not take place. I respectfully move that the General Committee's recommendation be adopted.

8. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of India.

9.1 Mr. HUSAIN (India): Mr. President, fellow delegates, my delegation had the privilege yesterday of expressing its views on the subject before us, in connexion with the recommendations of the Credentials Committee. My delegation, therefore, does not desire to repeat what

was said here yesterday on the merits of the problem. India's stand on the question of Chinese representation is well known.

9.2 We are concerned here today with a somewhat different matter from that we discussed yesterday. We are concerned with the new item proposed by the Soviet delegation on the question of the "Representation of China", which the General Committee has recommended be deleted from the revised agenda. The proposed item is more general and a larger question than the one we discussed yesterday. It does not concern itself with any specific recommendation for the unseating of the present representative of Formosa or the seating of a representative of the People's Republic of China; it is concerned with the broad question of what we propose to do about the representation of China as a general question; of the place we propose to give to 639 million people, constituting one-quarter to one-fifth of humanity. Unesco is concerned more with the interests of the peoples than with the formal relationships of Governments. Therefore, we must consider whether we are going to enfranchise this large segment of humanity in our organization; we must consider in what shape and form this can be done. We deal with scientific, cultural and educational matters, which know no political frontiers. If Unesco is an organization concerning itself with the masses of the world, it must of necessity deal with all the masses of the world, and not exclude an important and an integral part of it. The absence of China is a serious loss to our deliberations and impedes our progress towards the achievements of the objects of Unesco. We must therefore, Mr. President, discuss this problem.

9.3 It is the view of my delegation that it is neither fair nor right that discussion on this subject should be debarred. It is a vital question for the future of this Organization, and it is contrary to parliamentary practice and the very concept of democracy and the ideals of this Organization, to suppress discussion of questions agitating the minds of constituent members. You may take what decision you wish, but we ought not to prohibit the expression of views. By barring discussion of this problem we do not solve it; it will continue to agitate the minds of a very large number of members of this Organization and, as my delegation pointed out yesterday, the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Suppression or evasion, Mr. President, is no solution.

9.4 Certain delegations have raised the question whether this is the proper forum for the discussion of this problem. My delegation expressed the firm view yesterday that Unesco is an independent organization which controls its own procedure and, in accordance with its Constitution, is fully competent without prior guidance from other international organizations to decide all questions pertaining to the admission to and the nature of its membership. This is the practice which we have followed in the past, when we admitted to membership certain countries which had not then become members of the United Nations. We cannot treat Unesco as competent and independent in certain spheres, and as subordinate and a rubber stamp in regard to certain other matters. If any one has any doubts about the competence of this Organization to deal with such matters, we can obtain legal opinion. Indeed, if considered necessary we can refer the matter to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. It must be remembered that there are members here who are not members of the United Nations, just as there are certain members of the United Nations who are not full members of Unesco. We cannot and should not anticipate the views of those of our members who are not members of the United Nations. We must, I submit, Mr. President, discuss the varied implications of this proposal and come to an independent decision in accordance with the objectives and the Constitution of Unesco, free from political and emotional bias, which is not germane to the discussion of scientific, educational and cultural matters.

9.5 For these reasons, Mr. President, my delegation would strongly support the inscription on our agenda of the item "Representation of China".

10. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

11.1 Mr. BABITCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is completely and wholeheartedly in favour of the proposal by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, endorsed by the delegations of India and Poland, to include in the General Conference's agenda the question, agreed to by the Executive Board, of the representation of China in Unesco. It considers the General Committee's recommendation that this question be excluded from the General Conference's agenda to be wrong.

11.2 It is obvious to everyone that the Chiang Kai-shek gang, which represents no one and has neither a State nor a people behind it, has for long years been illegally occupying China's place in Unesco. The futility of its presence here, from the standpoint of Unesco's interests, is beyond dispute. At the same time, the fact that the great Chinese people is debarred from co-operating with Unesco causes grave prejudice, above all, to our Organization.

11.3 For Unesco, surely, is an organization of a special kind, of a special type, with its own objectives. These noble objectives are inscribed in the Organization's Constitution, which states that Unesco should help to bring the nations closer together in the field of education, science and culture throughout the world and so promote world peace. If Unesco is really striving to fulfil these lofty aims, it needs to be a universal, broadly representative and truly world-wide body. But without the participation, in the execution of Unesco's programmes, of the great Chinese people, with its age-old cultural heritage and its ever-increasing contemporary rôle in the life of the peoples of Asia and of the whole world - without the participation of the great People's Republic of China, I repeat, Unesco cannot possibly be the universal organization it should be, for how can it call itself universal when it fails to include a country

representing one-quarter of the human race?

11.4 It follows, then, that this situation can no longer be tolerated, and that Unesco must take steps to remedy this unnatural state of affairs - it should give the People's Republic of China its proper and rightful place in the Organization and cease henceforward to regard those who represent nobody as national representatives. Only the People's Republic of China can and should represent China - that mighty country and State with its rich history and culture. Only the People's Republic of China can and should represent a country which in many fields of science and culture had already reached a fantastically high level thousands of years ago. And Unesco, as the international organization for education, science and culture, has no option but to reckon with these incontrovertible facts, and has the bounden duty of taking the actual situation into account in settling the question of China's representation in it.

11.5 We have today a most unedifying sight of the efforts made by those who seek to deny the incontrovertible fact of the existence of the People's Republic of China and to declare "non-existent" a great country which has now entered on a period of might and prosperity following the victory of the people's revolution in China which brought an end to the long period of colonial slavery, brutal exploitation and the consequent backwardness and poverty of the people. It is sufficient to say that this country, which a few score years ago produced no machines more complicated than a bicycle, is now mass-producing its own cars, tractors, complex machine-tools and machinery. A mighty drive is now being conducted there to make the entire population literate, and the country has set itself the task of providing every member of the rising generation with higher education - a task which even many of the highly developed countries would be incapable of coping with today. The People's Republic of China is invincible not only on account of its inexhaustible resources, the size of its population and the support of its friends and allies, but above all because of the unity of the Chinese people, rallied round its Government and its Government's policy. Never, in the past, has any Chinese government enjoyed such boundless trust and support on the part of the entire Chinese people as does the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

11.6 That Government is conducting a foreign policy designed to consolidate peace between the nations. From the very first day of its existence, the People's Republic of China has taken the course of establishing friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect and sovereignty, and it now has diplomatic relations with over 30 countries, making up about one-half of the world's total population. It can be said with complete justification that the People's Republic of China has today become an important factor for peace in international relations.

11.7 If Unesco wishes to concern itself with reality and not to live in a world of illusion, it is time for it to open its eyes to all these facts. Those who try to pretend not to "notice" them are merely placing themselves in a very awkward position. Whether or not it is represented in Unesco, the People's Republic of China will continue to thrive and develop, in the fields of education, science and culture as elsewhere, and to play an ever more notable part in international affairs. It can be taken for granted that those States which still pretend to ignore the existence of People's China will be compelled to reckon with the real China in the very near future. However, the absence from Unesco of representatives of China, the unnatural exclusion of the great Chinese people from participation in the execution of the Organization's programmes and especially of the East-West Major Project, is detrimental to Unesco to an extent which it is dangerous to underestimate, and confronts the Organization with truly insuperable difficulties.

11.8 And, in fact, how can we imagine work to promote mutual understanding and to bring the peoples of the East and West into closer communion if, despite all the just demands made, the real representatives of the great Chinese people - great not only numerically but also through its present and past contributions to the general cultural heritage of mankind - have no part in it?

11.9 It is absolutely clear that Unesco's work cannot bear fruit in these circumstances, and it is our duty to bring about a change in them without delay.

11.10 The situation can be corrected only if the Member States of Unesco rise above short-term considerations having to do with the present situation and reach the only rational and just solution by giving the People's Republic of China its rightful place in Unesco.

11.11 It is suggested that we should not consider this question before a firm decision has been taken on the matter by the United Nations. But Unesco, as an independent body, is competent, under its Constitution, to decide this question independently of when and how it is decided in the United Nations, and in that way to fulfil the aim proclaimed in the Constitution of furthering collaboration among the nations throughout the world in education, science and culture, and so promoting peace.

11.12 The General Conference should act accordingly by taking a decisive step on this question, and we herewith call upon it to do so. It should put an end to the present situation and restore the rightful representative of China to his place in Unesco. It should do so in the interests of peace and of the defence of the ideals which are set forth in its Constitution. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in consequence, most emphatically supports the proposal to include the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in Unesco in the General Conference's agenda and calls upon the Conference to take a favourable decision - a decision awaited by nations all over the world.

12. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Poe, delegate of China.

13. Mr. POE (China):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I choose to speak on purely procedural grounds and my remarks will be very brief indeed. First of all, however, I wish to make two points clear: first, my delegation considers it unnecessary and far below our dignity to refute the derogatory and abusive remarks made about my delegation and

my Government by certain delegates. They are, to say the least, entirely improper, completely out of taste and utterly uncultured. Second, I wish to point out simply that the puppet regime on the mainland of China is un-Chinese and aggressive. Now, Mr. President, I come to what I want to say on purely procedural grounds. My delegation, the delegation of the Republic of China, wishes to point out that item 23 is entirely out of order, because it is in direct conflict with the resolution already passed last morning by the General Conference, part of which reads: "The General Conference ' decides not to consider, at its tenth session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China". Therefore, there should not be any question concerning the representation of China in Unesco. I request, Mr. President, that item 23 be deleted. My delegation respectfully submits that the vote should be taken on the recommendation by the General Committee.

14. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon Mr. Zulawski, delegate of Poland.

15.1 Mr. ZULAWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Polish delegation is in favour of including in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Conference the question of the representation of China at Unesco, for the following reasons:
15.2 This is a very serious problem, a problem which we consider to be essential to the present and future development of international relations in general, and of relations in science, education and culture in particular.
15.3 The mere fact that so great a problem exists is enough to justify the proposal that it should be discussed, and discussed thoroughly.
15.4 Now we have been concerned with this problem only from the standpoint of procedure, as though procedure could take the place of facts. The facts are stubborn and always prevail in the end. The facts agree only with those who dare to look them in the face.
15.5 No, Mr. President and fellow delegates, neither discussions nor the voting of motions of procedure can settle this problem, which is one of the most notorious facts of our time: the existence of a great China, of a people's China in the very midst of our age and of our international community. This empty seat, which is not occupied by the representatives of the People's Republic of China in our Organization, weighs very heavily on our work and on the Organization itself. The problem must be thoroughly discussed, and for that reason it must be included in the agenda of this General Conference; for this Conference rightly claims to be the world parliament of science, education and culture.

16. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon Mr. Bachev, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation.

17.1 Mr. BACHEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, gentlemen, three times, in the course of these two days of discussion, the United States delegate has stood on this rostrum and begun his remarks by expressing his regret that a question which he perhaps deems insignificant should take up our time and attention at the expense of questions he thinks more important. His argument is that he wants our Organization and the General Conference to remain non-political.
17.2 But it is clear that the United States delegate's motive for opposing the adoption of this item in the agenda which we are once again discussing today has nothing to do with spiritual, intellectual or scientific matters. What reason indeed would science or the education of the people and of the young have for preventing the representatives of one quarter of the world's population from taking a place amonst us? The United States delegate's motive is evidently entirely political; that he should use arguments derived from the international policy of the United Nations is still further proof of the fact, for political reasons are precisely those which prevail in the United Nations; and if someone adopts United Nations arguments as a basis, he is only asserting, in contradiction to previous statements, that he is in favour of or against the inclusion of an item in the agenda for political reasons.
17.3 It is no secret, in this enlightened assembly, that the reasons prompting the proposals of the United States' delegation and of other delegations are political reasons. If we do not want to engage in politics - politics which are perhaps foreign to our Organization's aims - we must at least allow this item in the agenda to be discussed so that we may express our views freely, in an atmosphere of intellectual calm.
17.4 The delegates who have spokon from this rostrum against including this item in the agenda have raised no argument of substance against China. They take their stand on questions of procedure, but a problem like that of China cannot be concealed behind such barriers. It is too big and important a problem for that. Yesterday some delegates recognized this; they said "Yes, for us it is a political matter not to take a stand on this question."
17.5 This Organization is concerned with culture, science and education, and we cannot allow matters of procedure - however important they may to the general work of this assembly - to conjure away important questions of substance. Procedure and the Rules of Procedure were invented to help our work and hasten the solutions which confront us and the Organization. The Organization was not created to lose itself in points of procedure.
17.6 I therefore support the proposal of the Soviet delegation that this item be included in the agenda and that a discussion on this question should be reopened.

18. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I shall now call on the last speaker on my list, Mr. Ralea, who will speak on behalf of the Rumanian delegation. Afterwards, if the Conference is agreed, we may consider the discussion closed.

19.1 Mr. RALEA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, every possible argument has been advanced about the Chinese question. It would really be difficult to find anything new to say. Yet, after hearing all the arguments, I should like to emphasize one feature they have in common.

19.2 Almost all the arguments of those who wish the admission of China amongst us to be refused are formal, legal arguments, arguments of procedure. They are negative arguments, restricted to rejecting or refuting the positive arguments presented by all who wish and ask that China should join Unesco. This means that no one deeply or sincerely believes that refusing to allow China to work with us is right or logical - because, over and above all the formal, procedural and legal arguments, the Chinese question is a question of logic and justice. Every one of us, even if he opposes the admission of China, is perfectly convinced, I am sure, that this refusal is a moral and logical paradox and that logic and good sense plead in favour of China's admission.

19.3 Gentlemen, we must remember that this is not a limited forum, that we are not called upon to concern ourselves, in self-centred fashion, with our own personal business. We must remember that, outside these walls, there are millions and millions of people who are unable to grasp the subtleties presented here as arguments and who see only the bald result: the fact that a people of 650 millions is being rejected, a people who work with us, a people whose culture is several thousand years old and who are desirous of sharing in our labours. Think of all the peoples we represent, the sincere, simple masses, who cannot grasp legal subtleties and who flatly decline to believe that a people of 650 millions can be refused its right to participate in culture and the betterment of mankind. Let me say that the refusal to receive China amongst us is not only a paradox, but an absurdity. And all those who seek for complicated, subtle, formal arguments to refute this thesis are only postponing the decision and finding another possibility of invoking a purely political argument. For, in reality, it is not those who support China, but those who refuse to admit her, who are engaging in politics. In certain circumstances, not to engage in politics means pursuing a certain policy, and that policy is the policy of ostracizing the People's Republic of China. I need not go on; I could find nothing new to say, unless it were to appeal to the commonsense of millions and thousands of millions of ordinary people convinced that the whole world has the right to work for culture, within Unesco, which is an Organization created for this purpose. Allow me to repeat once again that my delegation is only conforming to the just, simple and moral view of the matter held by the masses throughout the world.

20. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

The discussion is closed. Since two States have asked for a vote by roll-call, this form of vote must be applied in accordance with Rule 84, paragraph 2, of our Rules of Procedure. The Secretary will therefore take the roll-call. Let me remind you that the General Committee has recommended the Conference not to include the question just discussed in its agenda; those who support the General Committee's view must therefore answer "yes" to the roll-call by country; those who are against the General Committee's view will answer "no".

21. (The vote was taken by roll-call.

Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Ethiopia, Ghana, Israel, Laos, Liberia, Pakistan, Sudan, Switzerland, Tunisia.

Absent: Austria, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia.)

22.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

The result of the vote is as follows: 35 in favour of adopting the resolutions of your General Committee; 23 against; 9 abstentions; 11 delegations absent.

22.2 The recommendation of the General Committee on this subject is therefore adopted.

22.3 I will continue with the consideration of the proposals made to you by the General Committee.

22.4 On the proposal of the United Kingdom, the General Committee recommends to the General Conference to include in its agenda, under Rule 14, paragraph 2, of our Rules of Procedure, the following new item: Application of the State of Singapore for admission to associate membership of Unesco.

22.5 Is there any objection? The item will therefore be included.

22.6 The General Committee recommends by a vote of 16 to 2 to refer to the Administrative Commission the study of a letter from the head of the Chinese delegation to the President of the General Conference. This document, concerning the right of China to vote, has been distributed to you as document 10 C/51.

22.7 Are there any objections? Adopted.

22.8 Lastly, we have received a request from the Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, who would like to speak in plenary meeting during the general discussion. The General Committee has decided, following the established practice of several sessions, not to accede to this request; it has recalled that the observers of international non-governmental organizations may make statements on questions within their competence before the committees and commissions with the approval of the Chairmen

of those bodies. I believe that the General Conference will wish to maintain this tradition.

22.9 We will now resume the general discussion of items 7 and 8, and in this general discussion, I call upon Dr. Anas to speak on behalf of Afghanistan.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

23.1 Mr. ANAS (Afghanistan) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan, I should like to say how happy we are to find ourselves in Paris again and to greet the French Government. France offers us the most generous hospitality, this time in a magnificent palace, the new home of the world's intellectual luminaries. We wish to say how profoundly grateful we are to France for its generous and decisive action in helping the Organization to build its headquarters. The location of the building on the site of the former cavalry barracks symbolizes the victory of peace over war, of wisdom over misunderstanding, of friendship over enmity. Mr. President, I sincerely wish to be associated in the tribute which other delegations have paid to the work accomplished by the Director-General, by the Secretariat and by the Executive Board in the cause of Unesco.

23.2 My delegation has studied Unesco's programme for the next two years. We have already expressed our views in reply to the Secretariat's inquiries. We are grateful to the Secretariat for having had due regard to the suggestions and comments advanced by Member States in the hope of improving the programme and fitting it to the needs of the various countries and to the real problems of education, science and culture throughout the world today. We thank the Director-General and the Secretariat for the arduous task they have accomplished in revising the text of the programme in the light of suggestions communicated by Member States. We believe that this work of the Secretariat will lighten the Conference's burden; it will not have to concern itself with matters of detail and will thus have ample opportunity to consider questions of world-wide character and scope.

23.3 The programme, which has been largely drafted following consultation with Member States, is likely to be approved, as a whole, by the Conference. Let us express our delegation's satisfaction with the Secretariat's work over the past two years. The Director-General's report gives a very clear account of it. We believe that Unesco has successfully carried out its programme as far as the circumstances have allowed, along the lines laid down at the ninth session of the General Conference in New Delhi. Our country has already expressed its agreement with the principles of the programme and budget as they have been presented to us. While adhering to these principles, I should like to bring up here certain points which I think deserve this assembly's particular attention; they would seem to be important to the success of Unesco's programme. The extension and prolongation of compulsory schooling are the major preoccupation of Unesco and its Member States. On the other hand, hasty action to increase the number of schools and train a large body of teachers imperils the quality of teaching. This is the state of affairs in certain countries now in course of development. Remedies must therefore be found; practical measures should be prescribed for such cases, so that a fall in the quality of teaching may be avoided. We feel sure that Unesco will be enabled to formulate such measures through the experience it will have acquired in the execution of the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. This project is also of interest to countries outside the region where it is being applied. The results obtained should be given wider dissemination; this regional project would then be converted into an undertaking of world-wide scope, should means not be available to implement similar projects elsewhere. Unesco should reinforce this trend by encouraging Member States to make larger use of the results obtained from Projects implemented outside the region to which such States themselves belong.

23.4 Unesco might well carry out surveys to ascertain the extent to which these results are being utilized in other countries. The Director-General could review in his report the results of such a survey. The same method might be applied, for instance, in the case of the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands.

23.5 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, while expressing our admiration for the interest Unesco shows in the dissemination of science teaching, we should like to draw its attention to scientific instruction in schools. Most school curricula deal only with scientific teaching in the classical sense, and this is indeed very useful for training in the scientific spirit. Yet the recent progress of science and its impact on human life make it indispensable for the elements of modern science to be taught as well. Unesco should guide Member States in the task of obtaining a balance between the classical and modern aspects of science teaching. Teaching about the United Nations also needs careful study, in order to keep a proper balance in the school curriculum, which is already too heavy. We hope that the preparation of a general social science terminology will at the same time lead to the production of a terminological handbook or dictionary on the United Nations, for use in schools.

24. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call on Mr. Pizani, head of the delegation of Venezuela.

25.1 Mr. PIZANI (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of Venezuela is especially happy to recall, in the first place, that Venezuela has been present at all the decisive moments in this Organization's history. In June 1945, in San Francisco, when the foundations of modern international organization were being laid, Venezuela was the first country to propose the establishment of an international institution or body for educational, social, cultural and intellectual co-operation.

Today, Unesco has taken its place in international history, and it has now settled in and inaugurated its own home. At every moment since the preparatory stages Venezuela has been there, in the person of its permanent representative; and tribute has been paid, during the inauguration of this building, to the part played by our compatriot.

25.2 But Venezuela does not feel that by helping to give birth to Unesco or by collaborating and offering advice in the great task of supplying it with a building and a headquarters, we have fulfilled all the international obligations arising from this Organization. More than benefits, Venezuela believes that Unesco should bring to its members a clear conception of international duty; to this end, my country is prepared to continue collaborating whole-heartedly in order that the objectives set for itself by the Organization at its foundation may be fully attained.

25.3 The members of the Venezuelan delegation have studied the Proposed Programme and Budget. We have no basic observation to make. Comments of secondary importance will be offered in the commissions, and at that time we shall refer to questions of detail regarding those of Unesco's activities with which the Government of Venezuela is mainly concerned. But I do wish to take this opportunity to tell you briefly about the possible results of our own immediate experience, which, we think, may be of importance for the whole family of nations.

25.4 Only a few months ago, Venezuela shook off the yoke of recent despotism. Only a few months ago, thanks to the courage of its people, of a people resolved not to suffer political extinction, Venezuela re-entered the community of nations, the community of democratic, free peoples. Venezuela's experience appears to us to be useful here, because it teaches us one thing: if the results obtained from ten years of despotism are compared with the courage, the energy and the hopes which the present Government is placing in freedom and democracy, it becomes evident that nothing lasting can be established internationally under the reign of violence, threats, suspicion or lies; nor can any useful work be done within individual nations. No man can rise in the morning with a healthy mind if all his fellows have not been influenced, educated and enlightened by rich experience of the fact that goodness, truth and freedom are the only values capable of guiding men and strengthening their minds for the daily struggle.

25.5 The Government of Venezuela has encountered serious problems and is facing them with firmness and courage. From a despotic régime we have inherited more than 500,000 children without schools to go to and 2,200,000 Venezuelans who can neither read nor write. Gentlemen, this has happened in a wealthy country, but in a country where certain men came into power illegally and then failed in their duty to their people and in their promises to the other members of the international family. Today Venezuela is recovering from this dark decade; let me repeat that it is doing so with courageous firmness. For the 2,200,000 Venezuelans who have been kept outside the pale of culture an intensive and extensive literacy campaign is now being waged; the intention is to give this training to 400,000 Venezuelans within the first year, but it is necessary to do more than merely absorb these 2,200,000 people in our active cultural life; nor is it enough to raise the national budget for adult education, formerly 1,200,000 bolivares, to 14,500,000 bolivares this year in order to give schooling, during the same period, to 200,000 out of the 500,000 school-less children by mobilizing 3,600 new teacher who are now in active service. Yet even this is not enough. We believe that, when this great assembly speaks of literacy or of schooling for children, without going any farther, it is not entirely on the right road. It is not enough to bring more children to school or to educate the illiterate; it is necessary that men here and today, and men everywhere and for all time, shall be guaranteed, not only the right to read and write or the right to culture, but the right to see their culture survive because it has been based on principles and values which they have been taught to respect, not only from an intellectual point of view, not only as a concept, but as a vital force - thanks to which their minds will remain alert to defend their basic values.

25.6 Thus the Government of Venezuela has not confined itself, and does not intend to confine itself, to making its people literate by opening new schools and by improving and giving more stimulus to the life its teachers lead. Underlying all these problems there must, we feel sure, be the conviction that, as long as Venezuela is able to carry out and does carry out this task alone, it will not have fulfilled all its duty to its own people; and if it has not done its duty by them, it will certainly not have carried out its obligations to the international organizations of which it is a member.

25.7 Therefore, when these bodies give so much preferential consideration to technical questions and would divest them of any political import, it is rather as though they would suggest that something floating in the air might fly more rapidly in a vacuum. We do not conceive of culture as de-humanized or indifferent. All culture is political, fundamentally political; and when our assembly speaks of leaving political questions on one side, we feel that this is to detract from the essential meaning of culture.

25.8 We understand culture to convey a sense of commitment; and in this attitude of commitment, the human element must be present, not merely as an instrument; man must be present as man. If technology is to result only in technology, man will lose something of his humanness. For this reason, when we speak of culture and education, we feel it necessary to assert and define what culture, science and education mean for man, and not speak of them as mere techniques supplying men with tools. What culture, education and science essentially mean for man is that he shall not become the instrument of his instruments.

25.9 In the crisis with which Venezuela has been faced, despite the urgent need to mobilize all available resources in order to solve the major problems of the country's cultural training, the basic question has been one of planning. Venezuela is taking emergency measures to provide primary and secondary schools, but it is basically concerned with the general planning of Venezuelan education. There we are counting on and hoping for Unesco's aid. And in this work of general planning, we must again point

out the fundamental principles adopted by our Government, which we intend to maintain and to promote within the international bodies with which we may be working. We are convinced that the task of cultural organizations cannot be to shut themselves away with merely technical concerns and that,wherever necessary, the human element must play its part and must do so from the standpoint of its own culture. We base our assertions on the conviction that man is really man only when he is free; and Unesco itself, in Article I of its Constitution, states that it is pursuing the welfare of mankind through science, education and culture, and makes it clear that the realization of man's potentialities through science, education and culture involves the defence of freedom, the defence of human rights and of man's inherent dignity. Thus in every activity undertaken by these international organizations, we shall appeal for the maintenance of a principle which we are willing to accept as a commitment; namely, that all who adhere to these agreements shall bring to their work a sincere belief in such ideals. Effective collaboration in the endeavours of this Organization can be furnished only by peoples and governments that do not think of human dignity, freedom and rights merely as themes for oratory, but are prepared to have them respected, both internationally and as the be-all and end-all of their governmental action.

26. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of Switzerland.

27.1 Mr. MICHELI (Switzerland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after the masterly address which our eminent President delivered a few moments ago - a speech on a high ethical plane, rich in thought and teaching, which we must meditate if we are to profit by it fully - it remains to me only to voice a few ideas suggested to us by a study of the report presented by the Director-General and of the programme submitted to us, together with a few observations noted since we last met.

27.2 I should indeed hesitate to resume the great themes discussed by the President, did I not wish him to know how attentively we listened to him. I should like him to know that his words were, for us, bathed in that light which France has so often shed upon the path of humanity.

27.3 Let me at once say that the Swiss delegation is satisfied with the report by the Director-General and with the programme and budget submitted for its approval. We are happy to say so. This satisfaction is a general impression; our criticisms and suggestions will be advanced by our delegates in the commissions.

27.4 It is an agreeable and an easy task to congratulate and thank the Secretariat and the Executive Board. Not only are we grateful to those who have, often with remarkable success, performed an immense labour; but we appreciate the intellectual honesty which has made them report exactly on their work and hesitate over the advisability of certain undertakings.

27.5 It is also our duty - and a less easy, but necessary one - to indicate how we hope the work of our Organization will be directed henceforth.

27.6 First, we think that it should take fuller advantage of the time factor. We have, of course, never imagined that Unesco could obtain spectacular results in so short a period. We have said so both to the Organization's friends and to its adversaries and to sceptics. But the Director-General has included in his introduction a passage touching upon the point that concerns us. Let me quote it: "This period of reflection and constructive criticism will be marked by the installation of Unesco in its permanent headquarters. Without seeking to overstress the significance of this event, it will probably be regarded by world opinion as symbolizing the Organization's stability. After a period of apprenticeship and exploration, Unesco will have reached the stage of maturity. Nevertheless, it will have to beware of adopting excessively rigid attitudes and be constantly ready to face new problems and new needs."

27.7 We shall not quarrel with the Director-General over the prudence with which he uses the future and future perfect tenses of his verbs. The difficulty is to link immediate projects with longer-range plans and, despite one's commitments, to preserve the freedom of action needed for innovation and eventualities. This problem cannot be surmounted by short-term forecasts. Only by looking to the distance can we ascertain morely clearly, and more closely as the days go by, what will need to be "re-thought" and modified, should new crises break out, or should progress offer unexpected prospects to the work of munkind and bring to our Organization new opportunities and new duties.

27.8 We believe that, in practice, the biennial cycle of programmes is now out of date, even as we were obliged to recognize, a few years ago, that the annual programme had lost its usefulness. In particular, two things have led us to this conviction. The first is the heart-searching in which the Secretariat has recently engaged in order to give the United Nations Economic and Social Council an appraisal of its programmes, methods and results. In the second place, we have acquired some experience in planning our major projects, which are, by definition, to spread over periods of eight to ten years.

27.9 Would not the right cycle henceforward be for the General Conference to meet every three years to consider the results of that interval and the programme for the ensuing three-year period? This would be a reasonable threefold division of a longer period - nine years - which would about coincide with the duration of a major project. The Director-General would have a better perspective wherefrom to judge the effect of his activities and propose how they should be continued in the following programme. The Secretariat would be able to work more smoothly, without having a considerable portion of its time and energy absorbed by its reports to the General Conference. Also, with such an interval, the Executive Board would be more at leisure to examine the possibilities of future programmes. There can be no doubt that, under the present system, the Executive Board and the Secretariat sometimes place excessive burdens upon each other.

27.10 The Secretariat is now well enough equipped and sufficiently experienced to maintain adequate

contact with Governments and National Commissions over a longer period. Member States have enough confidence in their Executive Board to delegate regularly to it some of their rights of supervision and initiative.

27.11 Lastly, this three-year cycle would mean a considerable saving in the expense of Conference and Board sessions - a saving in both time and money from which constructive programme work could be made to benefit.

27.12 So much for the time factor, with which the Swiss delegation has wished to preface its remarks, as a token of the importance it attaches to this point.

27.13 Now for the programme itself. In his introduction to document 10 C/5, the Director-General has attempted to indicate for most Departments what he calls "major problems". For education, it is the "ultimate elimination of illiteracy". For the natural sciences, the problem to cope with is "the general lack of a knowledge of the fundamentals of natural science and of the scientific method, and the shortage of trained scientists and technicians". In the social sciences, a remedy must also be found for the "lack of trained specialists". The principal task for cultural activities is "breaking down the cultural barriers to international understanding".

27.14 We are happy to find here - I hope I am correct in saying, for the first time - an attempt to define this idea of a main effort, at the highest level, that is at the level of the Director-General viewing the missions of the Departments; but it may be regretted that the introduction to the new programme does not also comprise a few remarks of a more philosophic kind. They would make things clearer for Member States, the principal recipients of document 10C/5, who in a few days will be asked to vote the programme and implement it in their territories. No such regret can be applied to the activity reports or to other documents such as the report to the Economic and Social Council which I have already mentioned.

27.15 At the departmental level, we are glad to see introductions not only giving the sum of activities but placing them in their perspective, with "close-ups" and sometimes veritable "dolly shots", to use the language of the cinema. Such is particularly the case of two Departments, Natural Sciences and Cultural Activities.

27.16 In other cases - e.g. Education - we should like to see certain new trends, such as the development of higher education, lead to more varied, more ambitious projects.

27.17 Might this not well be a study-theme for one of the next meetings of the Euopean National Commissions?

27.18 In one particular case, we must not be surprised to find no "major problem" defined. I am referring to the Department of Mass Communication, which continues to carry out two different, but equally important missions. The first, which properly belongs within Unesco's programme, is to improve mass communication media throughout the world; the second is to describe and spread knowledge about the Organization's activities, or in other words - and I mean this in no derogatory sense - to advertise the House.

27.19 To diffuse knowledge about what one is, does and intends to do has become, in the modern world, a sine qua non for any enterprise, a necessary evil from which we must try to get the most benefit we can.

27.20 Let us make no mistake about one thing. The shapely building we have just inaugurated will, alone, by no means suffice. These new installations must be accompanied and surpassed by an effort to spread knowledge about what it is all for. Nor will it be enough for us henceforth to enjoy full views, within each office, of industrious men and women bathed in sunshine or lamplight. What the world wants to know about - and this world, as other speakers have pointed out, is generally less well heated and lighted - is the substance of this work, how it is carried out, what are its immediate and more distant points of application, its results and its chances of success. Shipments of "information material", mentioned several times in the text, will not be enough either. These shipments constitute one-directional action; they are a kind of monologue. But what is really needed is a dialogue - a dialogue which will yield suggestions and constructive criticism, not about office work, but about the real subjects of the Organization's activities - arid lands or human rights - and about all the questions so appropriately handled in the "Unesco Courier".

27.21 To sum up, the Swiss delegation considers that the 1959-1960 programme is well conceived and properly balanced in that it maintains a satisfactory ratio between general and special activities; but such a programme cannot merely be renewed or prolonged from one two-year period to the next; it will soon have to be re-conceived for a longer period. However excellent the programme may be, it will succeed in so far as it captures the public imagination, thanks to more effective methods, and thus wins new supporters for Unesco.

27.22 Lastly, we believe that these technical meetings initiated by our Organization on constantly improved lines - conferences on public education, radio isotopes, mechanical computation, and so forth - could well begin right now to admit observers or experts from all countries, including countries which do not yet belong to the United Nations or Unesco. Contacts of this kind can lead to predictable and hoped-for progress, as well as to forms of progress which still arouse objections.

27.23 When it invited the Director-General to make a survey on the administrative management of the Secretariat, the New Delhi Conference took a very wise step: the Director-General and the Secretariat, by helping the experts responsible for this survey to carry it out under the best conditions, showed with regard to them and to the Conference a fair-minded and helpful attitude.

27.24 In the view of the Swiss delegation, the experts' conclusions, published several months ago, form a whole. To recognize the general value of their ideas and yet quibble over every detail would be deplorable. We may regret that the Executive Board did not work on this report itself, instead of taking the Director-General's comments on the experts' report as a basis for

discussion. It might have better appreciated why the experts reached the conclusions that they did about all management problems, including the most ticklish ones - working relations between the Board and the Director-General, for example.

27.25 However, the texts that we are discussing here - reports, programme and budget - would remain a dead letter if they did not lead us to reconsider once again the rôle Unesco is playing in the world, and the general policy of our Organization.

27.26 What is the picture presented to us by its field of action at the end of this year of 1958?

27.27 Despite all efforts to bring peoples closer together, misunderstanding remains, and hostile feelings lead, only too often, to acts of violence. Sporadic conflagrations break out here and there; some are extinguished, but others spread or smoulder. We seem generally to accept as a part of our destiny the division of the world into hostile blocs.

27.28 For lack of imagination, perhaps, we are no longer even capable of imagining a world whose watchword would not be "politics first". At sensitive nerve-centres and when tension develops, people sometimes seem to be waiting only for the support of one or the other bloc or for the consequences of their rivalry.

27.29 Is there any way of escaping this fate? We have the right to hope so, when we think of the mission of the great international organizations, the resources available to them and some of their results - when, for instance, we think of Unesco. The scope and diversity of its field and of its means of action are such that Unesco can help to bring to light a geographical reality which is not mainly political. There is already an invisible map of this geographical reality, a map from which frontiers are vanishing and where traditional spheres of influence are being replaced by international zones of common needs and services.

27.30 This new map is what Unesco begins to fill in when, in the course of its surveys and field work, it marks out such things as industrial areas where technological progress is inconceivable without social progress to match; when it locates monuments deserving of protection from the encroachments of time and the threat of war; or when it defines the new forms of copyright which must be recognized and protected throughout the world.

27.31 However, let us hope that this geography will become something more than an attitude of the mind, and that in broader and more numerous fields, Unesco will create a more fruitful, more original type of international collaboration from which any idea of - or fatalism about - political influence will have been excluded. Among the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, it is perhaps the best placed, because of its mission, to attempt this experiment and blaze the trail. In this way, it will be carrying its allotted task to completion.

27.32 Unesco aims at universality, as we have proclaimed. One could wish that its advance were more rapid. But universality, which is a principle, will be worthless unless it is inspired by a feeling of fellowship. This feeling must also be translated into action. A true spirit of fellowship among the peoples neglects no opportunity to compare their respective stores of knowledge, enumerate needs, harmonize methods and combine resources.

27.33 Finally, the Swiss delegation would like to convey to the Government of the French Republic its feeling of pleasure and gratitude on revisiting this capital. Twelve years of work in Paris have enabled, not only the Executive Board and the Secretariat, but the innumerable men and women who come to Unesco's meetings to feel that they are here in a host country, in the true sense, and in their element. The concept of "cultural and technical affairs" was for the first time defined - and incorporated among diplomatic activities - in France at the beginning of this century, and its prototype was created at the Quai d'Orsay. France, by establishing the function and the body, gave an example which has been followed today by the great majority of countries.

27.34 Thus, however light and ethereal may seem the pillars upon which Unesco House is supported, it is thrusting invisible roots deep into the soil of this country. From that source, it will continue to derive, as it has done until now, a nourishment vital to our Organization's work.

(Mr. Mejia took the Chair).

28. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. Yardimci, delegate of Turkey.

29.1 Mr. YARDIMCI (Turkey) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is for me a very great honour and a pleasant duty to convey the greetings of the Turkish Government to the representatives of Member States meeting for the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, in the Organization's new permanent Headquarters. Unesco's installation in its new building is, we feel, a happy event, the importance of which, for the earlier stages of its existence, may well be emphasized. Unesco is taking root in a land of extraordinary fertility. It thus takes its place in the contemporary scene, permanently and firmly established beneath the sign of intelligence and universality, in one of the favoured lands of humanism. I am particularly glad to express, on behalf of my Government, our feelings of gratitude towards the host country. The bold lines of the new building, a model of contemporary art, will, we feel, by no means mar the purity of the Paris landscape; they will have filled out, in an original manner, this semi-circle designed by the eminent architect of the Petit Trianon.

29.2 Before making a few brief remarks on the Director-General's report and on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, I should like to recall to your memory and pay tribute to three distinguished men whom we have lost in the course of this past year. I know that others, and more particularly their intimate friends, are better able than I to give them their due homage. Yet I cannot but recall that they generously devoted the last years of their lives to Unesco's ideal and

activities. You will certainly remember these figures which had become so familiar. It was not my privilege to know them personally, but I am aware of the close sympathy they felt for the communion of humanity-loving minds, in an age sadly divided against itself, and for the work of Unesco. We cannot fail to observe what they had in common: a spirit which was as universal as could be hoped. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the ninth session of the General Conference, was one of the most engaging figures of his country. You have not forgotten, I am sure, his admirable inaugural speech in New Delhi, a model of lucidity and wisdom. Paul Rivet, the great scholar and zealous champion of spiritual freedom, a tireless leader in the French National Commission for Unesco and at that memorable Conference of European National Commissions in Aix, followed the Organization's activities with keen attention and a vitality which he communicated to your deliberations. Lastly, the Organization, and especially the Executive Board, have lost a humanist of the purest tradition in Mr. Artigues. I feel sure that, in another existence, these men are still forming hopes for the success of our efforts. At the threshold of this Conference, I should also like to call to mind the amazing figure of our own Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, whose profoundly humanistic thought has an immutable character and quality, from the very fact that it is shared by a whole people. May I remind you of his firm belief that all mankind would soon be entering upon a new age of harmony and mutual understanding. He also believed that "the citizens of all countries should receive an education enabling them to rid themselves of all feelings of hate or animosity". Those words might almost have been taken from the preamble to the Unesco Constitution.

29.3 To turn to the appraisal of the Organization's work and activities during 1956 and 1957, I will begin by declaring our frank admiration for the results obtained in the various parts of the programme. The Director-General's report, I feel, gives sufficient indication of this. Is it necessary to stress the importance of this document, which, I believe, records praiseworthy, even remarkable progress in the implementation of the resolutions voted at the last session of the Conference? The idea of concentrating the programme on a few problems of major importance has been so often repeated as to be almost a commonplace. In this connexion, the new Proposed Programme and Budget reflects our own intentions clearly, simply and exactly. Of course, the three Major Projects and the new projects to be added to them have obtained and will obtain our full support. Yet here we meet a difficulty; rather, a trend appears, the danger of which, for the programme as a whole, I feel bound to point out. The major projects could develop at the expense of ordinary, normal programme activities. In our view, such a state of affairs would be a real danger to the proper balance of the whole complex of resolutions. I am aware that integrating these projects into the programmes of activities of the various Departments would partially avoid this danger; yet I still believe that a large portion of the resolutions of the regular programme, which have not enjoyed the same favour and interest as the Major Projects, may well be relegated to a secondary or lesser rank. For instance, the so-called East-West Major Project seems almost to absorb the activities of certain Departments. The same is true of the other projects. I think the General Conference should deal with this matter.

29.4 Among the Major Projects whose programmes have, in the past two years, been given serious study and research by the Organization and by Member States, the East-West Major Project seems to win unanimous approval. It is already, and rightly so, highly popular in all circles. The work plan which the new programme proposes to us deserves to be given lively attention. The problem would seem to have been properly stated. Yet it might be desirable, especially at the outset, to have a clearer and more exact idea of the concepts involved. A more convincing solution to the extremely complicated problem of distinguishing between "Orient" and "Occident" would be welcome. It would be fitting to learn and study more objectively the underlying reasons for this differentiation of Orient and Occident which has been set up in the course of history. The proposed programme shows due regard for the originality and unity of cultures. We are certain that during the next two years the international meetings and talks mentioned in the work plan will usefully contribute to the development of a just and fair appraisal of the cultural values in question, and that whatever prejudices may have existed in the evaluation of cultures will be extirpated. The study of the proposed plan of activities in connexion with the Major Project is largely derived from work done by the International Advisory Committee, which will play a decisive part in the execution of this project. I may add that we attach particular importance to the membership of this Committee; it should include representatives of the different cultures.

29.5 As regards the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands, our country's delegation to the last session of the General Conference pointed out the deep interest my Government feels in this undertaking. The competent department of the Organization is sufficiently aware of the especial importance we attach to it, and we owe many thanks to the Director-General and his collaborators for the aid and counsel they have given us in connexion with the project. In this context, I am happy to inform you of the establishment, by my Government, on the proposal of the National Commission, of a Co-operating Committee in which all appropriate bodies will be represented and which will carry out a task of liaison in the field of arid zone research. I may add that the project has been presented to us in the programme with admirable scientific exactitude. The activities planned for the next two years will, I am convinced, be highly advantageous. Let me sincerely congratulate the Department of Natural Sciences on including in the work plan for the Major Project the very important problem of educational activities, though the sums allocated do not seem to us to be in proportion with the scope of the problem. You are not unaware that the spread of arid regions - and therefore of drought - is mainly due to the ignorance of man, who for thousands of years has been blindly destroying the land on which he lives and which is

the very basis for his existence. It is surprising enough to discover that centuries have been required for this truth to be grasped. Under the stimulus of modern technology and industry, there has been rapid economic and social change in most of the arid regions If it were possible to give the inhabitants of these regions a proper education, they might, with modern apparatus and machinery, very quickly repair the damage done by past ages. This is why we believe that one of the most effective measures in the struggle against aridity will be the education of man and the influence this education will bring to bear on his treatment of nature.

29.6 With regard to the Proposed Programme for 1959-1960 as a whole, I have already said that it is a remarkable document on the present state of the Organization's work. I do not want to speak at length about the many subjects and resolutions on which we are already unanimously agreed; our observations will be made in the commissions and committees. I would yet express my full admiration for the great sum of work carried out by Dr. Evans and his collaborators in preparing this essential document, worthy, in my opinion, of all praise. It is clear that highly fruitful collaboration has been established between the Secretariat and Member States. The Executive Board is also entitled to our warmest gratitude for its exceedingly active and valuable share in the preparation of the proposed programme. The composition and high intellectual quality of this document, together with the specific measures it proposes, are a credit to the Organization, which, in our opinion, has succeeded in recent years in acquiring an élite international staff. I would even say that the Secretariat of the Organization can serve as a model for the other Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. We owe this to the authority and competence of three Directors-General - Julian Huxley, Torres Bodet and Luther Evans. You will all take pleasure in observing that we owe to Luther Evans, in particular, this development of the Organization's relations with Member States, one of its outstanding successes.

29.7 In connexion with the various programme activities, I will limit myself to a few remarks, of which the following are the main ones:

29.8 First, the spending level. Apart from increases having no great effect on the total budget, the Organization should, in principle, live within its financial means. Increased allocations do not necessarily mean an extension of activities. They sometimes require administrative and bureaucratic arrangements involving useless additional expense. Concentration of activities must of course generally result in a saving in the sums available.

29.9 As regards Unesco's co-operation with appropriate non-governmental organizations which have been approved for consultative arrangements, the list of these organizations ought to be given objective examination at regular intervals with a view to improving the choice. This, we think, is a very important matter and might well be discussed within the appropriate commission, which could make a revised list of these Organizations. The appointment of a working party to study the question might even be considered.

29.10 The integration of Technical Assistance projects into the activities of the new programme will certainly meet with full favour from Member States. The specific measures proposed by the Programme with a view to the development of international cultural relations will also attract the attention of all delegations. We firmly believe in the value of cultural weeks, organized by Member States of the various regions, and comprising a variety of activities designed to give other countries a better knowledge of each one's cultural life. Allow me humbly to submit this suggestion for your attention and for that of the Organization.

29.11 We continue to pay the closest attention to the programme of cultural activities, feeling that these activities are the surest means of bringing peoples together and spreading the influence of Unesco's ideals. The reports of the second Regional Conference of European National Commissions and of the Conference of Arab National Commissions contain extremely interesting recommendations and suggestions in this regard. With reference to the memorable meeting of the National Commissions of Arab States belonging to Unesco, held at Fez at the beginning of this year, I should like, on behalf of my Government, heartily to thank the Moroccan National Commission, which invited our country as an observer. We wish it to be assured that we were deeply touched by this invitation, to which we responded by sending a representative of our National Commission for Unesco. I should very much like to see more frequent regional conferences of National Commissions; they are an opportunity for useful exchanges of views on common programmes. The documents prepared after these meetings could even be proposed for study by the Reports Committee.

29.12 These are the few observations I wished to submit to you concerning the reports on the Organization's activities and concerning the proposed programme. It remains for me to assure you, gentlemen, that our Government, as in former years, will continue to take an active part in the implementation of Unesco's programme.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

7 November 1958, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Tamon MAEDA (Japan)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, the Federation of Malaya, Rumania, Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium 92

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, the Conference is called to order. In continuation of the discussion on the reports of the Director-General and the Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, I have the honour of calling upon the delegate of Sweden, Professor Eek.

2.1 Mr. EEK (Sweden):

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, it is a great honour and a pleasure for me to submit to the General Conference a few observations on the proposed programme. Pursuing the tradition among the Nordic States, the Unesco Commissions of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have together discussed the programme and reached agreement on all the main points raised by it. Therefore, myself a Swede, I am able to speak in this general discussion on behalf of the delegations from all the Nordic countries.

2.2 First of all, the Executive Board, the Director-General and the staff of Unesco must be heartily congratulated upon the work performed. The performance of Unesco is continuously and steadily improving. If peace be preserved in the world and the common international work in the field of education, science and culture continues and develops, already the next generation will probably find itself living in a world as different from ours as our technological possibilities of today differ from those of only about twenty years ago. However, such optimism is well founded only if we do not cease to put to ourselves the question whether the intentions of the founders of Unesco have been realized. It is the continuous task of the General Conference, as we see it, to review the work of Unesco in the light of the hopes and aspirations expressed in the years 1945 and 1946, when the new world order was planned. In our view the fulfilment of those hopes and aspirations presupposes a concentration of efforts in our work. We therefore welcome the establishment of a long-term plan for the work of Unesco as well as a continued study of the organization of its Secretariat. Planning and leadership belong to the main organs of Unesco; the General Conference, the Executive Board and the Director-General must hold the initiative. Unesco must also retain the initiative with respect to the work of the non-governmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements. Many of those are undoubtedly extremely useful in promoting the aims of Unesco, and must be supported and given important tasks, but the work of the various non-governmental organizations should be scrutinized and their total number might be revised. New organizations should not be set up with the aid of Unesco, unless their coming into being corresponds to the real need among the peoples.

2.3 It is natural that there are differences between the Nordic countries with respect to the emphasis they put on the various projects of Unesco. I may mention that Denmark and Norway have demonstrated a special interest in the construction of a marine science research vessel, and that Finland takes a great interest in the promotion by Unesco of co-ordination in crafts and industrial designs. But we all support those plans, and our general approach to the work of Unesco is the same. This common approach includes, of course, such basic matters as school education and the promotion of youth activities, but I wish particularly to stress only two subjects in this speech. One is adult education: we all feel that adult education should be given a much more prominent place in Unesco's programme. More money should be allocated to adult education, at least to the level of the 1954-1956 budget, and the planning of the work needs considerable improvement. Here, Unesco can provide help to all Member countries; the non-governmental organizations, too, in the various Member countries, which carry out work in the field of adult education support and promote the principles and ideals of Unesco and should be regarded and appreciated as allies. We believe that

real progress starts when men and women who have come of age retain their interest in learning whatever profession they may be engaged in. The volume of knowledge is rapidly increasing in our day, and he who does not seek to learn when out of school will soon find himself below the standard of general education which is required in a developing society. While schools and fundamental education necessarily come first, adult education functions, in a society where the educational opportunities remain unequal, as a great equalizer, and in every society, as a promoter of continuous general understanding of cultural values and of the appreciation of international co-operation.

2.4 There is a second subject, Mr. President, on which I should like to make a few remarks. I refer to the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Some countries in the East and some in the West may, from relations in bygone days, have experiences of both the possibilities and the difficulties which arise in confronting the cultures and the ways of life of people in the Orient and in the Occident. In our countries we have no, or few, such experiences, but we can observe that in spite of whatever efforts have been made in the past, many, and serious misunderstandings still exist, and that mutual appreciation of cultural values is, to a large extent, missing. The Western countries appear to the people in the Orient as technically advanced and materially well-off; their cultural life and the variety in their cultural traditions are less observed and understood.

2.5 Oriental cultural values, are in the Occidental countries, often presented as belonging to the remote past. That the cultural heritage from ancient days forms a living part of society in Eastern countries of today is generally not understood. We have concluded, when we started our work on this Project, that an entirely new approach must be sought. For this reason, we feel, that the Major Project must, at its present initial stage, very carefully explore the problems involved, and make inventories of the knowledge in the various countries which can be used for bringing together the material calculated to foster greater mutual appreciation. First we must establish the nature and content of this material, then we must decide on the proper form for its propagation. Only thereafter will we have arrived at the stage of effective world-wide operation. We are not sure that this stage has yet been reached, and we feel that the launching of campaigns among the great public will certainly not yet be useful. Do we already know what to tell that public that is basically different from what it was previously told? Have the mistakes of the past and the new concepts and ideas been satisfactorily clarified and defined? Even if such questions might not have to be answered in the negative, intensive co-operation between specialist, scholars and the cultured public in all countries of the world is necessary now. I wish to add that the delegations of the Scandinavian countries would appreciate very much an opportunity to get together, at this Conference, with delegations from Eastern countries, in order to discuss possible practical arrangements for co-operation, as it were, at both ends of this Project. Active assistance by the Unesco Secretariat is also a prerequisite for success, and success it must be! The Major Project has immense possibilities and it is full of excitement; the excitement of the Project is that we are, as it were, digging for gold, trying to find out and bring to light hidden or forgotten values - values which will form the basis of full understanding among Eastern and Western countries and, in the end, among all peoples of the world.

2.6 Before concluding, Mr. President, I have one more remark to make, speaking now only as a delegate of Sweden, the country where the Nobel Prizes in literature and sciences are awarded by academies of scholars. I wish to express the sincere hope that the collaboration of States within Unesco will help the peoples to handle their cultural relations, outside our Organization as well, in a spirit of goodwill and mutual respect.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Sweden and I have the honour of calling upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have already mounted this rostrum several times at the present session of the General Conference, but hitherto it has always been in order to speak on organizational and procedural questions. I now have an opportunity of taking part in the general discussion at the tenth session of the Conference. I should like, first of all, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to convey our greetings to you all on the occasion of the opening of the tenth session. I have particular pleasure in doing so because today is the 7th of November - the date of the most important public holiday of the Soviet Union, the 41st anniversary of the Great October Revolution in Russia. This is a holiday not for the Soviet people alone, but for all her friends as well; and also, I venture to think, for all men of good will everywhere, who associate the October Revolution and the building of a new world with the highest ideals of the modern age. I should like, further, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to thank the French Government for the warm hospitality it has accorded to our Organization.

4.2 As has already been remarked, Unesco has now been in existence for twelve years - long enough, one would think, for the Organization to be able to show whether or not it is capable of carrying out the noble work for which it was created. As you know, its main purpose, as proclaimed in the Constitution, is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture.

4.3 What results has Unesco achieved in this noble, humane work? Has it really become an effective instrument in the campaign for the strengthening of peace and international co-operation? Pondering on these questions, we can acknowledge that Unesco has certain achievements to its credit in such matters as scientific research on arid lands and the humid tropical zone; it was, we consider, successful in the organization of the conference on the use of radioisotopes in scientific research; it is carrying out a Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America; and has embarked on various other

enterprises in the field of social science research. But is this sufficient, in view of the aims proclaimed in the Unesco Constitution? In our opinion, gentlemen, this is by no means enough to fulfil the tasks and attain the aims which we have undertaken of our own free will and inscribed in our own Constitution.

4.4 The period in which we are living is one of crucial importance for the whole of the future of mankind. Radical changes are occurring in the lives of hundreds of millions of people in every corner of the globe. Socialism has been born, and we are witnessing the development of this mighty force which unites, under the banner of peace and social progress, more than a third of all mankind. The multitudes of Asia and Africa are on the move, fighting for independence, national autonomy, sovereignty and equality against the forces of colonialism and imperialism. All these represent radical changes in the life of mankind, and they open up encouraging prospects for the future development of the world's history.

4.5 At the same time there still exist, in certain Western countries, and in the United States of America in particular, a number of reactionary, imperialistic groups, which have united to form the aggressive NATO bloc. These forces are attempting to stay the march of history; they will not rest and they refuse to desist from their efforts to precipitate mankind into the chasm of another disastrous world catastrophe. They make no attempt to conceal their intention of exploiting the greatest achievements of man's genius in the cause of war. By refusing to call a halt to tests of nuclear weapons, the advocates of the policy of negotiating "from positions of strength" are already compromising the health and lives of future generations. The senseless armaments race in which these reactionary powers have long been engaged is a criminal waste of immense powers and resources which man badly needs for the improvement of his material well-being and his culture.

4.6 The Soviet Government, true to its peace-loving policy and in pursuit of the ideals of peaceful coexistence and friendship between the peoples without regard to their social and political structure, their way of life, their beliefs and their political ideals, has put forward a whole series of important, constructive proposals which, if carried out, would certainly lead to the lessening of international tension, and the danger of war, the ending of the "cold war", and the development of trust and co-operation between all the peoples of the world. It is common knowledge, however, that the governments of the Western NATO powers do not look with favour on the peaceable proposals of the Soviet Government.

4.7 Can we, in the light of the present international situation, viewed not in the abstract, but in terms of concrete facts, really say that Unesco is doing all it should to wage an active, energetic, consistent campaign for the strengthening of peace and co-operation between the nations? No, gentlemen, unfortunately we cannot.

4.8 Let us face facts, and admit that Unesco is still very far from fulfilling the tasks assigned it in its Constitution. If we look boldly and in a critical spirit at what our Organization is doing, we have to admit that its activities consist mainly of comparatively ineffectual, I would even say, minor projects; so that the Organization's funds and energies are frittered away on enterprises of no broad international significance from the standpoint of the main task of modern times - the struggle for peace. Nor is this all: Unesco, on some questions, acts not as an instrument of peace but actually as an agent of the "cold-warmongers".

4.9 Take, for instance, one very important and long-standing problem, which we have not thrashed out completely and which has to be discussed, though some of those present would prefer that it were not - the question of the representation of China in Unesco. I repeat that the illegal exclusion from participation in Unesco's work of the representatives of the great Chinese people is harmful, first and foremost, to the Organization itself. By ceding, on this question, to the pressure of aggressive, reactionary elements in the United States of America, Unesco is assisting the warmongers and assuming a heavy responsibility for this infamous business before the international community and in the judgement of history.

4.10 It is clear to all the world that the only representatives of China in international organizations must be those appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is shameful that a band of political corpses, thrown out by the Chinese people and dragging out their last days under the protection of foreign bayonets, should presume to speak in the name of China; and it is high time that this situation was brought to an end. No formal references to the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly should be allowed to prevent us from restoring justice: we are not bound to slavish following of wrong decisions of the General Assembly, but must act in accordance with our reason and our conscience, on the basis of a realistic assessment of the situation. Unesco, by its foolish policy, has deprived itself of the possibility of taking advantage of the very valuable experience of the People's Republic of China, and has cut itself off from the precious cultural heritage of this nation of six hundred million people. How can we talk seriously of the East-West Project when mighty China is excluded from it!

4.11 And there is another thing I would like to add. Anyone acquainted with Unesco's proposed programme and budget must have paused more than once to consider the item "undistributed appropriation" which appears regularly in every appropriation resolution. In the proposed budget submitted for consideration at the present session of the General Conference, the total given under this item is $1,273,000. What does this sum represent? The footnote says that it represents contributions unlikely to be received - that is what the document says. I give full credit to the author of this document for his cautious wording, but he could have said here simply that this sum represents contributions which the Organization will not receive. The major part of the amount mentioned under this item represents the contributions due from China which, naturally, the Chiang Kai-shek group do not pay, because they are imposters. According to our reckoning, this bad debt has mounted up over the years of Unesco's existence to a total of over $6,000,000, and the Member States are obliged to make up this deficit. As regards the Soviet Government, I have to announce that it does not intend, in

future, to contribute towards the continued presence in Unesco of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Let the friends of these political corpses maintain them: we shall not contribute another farthing to this dirty business.

4.12 Fellow delegates, if we now turn to Unesco's programme activities, its budget and the recruitment of the Secretariat staff, here again we find signs of serious defects and mistakes in the conduct of the Organization's work.

4.13 First of all, it must be said that the ratio of staff expenditure to programme expenditure in Unesco is completely wrong. I am not sure whether I have reckoned it out correctly, but I think I have, more or less. According to my calculations, the sum to be spent in 1959-1960 on the basic salaries of members of the Secretariat totals nearly $9,000,000, in other words rather more than a third of the Organization's total budget. If we now take the entire cost of the permanent staff, we find that it amounts to $12,500,000, or half of the Organization's total budget. You will agree that such a division of Unesco's funds cannot by any stretch be described as expedient.

4.14 The Soviet delegation considers further that, if Unesco's work in general is to be improved, it is absolutely essential to achieve the maximum concentration of funds and energies on fundamental issues and key problems, the solution of which will really produce useful results, contribute to the development of international scientific and cultural co-operation, and tangibly promote the welfare of mankind and the strengthening of peace.

4.15 The holding of major international scientific conferences, the development of cultural exchanges between all countries, regardless of their social and political systems, the conclusion of international conventions designed to make the scientific and technological achievements of the modern world freely accessible to the peoples of all nations, the encouragement of the exchange of scientific, cultural and educational delegations, the provision of facilities for visiting international and national exhibitions on scientific, cultural and educational subjects - such are the main lines along which Unesco's work should develop. The Soviet delegation is not saying that there should be major gatherings only, and no small international and regional meetings, conferences, symposia, etc. - these too have their place. But to lay the main emphasis on partial, limited projects like this, of no broad international significance, leads, as I have already said, to ineffectual dissipation of the Organization's funds and energies, to the detriment of its fundamental tasks.

4.16 There are two further problems which, in our view, it is vitally important to solve correctly - the question of Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations; and the question of balanced geographical representation on the staff of the Unesco Secretariat.

4.17 Among the organizations approved for consultative arrangements with Unesco are many sound scientific and cultural organizations; but there are also some such as the "International Federation of Senior Police Officers". On the other hand, Unesco is firmly refusing to grant consultative status to a number of large, widely representative, democratic organizations such as the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Union of Students, the International Broadcasting Organization, the International Federation of Scientific Workers and so on. I ask you, is this right? In my opinion it is entirely wrong, and moreover, it narrows the potentialities of our Organization.

4.18 The question of the geographical representation of Member States on the Unesco Secretariat was discussed at the ninth session of the Conference. The principle of fair geographical representation is of particular importance to Unesco, for the staff of an Organization dealing with international co-operation in the intellectual field cannot function satisfactorily unless it itself shows forth a practical example of the international co-operation it aspires to promote. What is the present position in this respect? The Executive Board of Unesco recently approved and adopted a new and more equitable system of assessing the geographical distribution of posts on the Unesco Secretariat. If we examine the situation in the light of this system, we come to the conclusion that our Organization is seriously infringing the principle of fair geographical representation. According to the figures for October this year, 26 countries, most of them in Asia and Africa, were not represented at all on the Unesco Secretariat; and a number of countries, including the Soviet Union, were seriously under-represented. The quota of posts on the Secretariat allocated to the Soviet Union is by no means commensurate with the proportion of Unesco's total budget paid by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of posts on the Unesco Secretariat are occupied by nationals of NATO countries. Countries such as, for example, England, Belgium and the Netherlands hold more than twice as many posts on the Secretariat as their contributions entitle them to; and France holds more than four times as many. During all the years of Unesco's existence, there has never been a single Director-General from the countries of the East; they have all been, so to speak, "Westerners". The Director-General, in document 10 C/32, states that the position with regard to geographical representation shows definite progress. I must say quite bluntly that, with this sort of "progress", there will be no fair geographical representation in Unesco even in a hundred years' time! The Soviet Government is not at all satisfied with the Director-General's policy in the selection of staff, and considers that drastic measures must be taken in order to correct the present position. The Soviet delegation is firmly convinced that people worthy and capable of serving honestly and satisfactorily on the Unesco Secretariat are to be found not only in England, the United States of America and France, but in all other Member States of Unesco as well.

4.19 To sum up, I have to state on behalf of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the USSR will continue to object to the present situation in Unesco. Unless the position is radically changed, the Soviet Union may have to consider the question of the expediency of continuing to finance Unesco. The Soviet Government willingly contributes funds for developing cultural co-operation between the peoples, but it is anxious that funds contributed for that purpose should really be spent on cultural exchanges and on assistance to countries in need, and

not wasted to no purpose. We must remember that every dollar has to be worked for, and we have no right to spend people's money uselessly; on the contrary, we must expend it with the greatest responsibility.

4.20 It is common knowledge, ladies and gentlemen, that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, true to the principles of peaceful co-existence, respects the cultural and scientific achievements of every people, being keenly aware that every nation of the world has its own contribution to make to the general cultural heritage of mankind. It is the consistent, traditional policy of the Soviet Union to establish business and friendly relations between peoples on equal, mutually advantageous terms; and it is on this basis that the Soviet Union is establishing extensive cultural relations with countries throughout the world.

4.21 Hundreds of millions of people all over the world draw inspiration from the ideals of friendship between the nations. It behoves Unesco, as an international Organization, to devote all its energies and sources to the service of the great and lofty ideal of universal peace and friendship between peoples.

4.22 It must not for a moment be forgotten that this is Unesco's main purpose. At the present moment the Organization is, we consider, in serious danger of departing from the clear, direct line of policy proclaimed in its Constitution, and straying aside from the main path along which the whole development of the modern world is proceeding. This cannot be permitted.

4.23 In conclusion, I should like to say that I hope delegates will pay careful attention to the serious and complex problems facing this General Conference; and that, with a high sense of responsibility and of our duty towards all men of goodwill everywhere, we shall endeavour, one and all, to solve these problems in the interests not of any specific persons or groups, but in the cause of world peace and international cultural co-operation.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Kuznetsov for his speech. As the next speaker, I call upon Mrs. Mehta, the delegate of India.

6.1 Mrs. MEHTA (India):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Government of India and the Indian National Commission, I wish to make a few observations on the Report of the Director-General for the years 1957-1958 and on the budget estimates for the years 1959-1960. On reading the report, one receives an impression that innumerable activities were undertaken by Unesco during the last two years. One hopes that it is not "all action and no go", and that these activities have resulted in some tangible achievement. The budget estimates envisage the work plan for the next two years. The Government of India and the Indian National Commission are in general agreement with the plan of work proposed in the budget. I shall, therefore, not go into details with regard to every item, but shall restrict my observations to such items as we consider need further emphasis.

6.2 The budget provides for some new activities, such as co-operation with the other United Nations agencies, particularly in the field of human rights. The Declaration of Human Rights includes the right to education. It is one of the important rights, and it is gratifying to note that problems in the general area of equality of educational opportunity - the access of girls and women to education, measures that may be taken against discrimination, etc. - will be given increasing attention during the coming biennium. Another new activity will be undertaken in connexion with higher or university education in the form of a more systematic study of university problems by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Higher Education. Thus far very little has been done for higher education and this new activity more than deserves welcome. Universities train leaders and, in underdeveloped countries, training for sound leadership has become an essential factor for proper development of these regions. It is, thus, of the first necessity that universities in these regions should work on the right lines and help towards the advancement of these regions.

6.3 Universal primary education, however, must always take priority in the Unesco programme of work, for ultimate elimination of illiteracy throughout the world is the declared aim of Unesco. The statistics show that 45 per cent of the world's children of school-going age do not go to school. This gives us an idea of the enormity of the problem. One Major Project for primary education in Latin America will therefore not be enough, if the problem is to be tackled in right earnest. Many more such projects will have to be undertaken in Asia and Africa, if universal primary education is to be achieved. The Government of India feels very strongly on this point and urges Unesco to start at least another project in Asia as soon as possible.

6.4 The statistics also reveal that 45 per cent of the world's population of the age of fifteen and over do not read and write. For the ultimate elimination of illiteracy, the problem of adult education has also to be taken in hand, and I agree entirely with the previous speaker from Sweden who has emphasized this point. Unesco has some centres of fundamental education, but somehow this programme has lacked vigour. I would also like to point out that the word "fundamental education" creates complexes which stand in the way of its progress. It is better to use the term "adult education" or "out-of-school education" where greater emphasis is to be put, not on mere literacy, but on social education or education for good citizenship. In this connexion, if the Department of Education co-ordinated its work with the Department of Cultural Activities and the Department of Mass Communication, the work of adult education would be speeded up. Libraries, museums, press, radio and film are media which should be utilized for the purposes of adult education. Unesco has initiated some good work in public library development in India, and the pilot project of the Delhi Public Library has been a notable success. It is desirable that work in this field be stepped up in the next two years.

6.5 It is gratifying to note that a regional centre for the production of literature for the neo-literates has been established in Pakistan. In view of the contribution it will make to the progress of adult education, we hope that it will soon be made a major project.

6.6 The Director-General reports on certain

activities which have been undertaken on behalf of women. I feel that Unesco has yet to realize the importance of women's education and must do more than is being done. To give an example, there is a great demand for home science or home economics education in Asian countries today; subjects such as nutrition and child development form part of the home science curriculum. It would be in the interests of the health and the well-being of the community to spread nutrition education, particularly among women. Some home science colleges have already been established and there is a demand for more, but the difficulty is lack of trained personnel to staff the colleges. If a few fellowships were set aside, every year for a period of five to ten years, for women to specialize in these subjects, the difficulty of recruiting qualified staff would, to some extent, be overcome. Within the budget provisions already made for fellowships, the Director-General may, I hope, introduce such a scheme.

6.7 In the field of natural science, we have not a great deal to say. In view of the importance of science today, it is gratifying to note that an enlarged programme for the promotion and teaching of science has been contemplated. This programme will complement the efforts of the Department of Education towards improving secondary and vocational education in Africa. Side by side with the promotion of the teaching of science, it is necessary to impress also on young minds that science is to be used for the progress and prosperity of mankind, and never for its destruction. Humane education should form a very important part of the school curriculum, so that children may learn to be humane and kind to all living creatures. Since Unesco is considering the reform of school curricula, this point should be given strong emphasis. The Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands is a concrete example of an activity where science is utilized for the benefit of man. While intensive scientific research will be carried on in this field and training of specialists will be undertaken, it is gratifying to note that the aid to the centres, including the centre at Jodhpur, in India, for carrying out this work will be substantially increased.

6.8 In the field of social sciences, limited work is being undertaken by Unesco. This is as it should be, since much work can be done through the university departments of social sciences in various countries, with some assistance from Unesco. We are interested in the social implications of industrialization and would like the regional centre, established at Calcutta two years ago by Unesco with the help of the Government of India, to continue. We also hope that the Member States in the region which are served by this Institute will also contribute towards its financing, so that it may function more efficiently with a better qualified and trained staff at its disposal.

6.9 Cultural activities form another major part of Unesco's programme. It is gratifying to note that several new activities are to be undertaken, such as the preparation of the Catalogue of Art Films. We note with satisfaction that the History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind, begun in 1950, will be completed in 1960. We hope that its publication will not take long and that this work will be widely disseminated in all the Member States.

6.10 The Government of India has expressed appreciation of the establishment of the Asian Theatre Centre, at New Delhi. Although it is too early to evaluate its achievements, we feel, however, that if the centre is to be successful, it must receive more financial help. With regard to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, the Project for travelling exhibitions has an important rôle to play. We regret, therefore, to note that a reduction of activity is foreseen in relation to this Project in 1959-1960.

6.11 We are grateful for the continued assistance proposed for the Institute of Traditional Cultures of the University of Madras, for publication of an Information Bulletin. We feel, however, that in view of the usefulness of its work, it would be desirable to strengthen the Institute by providing adequate funds, fellowships and materials.

6.12 Press, radio and film are powerful media for mass education and for promoting understanding and peace. One wonders whether good use is made of these media for this purpose. In fact, they are often wrongly used for political propaganda, with the result that more misunderstanding is created and conflicts arise. Is there no way to prevent such misuse of these media? The Unesco plan of training journalists should take this into consideration and learning to understand the rôle of the Press in promoting peace should be a part of the journalist's training. The Government of India also welcomes the provision made for assistance in the establishment of television services, particularly for educational purposes.

6.13 During the period under review, a number of Asian and African States - Ghana, Somaliland, Kuwait and Malaya - have become Members of Unesco. As Dr. Radhakrishnan has said, "Asia is awake, and Africa is on the move". This is, indeed, a very happy sign of the desire of the peoples and States to become Members of the Unesco family. It is a pity, therefore, that such a large State as the People's Republic of China, with its population of millions and its culture thousands of years old, is denied admission. Educators, thinkers, scientists, artists, creative writers, whether they come from the East or the West, are alike desirous of coming together for international collaboration in the intellectual field for which Unesco stands. In this great temple you have erected in the heart of France, the home of the noble ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, in this temple designed and decorated by artists and architects of many nations, dedicated to Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning and Wisdom, there should be room for every worshipper, be he a prince or a pauper, a saint or a sinner.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mrs. Mehta and now call upon the delegate of the Federation of Malaya, Mr. Khir Bin Johari.

8.1 Mr. KHIR BIN JOHARI (Federation of Malaya):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, as Head of the delegation of the Federation of Malaya, I should like, first of all, to express my thanks and appreciation for the privilege given me to address this Conference today. This privilege is of special significance to me and my Government, as it is the first time our country has participated as a full-fledged Member of Unesco. Like Ghana, our association with Unesco

began in 1954 when, through the kind sponsorship of the Government of the United Kingdom, we were admitted as an Associate Member belonging to the Malaya/British Borneo Group.

8.2 I was greatly moved, as were the other delegates, by the address of Dr. Radhakrishnan at the opening of this tenth session of the General Conference. I hope that his words of friendly caution and of so much wisdom will not go unheeded. The inspiring address of our present President, delivered yesterday, also reaffirms the faith and conviction of my country in what Unesco can and should achieve.

8.3 The Federation of Malaya, is, I am proud to say, a miniature United Nations at work, because in our country we have people of different origins, race, and creed, working and living harmoniously together. The three major races which make up the plural society of the Federation of Malaya - the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians - each have their own religion, language, customs and ways of life. Each of these cultures, individually, has deep roots in different soils and different traditions - Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu. While these cultures have come into contact and fused with one another, there is now a fourth influencing factor, Western culture, which tends to work as a socializing force in our present society. Not only is there a need for mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, but also a need for intra-cultural understanding among the diverse people of my country. This experiment in living harmoniously together, you will observe, is the East and West Major Project of this Organization, in practice.

8.4 All our efforts may be summed up as an attempt to forge, out of our diverse races, an enlightened and tolerant nation with a reasonable standard of living. We are sparing no efforts towards achieving our ideals. This can be proved by the fact that, in 1958, we are spending no less than 20 per cent of our total budget on education alone, and that no child of the age of six or more is without a place in school.

8.5 I am most gratified to learn from the proposed programme and budget of Unesco that the Organization provides, for 1959-1960, certain programmes on the lines considered by us as most essential to our development and progress. I refer to such programmes as the development and use of the vernacular languages as the effective media of instruction, the question of terminology, the provision of a sound universal primary education, the establishment of rural training centres, the extension of adult education, the raising of the standard of technical education and teacher training, the production of textbooks and audio-visual aids, the orientation of the contents of education to the needs of local society, and the improvement of library and museum services. In this connexion, therefore, the Government of the Federation of Malaya is confident that, now that we have become a full Member of Unesco, this Organization will continue to give us the assistance, in the form of technical advice, fellowships and grants, which as a young nation we greatly need.

8.6 As a plural society, in our efforts to achieve peace and harmony among ourselves, and to raise the standard of living, we are in our own small way fulfilling the aims of this august Organization. May I take this opportunity to pledge the continued wholehearted support of my Government for the fulfilment of Unesco's objectives and ideals to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men.

8.7 Finally, Mr. President, may I with your permission add a personal note. As I shall be leaving Paris today on my way home, may I thank our host Government, the Government of France, for their very warm hospitality.

9. The PRESIDENT: I thank the delegate of the Federation of Malaya and call upon the delegate of Rumania, Mr. Joja.

10.1 Mr. JOJA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like first, on behalf of the delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic, to greet the General Conference of Unesco at the opening of its tenth session and wish it success in its work. Allow me, too, to express our gratitude to the Municipality of Paris and to the French people for the warm hospitality they have shown us; and, since we are holding our conference this time in Paris, to pay tribute to the splendours of French culture, to its humanists, scholars, writers and teachers, the bearers of the great spiritual traditions of France. I welcome also the inauguration of the new building, as a sign of the universal influence of Unesco and a pledge of its continuing achievement in the future. It is more than ever essential that the main aims of the Organization - intellectual collaboration on a world scale, reciprocal acquaintance between the peoples, peaceful international co-operation - should be pursued boldly and perseveringly; and it behoves us too to redouble our efforts so that Unesco may accomplish its noble task by spreading progress and freedom, culture and science, civilization and peace throughout the world. It is important that every Member State should contribute, by the development of its national culture, to the attainment of our great universal projects.

10.2 In Socialist Rumania, education, science and culture receive special attention, along with economic, social and political concerns. In this country where, formerly, more than four million of the inhabitants dwelt in abysmal ignorance, illiteracy has now been wiped out. Under our popular democratic system, the question of adult education is taken over by the Government. Culture and science are becoming increasingly available to all. Books, films, radio, television, theatre, music, lectures and exhibitions are made accessible to the mass of the people. Shakespeare and Tolstoy, Balzac and Cervantes, Hugo and Whitman are living figures for the Rumanian people; our schoolchildren study them, our workers read them, and even our peasants are gradually acquiring a taste for their works. Science is driving out superstition and ignorance. Technology is purposefully enlisted in the service of man.

10.3 For the past ten years our educational system, organized on new lines, has been explaining natural phenomena on a scientific, realistic basis, with reference to social factors. Our national minorities enjoy absolutely the same rights as Rumanians, and make a very real contribution to the cultural life of the community. Rumanian scholars find in our

universities and laboratories all facilities for their work. Writers and artists receive treatment worthy of their talents; and their work, drawing on the cultural traditions and lore of the past, closely reflects our new society. Our cultural relations with foreign countries have expanded considerably. Thanks to cultural agreements, we are now able to acquire a thorough knowledge of the countries of the West, of Latin America and the East. We are increasingly anxious to learn about the cultural and scientific achievements of other peoples, and to collaborate with them in mind and deed. And in order to do so, Unesco aid is invaluable to us.

10.4 Although it is little over two years since the People's Republic of Rumania became a Member of the Organization, our National Commission has striven to implement the main tasks laid down in Unesco's programme and to become acquainted with Unesco's main problems. Rumania today has a competent National Commission ready to play an active part in the execution of the programme, and to bring Rumanian national bodies and Rumanian public opinion to take a sustained interest in Unesco's work. Further to these preliminary remarks I would now like, Mr. President and fellow delegates, to voice a few general comments made by our delegation on the Organization's work.

10.5 Comparing the present proposed programme and budget with former ones, we note with satisfaction that the funds allocated to scientific research and practical activities have substantially increased, a fact that clearly reflects, the growing importance of science in the present-day world. We are living in an age of astonishingly rapid scientific progress. New discoveries, new inventions are occurring every day, changing the face of the world. In the age of nuclear physics and inter-planetary flight, science is all-powerful. And among our Organization's main purposes is to contribute to the fulfilment of one of the missions of our era: to place science at the service of man, and so ensure the advance of civilization and the triumph of peace.

10.6 The importance attributed to regional activities has likewise increased, and we hope will increase still further in the period 1959-1960. Owing to the special problems of each main region, the programmes for the various regions differ - the same programme could not be applied, for instance, to the countries of Africa, the Socialist countries and the countries of the West. Certain draft resolutions - the one on educational opportunities for women, for instance, or on discrimination in education - are no longer of any interest to the Socialist countries; whereas there are other countries where the problem is of burning topical importance. On the other hand, we are vitally concerned with projects designed to bring the Member States of a region to participate in joint scientific or cultural action. Thus the Organization's programme must, as far as possible, be adapted to the different regions, in order more surely to attain Unesco's aims.

10.7 Document 10 C/5 revised is a better document than its predecessors and gives a clear, concise idea of the future activities of the Organization. Nevertheless, the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, in common with earlier ones, has certain shortcomings which we shall proceed to enumerate, solely with a view to discussing together what remedies to apply.

10.8 The Rumanian delegation considers that the programme for 1959-1960 lays too much emphasis on activities of lesser moment so that, on occasion, it loses sight of the Organization's main objectives. To quote one example: in 1957, the International Social Science Institute in Cologne received a subvention of $42,000. But what is the programme of this Institute? Does it really attack the main problems of today? Planned economy, for instance, or peaceful coexistence? It does not, it deals with minor, unimportant subjects, such as, for instance, a social study of the little town of Euskirchen, relations between civilians and army personnel, appraisal of the work of small study groups, and so on.

10.9 Again, some of the Member States are paying very little attention to the guiding principles of Unesco. Thus, there have been quite a number of draft resolutions which raise the problem of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or religion. Whereas Unesco allocates substantial funds for fundamental and adult education in colonial countries, the sums spent by the governments of some of those countries on education are derisory. In the absence of a solid material basis, the phrase "equality of educational opportunity" is meaningless. It is our view that, while the initiative should in most cases come from Unesco, the bulk of the cost of applying the Organization's programme should be met by Member States.

10.10 The proposed programme for the next two years centres mainly round international co-operation and mutual acquaintance between the peoples as a pledge of lasting peace. But the question of peace is indissolubly linked, firstly, with that of the atomic threat and secondly, with the prevention of war propaganda. Despite this, neither the question of nuclear physics nor the prohibition of all war propaganda receives in the proposed programme the attention it merits.

10.11 Again, there are various circumstances which hamper the Organization in the pursuit of a sound policy. To take one example; the Major Project designed to promote mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values meets with a serious political obstacle in colonialism. Their conflicts with the colonial powers sometimes engender in the countries of the East, now fighting for their independence, a refusal to study Western cultures. Further, the universality of the East-West Major Project is impaired by another factor which we feel bound to mention - the absence of the People's Republic of China with its ancient civilizations, without which no image of the East can be complete.

10.12 We consider that the question of Chinese representation in Unesco is both vital and urgent and that the absence of the People's Republic of China constitutes a fatal flaw, preventing our Organization from attaining its aims.

10.13 China, ladies and gentlemen, can very well live without Unesco; but I venture to assert that Unesco, without representatives of the People's Republic of China, cannot properly perform its task.

10.14 How, indeed, can we speak of true international intellectual co-operation, or of the execution of the East-West Major Project, while a nation of

650 million people, founder of a magnificent civilization, is absent from our midst? Thirty per cent of the population of the globe is thus excluded from our activities.' The leading rôle played by China both in Asia and in the world as a whole cannot be disregarded.

10.15 As we have said, not only did China, in the past, produce one of the finest civilizations in the world, but today too, its scholars and artists are making an outstanding contribution to the progress of science and the arts.

10.16 How can we refuse its place in Unesco to a people who, twelve centuries before our era, discovered the notion of scientific proof? The Chou Pei Suan Ching (Arithmetical Classic of the Gnomon and Circular Path) in fact contains the first attempts at rational proof; and it is clear from this work that Chinese scholars of that time were concerned not only with knowing facts, the hoti as Aristotle later called it, but with the cause, the reason why, the dioti as well.

10.17 Chinese thought is dominated to an even greater extent than Greek thought by the notion of the whole, the correlation of phenomena and universal laws - I mean the fundamental conception of Tao.

10.18 The democratic régime in popular China has given irrefutable proof of its strength, and it is playing an increasingly important rôle in international politics. It is therefore high time that we invited the Government of the People's Republic of China to send representatives to Unesco, and withdrew the mandate of the delegate of the Kuomintang clique, which represents no one and which, into the bargain, has for years not paid its regular contribution.

10.19 My delegation considers itself bound to raise this question before the General Conference.

10.20 People have said that Unesco is a sort of annex to the United Nations. We of course admit the importance of the United Nations; but we regard Unesco, the supreme forum of world science, not as an annex, but as a parallel body to the United Nations, enjoying a wide measure of autonomy and, as such, empowered to take an independent stand on the question of the admission of China.

10.21 Our Organization can and ought to restore the Chinese people to its rightful position in Unesco; it should invite the People's Republic of China to send its representatives here; and turn out the delegate of the Kuomintang clique which is inimical both to the Chinese people and to world peace. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, world public opinion would welcome such a step.

10.22 In the view of the Rumanian delegation, the current proposed programme and budget attaches too much importance to the rôle of experts. There are many fields of the Participation programme or the Technical Assistance programme in which Unesco, at the request of Member States, allocates the largest funds for sending missions of experts, and participation often means a trip for the expert, who brings back a very circumstantial report. But in the country concerned, nothing has changed at all, and the Organization's money has been spent. It would be very much more to the point if Member States, when submitting their requests, were to press for the training of specialists, the training, that is, of permanent, competent specialists acquainted with local conditions and enjoying the confidence of the local population.

10.23 Another weakness in the general functioning of the Organization is, I consider, the extreme slowness in the adoption and execution of resolutions. To take a conspicuous example: the General Conference, at its ninth session, in 1956, decided that Unesco should conclude a contract with ICOM for carrying out a study on "the most effective means of enabling all social classes, ..., to have access to museums". In 1958, the subject was discussed by the Executive Board; a working paper was prepared; and a draft resolution in the programme for 1959-1960 provides for issuing a recommendation to Member States. The work plan for this resolution specifies that, in the event of the General Conference approving the suggestion to issue a recommendation, "a meeting of governmental experts will be convened in 1960 to prepare a draft recommendation for submission to the General Conference at its eleventh session". Need it really take four years to implement a resolution as useful as it is simple to formulate? The position might perhaps be remedied simply by drafting this recommendation forthwith, and adopting it now, at the tenth session.

10.24 I should like next to draw your attention, fellow delegates, to the need for applying the principle of geographical representation, fairly and realistically in the committees and commissions of Unesco, as well as in its publications. I feel bound to point out that the persons responsible for these publications make little attempt either to ensure that they give an impartial picture of the achievements of the Socialist States in the fields of education, science and culture or to avoid the publication of erroneous or misleading information.

10.25 It is regrettable that some Unesco publications should have repeated slanderous statements calculated to bring discredit on the Socialist countries. This is surely in flat contradiction to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter.

10.26 There, Mr. President and fellow delegates, are our main objections to the programme for 1959-1960. Of course it also contains many excellent proposals, in the execution of which we are prepared to co-operate to our utmost. Regional activities, bilateral projects, international seminars and symposia and the East-West Major Project will meet with an enthusiastic response in Rumania and an increasing measure of co-operation, for the excellent reason that, so far as the programme we are now discussing and drafting corresponds to the lofty aims of Unesco - namely, international co-operation based on better mutual acquaintance between the peoples, higher spiritual and moral standards for mankind, and peaceful coexistence - Socialist Rumania to that extent undertakes to contribute, firmly and consistently, towards making humanism, freedom and peace prevail throughout the world.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Joja and now call on the delegate of Israel.

12.1 Mr. AVIDOR (Israel):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, in paying tribute, on behalf of the Israeli delegation, to all those who made possible and

contributed towards the erection of this new home of Unesco, I wish to cite two brief appropriate biblical references. First, let me repeat the words of King Solomon, who, on the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem, appealed to the Lord, saying: "That thine eyes may be open towards this House night and day". Secondly, I feel certain that we all join with the prophet Haggai in wishing that "the glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former", and that "in this place I will give peace, says the Lord".

12.2 Fellow delegates, I wish to confine my general observations mainly to two essential points in our programme of work - the Major Projects and the regional activities of Unesco. We all, no doubt, remember the numerous and not always co-ordinated efforts of our Organization in the early years of its existence, all aimed at achieving its difficult and important aspirations and purposes. Limited in its financial resources and seeking its way through the widespread and often uncharted fields of education, science and culture, the Organization at first seemed at times to be almost blundering and floundering into an ever-increasing number of unrelated activities. About four years ago we decided on the concentration of activities in Unesco, and we also defined the areas of priorities for such concentration. This resulted in Unesco's embarking, two years ago, on the road of Major Projects. For the New Delhi Conference the Secretariat prepared programmes for two Major Projects: the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, and the Scientific Research on Arid Lands. The General Conference, however, added a third - Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. All those present at that General Conference at New Delhi will remember how great and universal was our enthusiasm for this third Major Project, and how speakers vied with each other in their fervour and eulogies. It mattered little that a proposed programme and work plan had not been fully prepared. It did not even matter that most speakers admitted that the Project as such was in need of clarification, and that the very terms "East" and "West" were vague and not easily defined. The Conference was carried away by its almost overflowing emotion on the subject, and the East-West Project soon loomed as something of a "super-Project" among Major Projects.

12.3 Two years have elapsed. Much, perhaps too much, has been written and said about this Major Project, and yet the second annual session of our Advisory Committee on the East-West Major Project devoted part of its time, we are told in the Report of of the Director-General, "to clarify the basic concepts of the Major Project". On studying the proposed programme for this Project for the next two years, it seems to me that the period of clarification is still with us. It even strikes one as somewhat strange that such an important ten-year Project should merit, in its fourth year, a smaller proposed budget than in its previous year. Has the Project reached its peak in its third year? I have nothing against the activities proposed for the East-West Project, I am only wondering whether they constitute a Major Project. No one can doubt, even for one moment, the importance of mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, although we ought to stress, not less, the importance of the appreciation of the cultures of our immediate neighbours, whatever region we live in. Indeed, living as we do in what has become one world, everyone ought to learn to appreciate all cultural values, whether they come from East or West, far or near. Mutual appreciation of cultural values, being a fundamental and a universal issue not dissimilar to the pursuit of peace, ought not perhaps to be confined within the time and scope limitations of a Major Project, but should rather pervade all Unesco's programmes and activities. I wish to emphasize that I am not suggesting the discarding of the East-West Major Project or curtailing its proposed activities, but I propose that our next Executive Board examine and evaluate it carefully, and submit to the eleventh session of the General Conference a concentration of activities within this Project that can be clearly defined within a limited scope and achieved within a stated period of years. Let us also learn a profitable lesson from our experience in this matter and let us beware of rushing into new Major Projects before they are clearly defined and thoroughly prepared. Labelling a set of activities as Major Projects does not necessarily make them so, and if we take up Major Projects too enthusiastically, we shall need before long to concentrate them in "super Major Projects".

12.4 My other observation refers to Unesco's regional activities. We all realize that Unesco's work can be accomplished on the international, the regional, and the Member States levels. In pursuing regional activities, however, great care must be taken by Unesco to avoid two pitfalls: one, that such activities do not decentralize the administration of Unesco, thereby increasing administrative officers and personnel at the expense of activities; secondly, regional activities, such as conferences, meetings, institutes and seminars, must be available and accessible to participants from all Member States in the region and to observers from all other regions as well. This is not merely a theoretical observation. In the past, Unesco has organized, sponsored or assisted regional activities which were not accessible to all Member States. The General Conference and the Secretariat cannot condone such practices, which are in utter contradiction to the basic principles and aims of Unesco and the Charter of the United Nations.

12.5 Before coming to my conclusion, I wish to make a minor remark, and its nature may appeal to you, fellow delegates. We have all come here for concentrated effort to work out a general programme and budget for our Organization. Let us all do our best. We have a crowded agenda, and it is taking up time of the Conference, especially in the commissions and committees, to tell of the glories of our countries, of our cultural past and present achievements. There are many delegations, and we meet only once in two years in order to discuss general, and not individual, problems - interesting and praiseworthy though the latter may be. Having said that, I must curb my own desire to tell you of Israel's struggles and achievement in the fields of education, science and culture. I shall confine myself to issuing a warm invitation to you all to visit us and see a sort of Unesco "natural laboratory", where East and West, old and new meet, where education is being extended and illiteracy actively challenged, where arid zones are being defied, and the social implications of industrialization are

being studied and tackled. Will those from developed countries come and assist us, and those from regions in the process of development, as is Israel, come and learn from our achievements and mistakes. Come one, come all, bar none, you are all welcome.

13. The PRESIDENT:
I thank Mr. Avidor for his excellent speech. I now have the honour of calling upon the delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Knappstein.

14.1 Mr. KNAPPSTEIN (Federal Republic of Germany):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, we are separated today by many thousand miles from the place where the last General Conference, in 1956, was held. At that time, the Government of India put a generously equipped new building at the disposal of the Conference. This year we are fortunate in being able to convene for the first time in this impressive building that is to be the permanent home of Unesco. It is a great privilege for me to express the deep appreciation and gratitude of the German Government to the Government and people of France, whose never failing generosity has made it possible to erect these fine headquarters.
14.2 I have no doubt that we shall quickly feel at home in this building, which is the work of the co-ordinated efforts of artists and technicians from many nations and, therefore, an inspiring symbol of cultural co-operation between East and West and North and South.
14.3 When our delegations met in New Delhi two years ago, the world was caught up in dangerous political tensions that threatened to plunge mankind into unimaginable disaster. The Conference too was endangered. Today these tensions have not altogether disappeared, but we have no reason to fear that a catastrophe is imminent. We should be grateful for this; at the same time, however, we must show ourselves determined to continue with energy and patience on the road indicated by the United Nations. The Specialized Agency of the United Nations, which we represent, has already won an established place in the life of the nations as a centre of goodwill and peaceful co-operation. The German people hope that this spirit of peaceful co-operation will also contribute to putting an end to the painful partition of our country, a cruel partition that not only endangers the cultural unity of an old nation in the heart of Europe, but also prevents the establishment of a true peace based on the self-determination of peoples and the moral solidarity of mankind. Therefore, the Federal Government is particularly attached and devoted to Unesco and its ideals, first of all for universal reasons, but also for national motives.
14.4 The selection of New Delhi as the meeting place for the ninth General Conference, and our discussions of cultural exchanges between East and West at that Conference, helped focus our attention upon the relations between countries in different stages of industrial and technological development. The Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values is Unesco's method of dealing with tensions which, we are confident, can be diminished by cultural co-operation. For this reason, the Federal Government has warmly welcomed this Major Project and has followed its implementation during the last two years with particular attention. It has adopted and furthered numerous measures, in the Federal Republic itself, designed to intensify relations with the Eastern countries.
14.5 The preparatory phase of the Major Project, through which we have passed, has already shown that the Project answers a real need and that many forces are ready to support it.
14.6 I think it may be said that German scholarship has, for generations, devoted particular attention to the countries of the East. We are happy that within the last few years the young generation of our country, also, has become increasingly interested in recent development in the Eastern world. This is in no small measure due to the fact that, to our satisfaction, an ever-growing number of students from Eastern countries are coming to our universities and technical colleges. Within the framework of the Major Project we shall try further to stimulate this interest of our young people and thus to prepare them for living in a world which is becoming smaller every day.
14.7 In other fields, too, the interest of the German people in Unesco's work is growing rapidly. To the great satisfaction of the Federal Government, the Executive Council accepted its invitation to hold its 51st session in the Federal Republic, where it was received most cordially by both the German people and Chancellor Adenauer's Government. That important meeting provided a welcome opportunity to make the entire German public even more aware of Unesco. The activities of the Executive Board met with an extremely interested response from the Press as well as from radio and television.
14.8 Much remains still to be done, however, to make Unesco really popular, particularly in schools of every type. The language question still proves to be a great obstacle to the active co-operation with Unesco of larger groups of the German public. Thanks to the efforts of the Unesco Commissions of Austria, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany, and with the assistance of Unesco, a number of translations have appeared and others will be brought out shortly; nevertheless, a large part of Unesco publications, which appear only in the official languages, unfortunately remain unused in Germany.
14.9 Mr. President, permit me, in conclusion, to make some brief observations on the draft programme for 1959-1960.
14.10 We appreciate it that in the new budget a very considerable part of the expenditure has again been set aside for educational tasks. We have noted with particular satisfaction that the Major Project for Primary Education in Latin America has had a good start, as the Minister of Education of Venezuela told us last night. We consider it fortunate that in the sphere of education Unesco will now centre its activities more and more upon the great continent of Africa; this tendency may well later on develop into a Major Project.
14.11 All these efforts, quite rightly, start with elementary and professional education. But we must, of course, develop complete systems of education up to the university level in order to provide, for the peoples concerned, both material well-being and the ability to appreciate the true values of culture.

14.12 Such development of education must, needless to say, take full account of national, regional and local conditions. We must, and I want to emphasize this, be on our guard against uniformity. This is particularly true with regard to adult education. We are, therefore, not quite sure whether a universal conference would be the best approach to international co-operation in this particular field.
14.13 All these efforts in the field of education demonstrate the growing importance of the relevant department in the Secretariat. On the other hand, we are pleased to note that co-operation with the international bodies concerned with scientific work is being pursued with a great deal of success. I refer especially to the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) and to the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS) which - each in its sphere of action - are complementary to Unesco's own efforts. Their example may encourage Unesco to envisage the setting up of similar organizations, for instance, in the sphere of educational research.
14.14 The Federal Government has taken much interest in Unesco's efforts to fight discrimination wherever it may appear. In this context, we welcome the new projects designed to overcome discrimination against women and, more especially, to secure their free access to education.
14.15 Finally, in the opinion of the Federal Government the efforts towards a further concentration of the programme ought to be continued. Here, again, this distinguished assembly should be guided by the principle that it is better to achieve much in a few spheres than little in many. Such concentration on a few really important projects would seem likely to increase the effectiveness of Unesco and to gain for our work the world-wide attention it deserves.
14.16 Mr. President, fellow delegates, Unesco has often been called the conscience of nations. Today the voice of that conscience is not yet universally listened to and understood. We have, however, reason to welcome what has been achieved. We have built a forum which provides for scientists, artists, educators and writers an opportunity to meet one another and to work together; a forum from which manifold impulses emanate to educate mankind for a new and peaceful world.
14.17 These great biennial conferences should encourage us and strengthen our faith in Unesco. I may assure you that the Federal Government of Germany will never lose sight of our common goal.

15. The PRESIDENT:
I thank Mr. Knappstein and now have the honour of calling upon the delegate of Belgium, Mr. Kuypers.

16.1 Mr. KUYPERS (Belgium) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, I come from a country which has this year organized the greatest cultural event of recent times. I would like to say a few words here, in this international home of culture, about the Brussels Exhibition, whose fame has spread throughout the world, if only by reason of the 42 million people who visited it, nearly as many as there are inhabitants in the Federal Republic of Germany, France or the United Kingdom. I regard this achievement by a small peace-loving, hard-working people, in the face of innumerable risks and uncertainties, as the work of people of goodwill inspired by Unesco's ideal; as a pledge of a sturdy belief in the possibility of spiritual disarmament in an age when one destructive invention follows another; and as a triumph of man determined to dominate the technological world in which he lives. The Soviet pavilion, it is true, contained the Sputnik; but it also contained statistics and proofs of the rapid transmutation of millions of illiterate peasants into skilled technicians. Other pavilions contained electronic machines of a disturbing perfection, robots which replied to the most preposterous questions, radars, examples of nuclear energy tamed to everyday uses, and heaven knows what more...
16.2 I should now like, my friends, to tell you two true stories.
16.3 It was the general consensus of opinion that the International Palace of Science was an absolutely first-class achievement, but one quite beyond the comprehension of the man-in-the-street. One of the students appointed to explain the exhibits to the public told me of the following conversation he had overheard between two people on the way out: "Josephine", the husband said to his wife, "this is the fifth time I have been here and I still don't understand anything". "Nor do I, Gustave," said his wife, "but it's wonderful all the same".
16.4 A word in passing to those of you who are civil servants or politicians; when people reason like that, any government can ask its taxpayers for the millions it needs for scientific research.
16.5 My second little story is this. The German pavilion, though architecturally successful, was, for my personal taste, rather bare. "How can you say that, grandpapa?" said my grandson, a boy of sixteen, who is planning to be an engineer. "I spent two hours on my knees in front of an electronic machine, studying it from all angles. It's thrilling, terrific." It is young people like him who are going to provide the generations of research workers and inventors, which, our Programme Commission says, must be trained more quickly.
16.6 You may have noticed, fellow delegates, that in speaking to this illustrious assembly I am taking care to avoid flights of eloquence. All I want to do is to emphasize the uplifting cultural rôle played by the Brussels Exhibition. All the pavilions deserve mention, not only the large ones, for the mere fact of standing there side by side, in good humour and fellowship, enabling millions of men and women of all sorts and conditions from all over the world to gain a true picture of other civilizations. The American way of life, for instance, was vividly illustrated by American machines, American art, American theatre, American films and so on. The American zest for life came across, too; "Life in the round", people said, looking at the attractive architecture of the American pavilion. "A dream life" said others, thinking of the children's nurseries or of those lovely mannequins displaying the latest models of New York fashions "off the hook". Pretty, smart and inexpensive.
16.7 But I must not go on. For how to do justice to the humanist intentions of all the other pavilions? Immediately next to the United States pavilion, as

though by chance, were those of the USSR and the Vatican. And now I would like to remind you of a little Flemish Surrealist poem. In the same street, at the same time every morning, two men wearing bowler hats pass one another on the way to their offices - Mr. Dupont and Mr. Durand, two examples of every man. Each morning, as they pass, they greet one another. And life goes on. There is nothing else in the poem, nothing at all, just two men who, every morning, raise their hats and pass on, each going to work. Well, you must believe me when I tell you that at the Exhibition, where for seven months not a single political incident disturbed the atmosphere of friendliness, the moujik every morning raised his astrakhan cap and Uncle Sam lifted his cowboy hat. The two men greeted each other in token of their mutual esteem: "Mr. Dupont, Mr. Durand", The pavilion across the way, the pavilion of the City of Paris, winked: "Come on, chaps, come and have a cup of coffee at the counter"! And as the first rays of the sun lit up the cross over the Civitas Dei, the Arab pavilion, standing back a little, looked on quizzically and said "Salaam".

16.8 Well, my friends, there is a tangible, everyday example of true mutual understanding. There, inserted in the world of facts, was a pause for peaceful and stimulating coexistence between peoples of different political, economic, religious and other views, but, we know, in fact separated mainly by their prejudices and what they conceive to be their immediate interests. Why, I ask you, could not this seven months' truce be consolidated and continue for the rest of time? Why do we have to go on, even in this assembly, using offensive words such as we heard this morning?

16.9 The United Kingdom pavilion illustrated both Britain's love of tradition (the Crown Jewels, the history of British scientific inventions) and the perfection of its radar equipment or its nuclear industry - what a picture of calm diuturnity. The French pavilion, a miracle of engineering, displayed, in a hundred different ways, the facets of France's cultural wealth. We must pay a tribute in passing to Czechoslovakia, the exceptional qualities of whose pavilion won a first prize and should mention also the Scandinavian countries, Turkey, Italy, and countries of South America with their exhibits of pre-Columbian art and their delicious coffee - the true drink of intellectuals, as we know. There was also the delightful Thai temple; and those touching little hands held up above the wall of the small Japanese pavilion, pledging themselves to add Japan's contribution to the making of a better world.

16.10 Speaking for myself, I am very happy to have been able to show my colleagues on the Executive Board something of the Exhibition. My Government, Mr. President, was much gratified when one of the executive organs of Unesco agreed to come to Belgium to complete its 51st session; and pleased, too, to have the opportunity of organizing a symposium of thinkers of all disciplines and all nationalities, meeting to discuss the cultural values of East and West in a spirit of fullest harmony.

16.11 I come now to the programme itself, the programme we are discussing today. In this ephemeral Tower of Babel it has become more apparent than ever that a knowledge of modern languages is essential in order to improve mutual understanding between the peoples.

16.12 The problem of the teaching of modern languages and, still more, of translations deserves careful attention from the General Conference. Have you, I wonder - of course you have, but let us check up, all the same - have you read paragraphs 205-213 of the chapter on cultural activities? I recommend you to. It is accepted that important masterpieces of Eastern literature are to be translated. Books are still, despite everything - and no doubt will long continue to be - the best vehicle for conveying man's thoughts and feelings. But the problem of translations oversteps the boundaries of the East-West Major Project, and is of special interest to small nations. I would like to tell you one thing: on the eve of this tenth session of the General Conference, which is to discuss means of improving international exchanges of publications, the Executive Board succeeded in having a sum of $10,000 allocated, in the proposed programme and budget, for setting up a commercial system for the translation of less known literatures into the main world languages. The delegates of Greece, Turkey, Poland, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria - I will quote only countries in Europe - must understand that this is a Project of interest to them all. It means that their national masterpieces worthy of being known or better known throughout the world are now going to be published in a cheap edition in the main world languages so that their influence will no longer be confined to the countries of their origin.

16.13 I emphasize - and it is a point which the programme, in my view, does not make sufficiently clear - in a cheap edition. When we were young students, our heads full of ideas maybe but our purses invariably empty, it was thanks to cheap pocket editions - like the Albatross, Penguin, Reklam editions, and so on - that we were able to build up a small library. But Unesco's library will be far more interesting and far more universal! The literature of every nation made accessible to everyone! Unesco is the one and only Organization capable of solving the problem of translations which all little-known literatures have to face, in a way that the other arts are spared.

16.14 I hope therefore that the General Conference will indicate its interest in this Project, which I have mentioned several times at other gatherings, and that my dream of series of books of different colours including all the outstanding works of our countries, translated into four or five or six of the main world languages, will at length come true.

16.15 The time is passing, Mr. President, and I will be brief, but there is one more point I must mention, now that Unesco is proposing to devote more attention than before to Dark Africa, including Tropical Africa; as far as Belgium is concerned, the pavilions of the Congo and of Ruanda-Urundi, which were visited by millions of people at the Exhibition, were, I think, outstandingly successful. I assure you that we approach the problem of introducing others to the eternal values of our civilization in a spirit of the friendliest understanding, with a sense of respect for the dignity of man. And when Unesco embarks, as it shortly proposes to do, as part of its education and cultural activities programme,

on the vast educational problems of tropical Africa, it will no doubt call on the non-governmental organizations for their customary assistance. But Unesco should remember, too, that we Belgians are proud to show what we have done for education and instruction in the Congo, through our missions, both Catholic and Protestant, and on the initiative of our civil servants; that we recently founded two universities at Lovanium and Elisabethville, now developing rapidly and complete with laboratories and qualified scientific staff, with training classes in primary and secondary education; and that we have also notable achievements to our credit in the fields of technical and teacher training.

16.16 We are confident that Unesco, when it attacks this problem, will bear all the above factors in mind.

16.17 Mr. President, fellow delegates, our tour of the Exhibition has, as you see, taken us a long way. I should like to conclude with a few brief comments on education in Unesco, or rather on Unesco's relative inactivity in certain sectors of education.

16.18 The comments of the Executive Board - document 10 C/6, presented from this platform the other day by our esteemed Chairman, Mr. Raadi, with his usual clarity - reflect a difference of opinion - now resolved - between ourselves and the Heads of the Department of Education. We need hardly say that we are glad to pay tribute to the work done in the field of educational documentation and statistics; that we whole-heartedly applaud the Major Project on Latin America and the activities afoot in the vast regions of Africa and Asia; that we are following the remarkable work of the International Bureau of Education with interest; that we are deeply touched by the gratitude of young countries in receipt of technical assistance; and that we regard this assistance as perhaps the most important of the achievements of the first ten years of Unesco's existence.

16.19 The programme presented by the Director-General announces the welcome administrative reorganization of a department which has not hitherto, in our view, been sufficiently active in taking the initiative and providing leadership. We want it to take more interest, for instance, in the problems of secondary education, both general and technical; and in higher education. I was very pleased, a moment ago, to hear the delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany make the same point. I am glad he did so. In the new proposed programme, none of these subjects is wholly omitted: there is to be an inquiry on the needs of secondary education; and work in connexion with the programme is proceeding. This is all to the good; but in all our countries, those familiar with the subject know very well that it is a question of reshaping the whole pattern of secondary education, particularly at the adolescent level, for the age group between 11 or 12 and 15 or 16. This is the crucial problem for practically every country in the world. The industrialized countries are interested mainly in methods of vocational and technical training, and in how much general culture to implant in future unskilled workers and technicians. We, for our part, wish to avoid at all costs turning out robot workers too narrowly specialized in the work of one particular trade, industry or factory. For what would happen to these people tomorrow if their particular industry were to be transformed or, worse still, disappear? Manual workers in the world of today are entitled, like everyone else, to their share of general culture, and the curriculum of the technical schools should provide it in generous measure. I am far, you will realize, fellow delegates, from advocating that the proposed programme should adopt a narrow view or what I should call a narrow view of education, and provide only for non-industrialized countries. Unesco proposes to spend $20,000 on the subject. Yes, but where? In Equatorial Africa! It is not there that the problem arises. Or rather, it does arise there, but it arises also at the centre, in Paris, even at conferences held here. We must try, first, to be clear in the matter of methods and programmes. Unesco reminds me of someone who wants what he does want very much indeed, but is not very sure what that is.

16.20 I hope, therefore, that the Programme Commission will lay down specific directives and will go rather further than the proposed programme now before us.

16.21 I am sorry, Mr. President, to have spoken at such length and, towards the end, with some warmth - this last because I wished to make myself perfectly clear. Mr. Berthoin described our new home of concrete and glass, in his marvellous capital, as a living centre of eternal culture. But this tall palace, of which Mr. Raadi, Chairman of the Executive Board, also spoke, could rest on the even firmer foundations of education and mass communication.

16.22 Yesterday, the charming delegate of the Federation of the West Indies, with the touching enthusiasm of youth, spurned all idea of scepticism. We, alas, have grown old in harness, but I venture to say that we too, Unesco's first friends, have retained our faith. Faith in man, who, though never wholly good, is never wholly bad either; and who is on occasion capable of matching the grandeur of the ancient gods, as when he struggles to free himself from ignorance and want, works patiently to achieve the fellowship of man or to imbue the young with the ideal of peace.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

VII

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

7 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Mohammed EL FASSI (Morocco)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of the United Arab Republic, Spain, Laos, Lebanon, the United States of America, Ceylon, Korea and Iraq 106

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I declare the seventh plenary meeting open. We now proceed immediately to the agenda. I will begin by calling upon the delegate of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Awad.

2.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, fellow delegates, when I last addressed the General Conference of Unesco in New Delhi, I spoke in the name of only one country, Egypt. Today I address you in the name of both Syria and Egypt, united together as the United Arab Republic. We have thus joined that group of great and distinguished Member States whose names are referred to by a few letters of the alphabet, U.K., U.S.A., USSR, and so on, although of course we are neither as great nor as distinguished. But it will soon be the custom to refer to us as U.A.R. if you happen to be speaking in English, or R.A.U., if you happen to speak in French or Spanish, and I am sure in some other form if you happen to be speaking in Russian.

2.2 I said just now that we are nowhere near to those great powers which are referred to by letters of the alphabet. I hope, however, that in one respect we can stand comparison with them, in a humble sort of way, namely in our devotion to the ideals and objectives of Unesco. This devotion to Unesco has now found its place in some of the official documents; I refer you to the proceedings of the ninth session of the General Conference, at New Delhi, and particularly to page 273 of that big volume where you will find a reference to the Eygptian delegate, in the singular. It is a kind reference, in fact it is a very generous reference, made by the able and generous leader of the Canadian delegation at New Delhi.

2.3 This reference to the Egyptian delegate without mentioning a name was quite precise, everybody understood who was meant because there was only one delegate from Egypt at New Delhi at that time. The rest of the delegation was unable to come to New Delhi because of those occurrences to which it is now customary to refer, rather euphemistically, as the "Suez Affair", an affair which cast a rather dark shadow on the work and the deliberations of the ninth session of the General Conference. I do not know whether there is an adequate reference to this in the Report of the Director-General, but there is no doubt that Unesco has come triumphantly out of this adversity with its banners flying. One of the notable gains realized was the decision taken unanimously at that Conference with regard to the preservation and protection of cultural property in time of armed conflict, a decision which will always remain a reminder to aggressors and to misguided individuals that cultural property is the heritage of all mankind and all peoples of the world are deeply interested in its preservation.

2.4 Today, two years after that Conference, though we may not have completely got rid of the after-effects, we have very largely made good most of the loss, and we are well on the way to complete recovery. I should like to stress, in this connexion, that cultural relations between the United Kingdom and France and the United Arab Republic have been maintained and even improved, although they have not yet reached the "pre-Suez" level. Egyptian and Syrian students in British and French universities and institutes of higher learning are pursuing their studies, there as elsewhere, and we are receiving the usual assistance from the educational and cultural authorities.

2.5 As a symbol of the general improvement I cannot refrain from referring to the fact that we have at this tenth General Conference, as leader of the United Kingdom delegation, at the head of a large contingent of eminent English, Scottish and Welsh scholars, especially Welsh, no less a personality than Sir Edward Boyle. He is considered by my countrymen as one of a distinguished group, considered as among the greatest men in the whole world, the group which resigned their posts in

protest against the Suez business. That he comes again to us today, at the head of the delegation of his country, is the best manifestation of the progress achieved since the last General Conference.

2.6 Thus, Mr. President, although political and economic relations have not yet been fully re-established with France of the United Kingdom, my Government continues to maintain, in both Paris and London, an educational bureau to look after our students - who number over 200 in each case - and offer them every assistance in their studies and in their living requirements.

2.7 I wish now to proceed to particular aspects of our work and the progress of our Organization. I must, however, give expression first to my deep satisfaction at the growth of our Organization. Two notable additions to its membership have been effected recently: one an African Member State and from the continent to which I belong, Ghana, and the other an Asiatic Moslem State, the Malayan Federation. I beg to express on behalf of the people and Government of the United Arab Republic our great pleasure at this valuable addition to this Organization. I also welcome with great satisfaction the addition to the rank of Associate Member States of one African State, Somaliland, and an Arab State, Kuwait, as well as the Federation of the West Indies, whose eloquent representative addressed us so wonderfully yesterday. Associate Members of today are the full Member States of tomorrow, and we look forward to an early fulfilment of this promise. The geographical distribution of these Associate Members is wonderful too, especially if Singapore were added to them, for then the string of new Associate Members in this one year would stretch from the Pacific to the Western end of the Atlantic.

2.8 With reference to the Unesco programme and its different projects, I must begin by paying tribute to the Director-General of this Organization, to the Assistant Directors-General, as well as all members of the Secretariat, to whose untiring energy and devotion we owe in the largest measure the achievements accomplished by our Organization. I have during the past four years, as a member of the Executive Board, had ample opportunity to watch their work and to appreciate the efforts they exerted. With regard to the Director-General, in particular, I was repeatedly impressed by his ability, and especially by his most extraordinary memory, not only of men and of names but of every detail of every project of Unesco's programme. Should he one day wish to dispense with such a memory, I am sure I would pay him quite a good price for it. He is also an exceptionally hard worker, a quality, however, which I do not offer to buy.

2.9 I hope therefore that the appreciation I have expressed of the Secretariat and its work will be borne in mind when I allow myself to make a few observations on the work of the Secretariat, for they will be made in a spirit of sympathy and helpfulness.

2.10 The most noteworthy development in the Unesco programme in the last two years, as several speakers have already indicated, has been the establishment of the so-called Major Projects. This new name covering certain groups of activities, has led to the idea that those activities represented something entirely new. This of course is not necessarily the case. The essential idea behind the conception of the major project is that the energy expended in a number of scattered small projects might more economically and efficiently be employed in one large co-ordinated activity. I do not suppose that we shall ever completely get rid of small or medium-sized projects, nor is it desirable that we should do so; but the tendency to have more and more major projects, until in due course they become the main feature of Unesco's programme, is a healthy one. It should not of course be forced; we must not say, for instance, that we must have a major project in the Social Sciences, so as to balance the other major projects in Education, Natural Sciences and Cultural Activities. By all means let us have a major project in the Social Sciences, when such a project has been carefully thought out and worked out. We should not hesitate to set up even two or more major projects in any one Department, if sound thinking and calculation show the desirability of embarking on this new venture. We have, for example, a very successful Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. Should a careful study and survey of educational needs show the desirability of initiating a similar major project for Africa, or for the Arab countries, let us by all means take the matter in hand and find ways and means of carrying it out.

2.11 While speaking of education, I should express my satisfaction that Unesco is now taking an active interest in combating discrimination, and that a project has been prepared for the establishment of some international instrument for that purpose. This is particularly welcome to me personally, having been for five years a member of the United Nations Sub-Commission for the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities; Unesco's active interest will certainly be welcome to all my colleagues in the Sub-Commission. Discrimination in education is probably the most wicked kind of discrimination, because its victims are children and young people, who are discriminated against because of mere accident of birth, whether they are born with a different skin-colour, or in a different cultural group, or belong to the female sex. The last is probably the commonest kind of discrimination, because old and antiquated ideas still linger, that the proper place for women is in the home, and their education must be shaped accordingly. This is of course sheer nonsense; the home is the proper place and the most suitable place as much for the man as it is for the woman, and Unesco must not relax its efforts to promote the education of girls in all branches of learning which they wish to pursue.

2.12 The second of the Unesco major projects is in the Department of Natural Sciences and is concerned with arid zone research. One of the earliest institutes established for this purpose was built before the war, in Heliopolis, outside Cairo. It did not however, begin to function until 1950, and it has certainly benefited by collaboration with Unesco. I wish in this connexion, however, to stress the fact that there is a tendency for arid zone research to be itself rather arid, and produce no practical results. In carrying out their co-ordinated activities, the scientists in this field should not lose sight of the practical needs of the people living in

the arid zones; some part of their attention should be given to a study of desert-dwellers, both as important individuals and as communities in whose interest these researches have to be carried out. If such a procedure is unusual - because the Arid Zone project is situated in the Natural Sciences Department, while a study of desert dwellers would seem rather to lie within the Social Sciences Department - then, surely, the only solution to the problem is to recognize that a major project is essentially interdepartmental and, indeed, a co-ordination of effort which is one of Unesco's main characteristics.

2.13 In the domain of cultural activities, Mr. President, we have another major project on the "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values". It has a rather long name, so that it has become habitual to shorten it to the "East-West Project". This project has attracted considerable attention, has fired many imaginations, and has been more talked about perhaps than any other project of Unesco. This is natural enough because it stands - at least as far as its title indicates - very close to Unesco's main objective, the promotion of understanding among nations of the world through the appreciation of the way of life and cultural heritage of all peoples in all countries. There was nothing really new about this major project, except the question of emphasis, for Unesco had already been promoting activities aimed at a fuller appreciation of all cultural creations throughout the world. In view of the wide interest taken in this project, however, many rather far-fetched ideas and suggestions have been proposed, and it has been insisted that they should be carried out. The Director-General will have to exercise due caution, so that we are not rushed into adopting any such ill-digested proposals.

2.14 One of the most notable Unesco activities in this domain has been the sponsoring of a major work on "the Cultural and Scientific History of Mankind". We must all feel a sense both of relief and satisfaction that this great work is now practically completed, although its publication will be delayed by nearly two years to enable the editors to include new ideas and observations by various scholars. This is considered to be a new procedure, quite unprecedented, and is bound to slow down the march of events. One cannot help wondering how long it would have taken Shakespeare to write such a play as Hamlet, if he had delayed publication until criticism had been incorporated, then criticism of the criticism, and so on and so on. The Commission to whom the History is entrusted should take courage and proceed with the publication as soon as possible, so that we may have this great work in our hands before the next General Conference.

2.15 I have very little more to add, except a brief reference to the budget to express my satisfaction that this is, it seems to me, the first General Conference for a long time in which the question of the budget has not raised heated argument. We were faced at Montevideo by a higher ceiling, a medium ceiling, and a lower ceiling; and at New Delhi there was a very heated discussion on the part of some delegates who were anxious to increase the budget, whether necessarily or not. This year, fortunately, we are in a much more reasonable state of mind as regards money. In this respect, I cannot help repeating a remark made by the delegate of the United States on the Executive Board, his country being one of the major contributors to Unesco's funds. When asked to say what he thought of this budget, he said he did not mind very much if it were increased a little, provided he could get better value for his money. That seems a thoroughly new tune to be sung in the halls of Unesco, and I think that the Director-General and the Secretariat and the General Conference should take this into consideration. Produce a really good programme and then let us plunge our hands into the chests of the American, USSR, United Kingdom and other big countries who contribute to our funds and take out as many dollars and roubles and pounds as we possibly can.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of the United Arab Republic and call upon the delegate of Spain, Mr. Rubio y Garcia-Mina.

4.1 Mr. RUBIO Y GARCIA-MINA (Spain) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Spanish delegation at the Unesco General Conference has two additional grounds for satisfaction, on the present occasion, in meeting once again with the representatives of the other countries. The first is that of seeing Unesco's services installed in this fine and spacious building in which the work of Spanish artists has been given an integral place - the exciting and evocative painting of Picasso, the creative and enigmatic art of Miró and the superb craftsmanship of Llorens-Artigas. Architecture is, of course, the most enduring of the fine arts, and the clear-cut and graceful architecture of our new building will provide a suitable backing to the lofty spiritual and social aims which Unesco exists to serve.

4.2 The second ground for satisfaction is that of seeing this universal focus of knowledge set up on French soil, in tribute to a culture which we share and which has been fructified through the ages by an abundant flow of exchanges - a two-way flow as a result of which there is nothing Spanish that has not retained a redolence of France, nor anything French that is without a Spanish touch. Not only physically, but also spiritually, the present location of Unesco brings us ever closer to this common culture.

4.3 A typical product of this culture, the supreme manifestation of which is man's way of life itself, was Mr. Juan Estelrich, my country's representative for several years on the Executive Board. As permanent delegate of Spain to Unesco, he was assiduous in his duties from the time Spain joined the Organization. In remembering him today, in all his open-heartedness and affability, we trust that the efforts of those who, like him, so nobly strove to promote our common interests and ideals will never fail to bear fruit.

4.4 The representatives of Spanish delegations on previous occasions - among whom Mr. Estelrich himself was a familiar figure - have already explained Spain's reasons for participating in Unesco and stressed its particular and unique rôle in promoting world culture and what we seek and expect from it as a people which, severally and

collectively, has been the consistent advocate of the primacy of the spirit and the moral freedom of the individual.

4.5 Having expressed our agreement in Montevideo with the then relatively new orientation given to Unesco's programme, we cannot but feel keen satisfaction in recognizing the solid and considerable progress made in that direction. What were then defined as "general activities" must always be the guiding line of our advance, but we take the view that our goal can best be reached by seeking to attain it not in one bound but by partial and practicable stages - in other words, by an effective amalgamation of so-called "special activities". We are therefore glad to note that "general activities" are becoming increasingly well-defined and concrete, and are distinguished from "special activities" not by any vague and rhetorical generality by by their broader but always definite scope. It is gratifying to see that the Secretariat has been able to comply fully with the directives laid down at previous Conferences, with the result that Unesco, unlike certain other international organizations in the past, is no longer a talking shop but a strenuous endeavour to achieve genuine cultural co-operation with the effective backing of the world in general. And I believe that certain important results have already been achieved - that there are millions of people in the remotest countries who have gained the conviction that Unesco exists and works for their welfare and cultural advancement. This is largely due to the work of the Secretariat and the distinguished team of experts engaged in Unesco missions. The programme before us and the Director-General's report itself are evidence of the fruitfulness of the Organization and the multiplication and specialization of its tasks.

4.6 But precisely because I have stressed the advantages of specialization it is essential to indicate its limits. It is important to see that these special activities are truly special rather than individual - in other words, that they are not multiplied to the point of being frittered away. It is necessary to resist, on the one hand, the temptation of being misled by geographical or political proximity and believing purely limited questions to be of common interest, and on the other, the tendency in the same direction brought about by the ever-increasing specialization of scientists and men of letters.

4.7 The Spanish delegation, while endorsing the established criteria, will always be in favour of suitably developing the activities of the Organization not only geographically but also in content, and conducting them on a fairly long-term basis, thus making it possible to aim at results capable of reforming and improving the initial state of affairs, in other words, projects having a certain scope and duration and substantially benefiting large numbers of people. The Spanish delegation would therefore be prepared to reconsider the question of establishing budgets to cover fairly long periods - a measure which would eliminate many of the disadvantages noted by international gatherings as regards the engagement of technical staff and the award of fellowships on an excessively short-term basis.

4.8 Furthermore, the competition between so many minor projects, into which even the major projects are broken down, leads to so great a fragmentation of appropriations that the budget is often found to contain allocations whose insignificance makes them useless on all counts while increasing and accentuating the demand for staff.

4.9 We now have a particularly valuable document for assessing the results of the various activities carried out by Unesco. I refer to document 10 C/10, which is to be considered at the meetings of the various commissions and which deals with the evaluation of Unesco's programmes. All I wish to say at the moment is that we consider it most appropriate to subject the results obtained to the most rigorous criticism. One thing that would have to be established, as nearly as possible, would be the actual extension achieved by certain activities such as translations of representative works, travelling science exhibitions and co-operation with international organizations, the latter also being asked to submit their efforts to an evaluation check.

4.10 This is a point of interest that deserves special investigation. There is no objection to approving the proposed subventions, nor would we consider it amiss to ask to have them increased. In general, we view collaboration with the non-governmental organizations with a favourable eye. There is of course a danger, namely, that of exceeding the limits dictated by prudence and ending up not with co-operation but with the almost total transfer of certain activities which should rightly be Unesco's. There are countries - countries trusting in Unesco - which are in fact excluded from specific activities through these being handed over to various organizations. The rational course, in our view, would be to strike a balance between the necessity for Unesco to act through the medium of efficient accredited national organizations and the advantages to be derived from taking account of the cultural, scientific and educational bodies on the fringe of those organizations.

4.11 For it is clear that neither the Unesco organs nor these international organizations are in a position to carry out by themselves the study and research to which the text of the programme so often refers. Not even the committees of experts themselves can be suitable organs for this purpose. With proper co-ordination, the technical execution of this work could best be done by the centres and individuals in Member States whose business it is to study this material. The co-operation of these technical centres and specialists is not always arranged as thoroughly as could be wished or with the desirable degree of briefing. Using the excellent instrument of the National Commissions, Unesco could obtain the direct co-operation of universities, institutes and research and similar centres in Member States.

4.12 Apart from the definite scientific advantage of obtaining this co-operation, there is a moral one, especially as regards the social sciences: it provides one way of bringing Unesco into closer contact with the life and thought not merely of people in the mass, viewed as abstract statistics by an international service, but of those same individuals experiencing their actual personal problems. Coming back to the Director-General's report, therefore, we reaffirm the need to intensify relations with Member States through the National Commissions.

4.13 We must always remember that in selecting forms of collaboration, whether through the composition of expert committees and participants in symposia and the designation of individuals to prepare reports or contribute to reviews, or by the selection of books for libraries and works for exhibitions, the criteria laid down by Unesco, because of its far greater universality and vulnerability to criticism, are bound to be infinitely broader than those of any international association.

4.14 A few last words on the Major Projects. The Spanish delegation regards that on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, needless to say, with particularly deep emotion and interest. Spain has been giving its utmost support to this Unesco project since the beginning. We were right, we felt, in thinking that the effective way to promote so ambitious a programme was to provide assistance, in the first place, in training experts capable of evaluating it. The Training Course for Educational Statistics Experts, organized by Madrid University with help from various other quarters, is now proceeding most satisfactorily. But we are also prepared to collaborate in the same way in the actual extension of primary education whether by training teachers - perhaps our experience in schools with multiple-class teachers may be useful to them - or in solving the problems of school construction, which we have already had several years' experience in tackling.

4.15 In any case, we recommend an intensification of exchanges of information and experience among the interested countries and express our good wishes for the success of this project, which means so much to our sister nations.

4.16 It would also be desirable to intensify and develop exchanges in connexion with the Major Project on Arid Lands. Although the operations under the project are concentrated on Egypt, Israel, India, and Pakistan, many other countries could benefit from information on the results achieved, just as they could perhaps contribute their own experience as a possible basis of work in executing the Project. I am thinking, for example, of the work done in Spain in reafforesting an area of over 1,000,000 hectares, or in providing irrigation for the first time over an area already exceeding 500,000 hectares.

4.17 As to the Major Project on Mutual Understanding of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, it has been hailed in Spain with a wholehearted desire to participate.

4.18 Spain, whose history led it to make an effective contribution in the Middle Ages towards exchanges with the Islamic and Hebrew world, especially with the schools of translators at Barcelona and Toledo, also had the good fortune in the Sixteenth century to make its appearance in the Far East where it was to remain for over three centuries. This resulted in the development of extensive cultural relations: the European art of printing was passed on to the Philippines, Japan and India, where all manner of works were printed in the respective Asiatic languages and dialects as well as in Spanish and Latin, while Western scientific and literary works, the latter including a considerable part of mediaeval Spanish as well as the European literatures, including books of chivalry, were translated into those native tongues and published. Dictionaries, pamphlets, maps and travel books were also written and published, while the works of those countries were put into Spanish, among them the first Chinese book ever translated into any of the Western languages.

4.19 These facts are of great interest as a basis for developing closer cultural co-operation between East and West, and constitute a possible starting point. This view was taken by the Spanish National Commission, under whose auspices the Madrid National Library is preparing an exhibition of these bibliographical and documentation sources of information, to be opened in December. Needless to say, we would be most happy to make all the necessary arrangements so as to permit the inclusion in the Major Project of a travelling exhibition combining information of this kind in various languages and containing facsimiles of documents, books, maps and prints, with additional topical material.

4.20 Again, the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Madrid University has just initiated a general non-specialized course on "The culture of East Asia". This course, unlike others, is not designed for a learned minority but is a general introduction to Eastern culture from which all students can benefit.

4.21 We fully appreciate the importance of the Oriental studies traditionally offered by our European and American universities but it is obvious that the lines on which they are conducted - they are almost always designed to deal with concrete linguistic or archaeological problems - necessarily limits them to a handful of specialists and research workers. To our mind, however, Orientalism cannot be reduced in present-day circumstances to a pure problem of speculative research and archaeology. Asia is a living entity, full of activity. Its presence in the world has been brought into greater evidence during the past few years, and the East's economic and social rôle will be still further enhanced during the years before us.

4.22 The Spanish National Commission has set up a sub-committee which is now engaged in considering and planning the part to be played by my country in pursuance of the Major Project. We look to the East with admiration not only because of its championship of universally valid moral principles but also because we recognize the decisive contributions it has made to technological development. At the same time, we have a sense of solidarity with the West because it has created the fund of science which today is at the service of the world and because it has set a high moral example as a civilizing force.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I join in the tribute paid by Mr. Rubio y Garcia-Mina to the late Juan Estelrich y Artigues, Member of our Executive Board, whose death occurred recently. I thank the delegate of Spain and I now call upon the delegate of Laos, Mr. Bong Souvannavong.

6.1 Mr. BONG SOUVANNAVONG (Laos) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I feel it is a great honour to be called upon to address this gathering, which includes so many eminent thinkers, educators and scientists, on the very first occasion I have had of participating in

your work, I venture to say, however, that my delegation does not feel at a loss in this splendid building and in this Conference hall which you have just built in the very heart of France, with which we are linked by so many bonds of friendship, gratitude and understanding.

6.2 Situated in the middle of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, cut off from the sea and hence from any means of easy access, it is only lately that my country has been able to join the comity of sovereign and independent States. In other words, it stands in need, and will do so for a long time ahead, of the experience, advice, and technicians of the more favoured nations. This is particularly true in education. Either we will succeed in training a young generation capable of furnishing the nation's qualified staff - engineers, teachers, administrators, doctors - as well as the skilled workers and technicians we require, or we will find it very difficult to embark on the road to progress and full development.

6.3 Being a small nation, we feel even more strongly the need to provide every member of the population with as adequate an education as possible. Unfortunately, we are poor and if it is necessary to educate our people in order to develop our resources, we would need at the same time to have additional resources at our disposal.

6.4 We are largely dependent on our friends abroad both from the material and technical standpoint. This bilateral assistance is reinforced by the help which Unesco and - to a lesser extent - the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration has been good enough to give us during the past few years. We value this help precisely because of the universality and disinterestedness which its international nature gives it. You can well imagine, therefore, how grateful we were to Unesco for the despatch, early last year, of a special educational survey mission which explored every aspect of the problem and presented us with recommendations which were very much to the point. Its report was approved by our Government, and we are relying on the experts you have sent us, as well as those you will be sending us in the future and on the help of our other friends, to carry your investigators' recommendations into effect.

6.5 Having dealt with that point, I now come to the Major Projects - a subject which is, of course, vaster and more general. The Major Project policy has always seemed to us to be a sound one, for it pools the functions of the Secretariat and focuses the Organization's activities. We therefore hope that the current Major Projects, in so far as they have proved appropriate and useful, will be pursued and developed, and even extended to other countries. This, you will immediately appreciate, is a very disinterested statement on our part. It is obvious, in fact, that our tropical and heavily wooded country derives no advantage whatsoever from the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. Again, for reasons of geographical location, we can only follow from a distance, with admiration untinged by jealousy, the Project for Teacher Training in Latin America. As to the East-West Project, the cultural significance of which is unquestionable, fundamental and more or less universal, our backwardness in education and the urgent tasks facing us on that account unfortunately prevent us from participating in it more fully. All we can do, apart from the encouragement we normally give to the organization of cultural events, and apart from a few translations, is to improve our school curricula, under the general reform of education, with a view to developing better mutual understanding.

6.6 And so, while steadfast in our support of the Major Project idea, we, who have such need of Unesco and so much faith in it, also hope that we will be able to benefit, however little, from its main activities. There would in fact be one way of enabling us to share in them - by helping us solve our own major problem, in education, through the training of teachers. Would it not be possible for the Secretariat to contemplate, in two years' time, developing the Major Project which at present is confined to Latin America and choosing our country as a proving ground for a teacher training project conducted to begin with on a national scale? We would be only too pleased of course to have the immediate benefit of a project of that kind, but I realize that it is too late to submit new proposals for the programme covering the next two years. At the same time we consider it fitting that the Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America should first be put fully to the test.

6.7 You will gather, therefore, that we are in favour of continuing with the three Major Projects in operation, while advocating that one of them be extended to cover our country as soon as practicable. We also feel that it would be unwise to spread the Organization's resources too widely by undertaking other major activities. We hope that during these years of growing pains - of the birth and gestation of a whole series of new States even - the Organization will devote a substantial and greater proportion not only of its technical assistance budget but also of its regular budget to countries in dire need of help. The times call for concrete achievements. Too many human beings are suffering from ignorance to allow us to sit back and indulge in Utopian dreams or theorizings.

6.8 There is another field also in which the Secretariat's activities have proved of definite value - that of regional seminars. We are anxious to see them continued provided the subject matter is neither too general nor too vague, that technicians are asked to take part, that the set purpose is to train specialists and that full account is taken of the stage of development and the special needs of each of the countries in the region concerned.

6.9 We would also be glad if the reports of seminars, whether held in our country or elsewhere, could be sent to us promptly, failing which the recommendations and suggestions contained in them may have ceased to be applicable before they reach us. For example, we are impatiently awaiting the report of the Sèvres meeting on the reform of secondary education.

6.10 My remarks have mainly borne on general education and teacher training, and I have no apologies to make on that score, for they are prime necessities as far as Laos is concerned. I would like to add, however, that in the field of natural sciences we are interested in the Secretariat's

expanded programme of action for the promotion and teaching of science, and especially in the Regional Study Conference on science teaching in secondary schools, particularly if the available allocations permit increased participation in Member States' activities in this field.

6.11 We are also interested in the inter-departmental project for the production of reading materials for new literates. We would be glad if this project could be extended to our country where - thanks to your specialists - we are at present launching a development campaign in the villages based on fundamental education. It would be regrettable, and even dangerous, if this campaign were to come to a standstill or be diverted from its purpose through lack of reading materials.

6.12 In conclusion, Laos is in favour of the budget increase which we are asked to approve for 1959 and 1960. My country is anxious, however, that the Organization's programme should take as concrete and realistic a turn as possible during those two years, and during the subsequent five years. It would be risky to embark on new activities before the current ones which are showing good results have been successfully completed and extended to other countries. It is desirable to let the Headquarters staff concentrate more and more - as it is doing with increasing effectiveness - on the urgent problems and concrete situation in Member States, whether near or remote.

6.13 There was much talk at the last few sessions of the General Conference of the activities which Member States should undertake independently. The principle is sound, but before giving us tasks which may be beyond the powers of some of us, we should be given help in training the specialists to accomplish them and provided with means of execution. We want to be helped to profit by the experience acquired, but we cannot build palaces until we have opened schools. If the object is to hasten our progress towards the level of the most advanced countries, we must be given assistance in the form of technicians and equipment. Furthermore, our National Commission must be properly briefed and documents sent to us in time; most of the material concerning the present Conference reached Vientiane barely three weeks ago.

6.14 We are nevertheless full of hope. The services rendered are steadily improving with the increased efficiency of the Secretariat. Some of the experts we asked for are already on the spot, and we are confident that the Major Projects will eventually take account of our problems.

6.15 Mr. President, my presence here is an indication of the great faith that Laos places in Unesco. Our delegation believes that in giving us its generous support, our great Organization's action in assisting men of goodwill to fulfil their destiny will not have been in vain.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank Mr. Bong Souvannavong and call upon the delegate of Lebanon, Mr. Ammoun.

8.1 Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies, fellow delegates, many of the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum, and especially Mr. Cals, the Minister of Education of the Netherlands, have felt impelled to cite passages from the convention which is now our Constitution and it is good, in fact, to go back to the fountain-head at times for refreshment.

8.2 "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed ... Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world."

8.3 Like the preceding speakers, I wonder whether, caught up in the swirl and harassment of everyday life, we have not lost sight somewhat of these objectives and ideals, and whether we are unable to see the wood for the trees. Is there anything in our programme which bears direct relation to the idea of constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men?

8.4 Has there not been a tendency on our part to transform Unesco into a sort of super-Ministry of Education, that "International Welfare Office" in the field of education, about which our President, Mr. Berthoin, spoke? It is not my intention to pass censure on the Organization. We are victims of our structure; an international organization is the geometrical meeting point and perpetual compromise between national egoisms - and Gandhi said that compromise is a form of love. It is understandable that Unesco, torn between all sorts of pressing demands, should have adopted that attitude. It is effective, in a sense, but have those efforts yielded all the results which could have been expected of them? One cannot but wonder.

8.5 Having said that, due tribute must be paid to the Director-General, his immediate collaborators and the entire Secretariat. We, who have seen them at work, appreciate the admirable, devoted and competent manner in which they have carried out their tasks in difficult circumstances, and wish to thank them.

8.6 A leading French daily, in a recent editorial on the subject of Unesco, criticized our tendency towards dispersal of effort and the paltriness of the amount of assistance given to a very large number of countries. I would be reluctant to labour this point, for what we are discussing here are the broad and very general lines of our work, the philosophy of our programme, leaving the details to be dealt with by the competent commissions. But I shall quote some figures which should give you food for thought: there are 247 experts for 143 projects. The disproportion is all too obvious.

8.7 Being accustomed to the use of moral fables, I should like to quote one: A certain couple had a son of marriageable age. In due course, the mother said to the father: "We must find our son a twenty-year-old, good-looking and sensible girl to marry." The father goes off to scout the neighbourhood. After a while he returns. His wife calls to him from a distance and asks, "Any luck?" "Yes," he calls back. The wife stands there looking and sees that her husband has four five-year-old little girls with him. "Where's the young woman of twenty?" she asks. The answer comes back: "The way I figured it, four girls of five would work out the same as one

young woman of twenty". We would do well, I think, to ponder on this moral fable in the matter of concentrating our activities.

8.8 The East-West Major Project is an item on the credit side of Unesco's activities. The idea is thoroughly in line with the purposes specified in our Constitution: it is a model project, an exemplary specimen of its kind. The principle behind it was a noble one, and reflected the emphatic desire of all countries to know each other better and the widespread yet specific need to find an area where disinterestedness would be the rule, and a climate which would be - I will not say apolitical, but at least sensitive to political changes, and to initiate or maintain contacts and conversations which could not fail to result in an increase in mutual understanding and hence in greater love.

8.9 I am not sure that the performance has been as happy as the original conception. In fact, some already existing activities have been grouped together under a new heading. I do not know if that was exactly the General Conference's intention. These activities are perhaps now conceived in a different spirit and directed towards a more specific goal, but the means of action are small. The budget for the Major Project shows practically no increase as compared with the past, and this great idea still lacks concrete support.

8.10 The experience however, was well worth while and rich in results. There have not been two distinct blocs in the Advisory Committee on the Major Project, as the delegate of the Netherlands had feared, let alone two hostile ones. On the contrary, those who have taken part in the Committee's work know that the East and West have had an opportunity of appreciating each other and rediscovering what they had in common - the many links, large and small, which have been forged over the centuries to make the civilizations and cultures mingle, interpenetrate and supplement each other. The same aspirations, the same quest, have impressed a common stamp on all those faces despite their different origins. Each of us has been thinking, in contemplating each other's civilization that it is "ni tout à fait la même, ni tout à fait une autre, et m'aime et me comprend."

8.11 If I might give an example, I would say that Arab culture, intimately mingled with an entire historical phase, finds evidence on all sides of its generous contribution and its sources of inspiration.

8.12 In every civilization and culture there is a permanent phenomenon of acquisitions: "... et dont l'âme se dépense à s'accroître de ses dons". Lebanon is an example. Flanking an East extending to the Persian Gulf, it receives through Asia and Africa the purest and best of an Arab culture with which it is identified. That culture, moreover, mingles on its territory with all the contributions of Western culture, which the Mediterranean winds bring to it, in their turn, after crossing the West.

8.13 But even though the East and West do not themselves form separate blocs, those blocs perhaps occur elsewhere. Ambassador Pierre Micheli, the delegate of Switzerland, reminded us of that fact yesterday in precise and eloquent terms. Should we accept this division of the world, with all its attendant anguish, as something inevitable? That would be failing in our elementary duty. We might try to ignore it, but it would none the less exist. The policy of the ostrich, which buries its head in the sand to avoid seeing danger still has many advocates. However, it is hardly our Organization's place to regard that animal as sublime. I do not know if the time has come to tackle this problem, but the sooner we do so the better. Our President, Mr. Berthoin, spoke yesterday in graphic terms of this great adventure of the spirit, almost nomadic in its journeyings, and this metaphor was not unpleasing to a representative of a country bordering on the desert. But I think that at this stage of its journeyings, this spirit is panting. It has found the chosen land. Here it is at home, in this city and country. In helping us build this palace, France has been true to its tradition. We need not be ashamed to acknowledge our debt to it. That ardour which can turn to irony, that lucidity which can efface itself by charity, that critical approach which is capable when necessary of giving way to absolute faith, that ineradicable love of freedom given out so generously that you are sometimes surprised to find it appearing before you like a prodigal son, whereas it is only the faithful heir of your heart and mind, where would we find all these things in greater abundance than here, like silent abettors in our task? It is understandable that our Organization, with everything that it stands for, should have pitched its tent in Paris.

8.14 To Mr. Berthoin, Minister of Education of the French Republic and President of our General Conference, doubly fitted by his rank and by his personal qualities to preside over our discussions, we express our warmest thanks. The poetry of a building is more eloquent than tales told by a story-teller, says an Arab poet. Thanks to science and technology and to the whims of vocabulary, there is now a substance known as vibro-cement. Could not the mind and heart of each one of us vibrate in unison, like this material, in a common hope in the future of this Organization and its ideals?

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank Mr. Ammoun and now call upon the delegate of the United States of America, Mr. Rabb.

10.1 Mr. RABB (United States of America): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is my high honour and privilege to read a message which I have just received from the President of the United States:

"I hope you will express to the delegates and other participants in the tenth General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization my feeling that this Conference is an occasion of great promise and significance to the peoples of the world. As Unesco devotes its energies to the affairs of mankind it provides an essential service to us all. It lays that groundwork of mutual understanding which can support a just peace. In so doing, it reaffirms that dignity of the individual which is the basis for human rights and develops those spiritual resources which enrich the lives of the citizens of every land. My best wishes for a forward-looking and productive Conference."

(Signed) Dwight D. Eisenhower

10.2 In the City of New York, there is a small extra-territorial area which is not the United States but the United Nations. Even as we talk here, men from many nations are seeking a common meeting ground, and they have found there a forum for the voices of all - a vast step forward. I think it is a deserved tribute to France, for so long the repository of so much of the world's intellectual and artistic riches, that here in Paris we have just opened Unesco House, which will serve as another great forum for all mankind.

10.3 Two events took place this past year that commanded public attention only for a fleeting moment, but which have a significance that we should not overlook. At a moment when the governments of two of the Member States of Unesco - one of them my own, the other the Soviet Government - were deeply divided about basic political issues, the Moïsseyev Ballet of Moscow was having a triumphal tour in the United States. At the same time, in a spirited musical competition in Moscow, a truly gifted American pianist, Van Cliburn, won highest honour and acclaim. Governments may differ; but people everywhere are the same in their appreciation of great art. It is important that we remember this lesson, but it is equally important that we understand it. For the lesson is not that an exchange of artists can banish basic moral differences, but that such differences are rooted in what man is taught rather than what he is.

10.4 Unfortunately, Mr. President, we were given a shocking example of such teaching only this morning. The Soviet delegate used this rostrum to make political charges against my country, against other member countries and against Unesco. These charges were as inappropriate to this forum as they are untrue. I shall not reply to those that involve the United States. Certainly I need not reply to those that impugn Unesco.

10.5 The United States has welded its own diverse strains into a free and unified nation of 175 million people - whose forebears represent every nation represented here today. It is little wonder that the United States values so deeply the priceless contribution that the peoples of the world can make in enriching the cultural traditions of their neighbours.

10.6 To illustrate Unesco's basic significance to the United States, let me refer to a long-forgotten passage from an obscure work of a great American writer, Herman Melville. In describing America, he said:

"Settled by the peoples of all nations, all nations may claim her for their own. You cannot spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world. We are not a narrow tribe of men... No: our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents all pouring into one..."

10.7 Mr. President, Unesco deals both with education and with culture. Thus, Unesco deals both with the minds and souls of men. Its work is the beginning and the culmination of man's mortal and spiritual existence. Other organizations may be responsive to one or another of the facets of man's life; but Unesco is, in the truest sense, an investment in man himself.

10.8 Throughout history, man has accepted as inevitable and beyond his control the facts of ignorance, want, hunger, sickness and premature death for millions of his kind. It has been only within our very lifetime that he has found the means - and with the means, the courage - to dare control his environment; today on this earth, tomorrow even beyond. This is the challenge of today, and peculiarly the challenge to Unesco; that man's control of the physical world shall not become meaningless through man's inability to control himself.

10.9 We all can take pride and satisfaction that Unesco, under the imaginative leadership of Dr. Evans, has made great strides towards the achievement of its objectives. And we of the United States delegation are particularly proud that Luther Evans, a distinguished American, by giving so much of himself and applying such dedication, ability and diligence to his tasks, has helped Unesco to prosper mightily under his stewardship and has reflected credit upon his countrymen. Since Unesco's inception, budget and membership have been nearly doubled. More important, we are beginning to concentrate our energies on projects of high priority.

10.10 But, I would be less than frank if I told you that all countries feel that Unesco has yet mastered this challenge, or that Unesco, and what it seeks to do, is a known and understood force among the peoples of the world. It hasn't and it isn't. Its potential is as magnificent as the problems it seeks to solve are huge. But Unesco is still an adolescent giant - great with latent power but not yet having learned the arts of co-ordination to give its movements consistent direction and effectiveness.

10.11 It is true that with the acquisition of experience, Unesco has grown in efficiency and usefulness. It has contributed largely to the promotion of human welfare and to the development of international understanding. But its practical steps toward these objectives have too frequently been vague; its methods too often minute and diffused.

10.12 I have travelled extensively during recent months, both in my own country and in many others. Wherever I have gone, I have asked people about Unesco. What they think it is; what does it do? I have, in too many instances, made the appalling discovery that only a pitiful few can answer these questions. The six letters that spell Unesco might just as well be ABCDEF for all that they convey a message of urgency - or even of meaning - to the people of the world. We Member States have failed to make simple and universal Unesco's messages of unity through diversity, of understanding through knowledge. In a world of ever more frantic change - and in an age when modern communications make every change of immediate significance to even the farthest corner of the globe - Unesco faces the job of finding, and holding to, and making known the fundamental values that do not change. Our children today face a future which we can foresee but dimly; we know with certainty only that it will be unthinkably different from our world today. If the children of this new world are to be prepared for it, they must combine a flexibility of intellectual approach with a steadfast understanding of and devotion to the basic moral principles of integrity of spirit and freedom of the mind.

10.13 Unesco, whose Constitution demands that it

meet this challenge, will never do so until its programme becomes something more than a series of separate compartments, conveniently but arbitrarily divided into the jurisdictional fields of education, natural science, social science, cultural activities and mass communication. The sum of these parts, separately added together, may make a budget but do not necessarily make a whole. Unesco has made some progress toward a wise concentration of its programmes; but the challenge of the frontiers of the future will require even greater consolidation of our efforts. We must not be satisfied with a continual shifting and diffusion of our too scanty resources; or with an unrelated series of individual pressures and ineffective compromises in the use of our too limited funds.

10.14 The Arid Zone Project is a case in point. It is a good step in the right direction, but it is still both scattered in approach and confused in direction. It fails to utilize the scientific resources of the whole world in the solution of what is possibly one of the greatest of our contemporary world problems. One-quarter of the globe is arid. No area of the world can be indifferent to the successful resolution of the problem of arid zones - a problem immediately vital to the raising of living standards everywhere. Unesco cannot and should not try to solve the myriad parts of this problem itself. But it should serve as a vigorous catalytic agent in mobilizing and inspiring world scientific research and effort in such a programme of universal consequence.

10.15 One of the great barriers to the future is the human tendency to take the short and expedient view. We tend too much to spend time and effort and money only for those things which bring direct and tangible returns, here and now. We too often look for immediate material, personal benefits. I do not propose that we try to legislate a change in human nature; man does quite properly look out for himself and his own nation in his own time. But man also receives great rewards from social investments which are designed not so much for returns to himself now, but for returns to mankind in the future - investments, so to speak, for the common good, for long-term, intangible, even unforeseeable returns.

10.16 For years to come, the total of outside resources applied towards the objectives of Unesco will far exceed Unesco's own budget, just as Unesco's own budget will fall far short of meeting the tasks that Unesco could do. It is essential that Unesco realize its unique rôle is stimulator and co-ordinator of these multiple efforts of others, rather than try to do every job alone and with its own resources. The unique strength of Unesco lies in its immense prestige throughout the world as the chosen instrument of 81 Member nations; its effectiveness is as much what it can cause to be done as what it does itself.

10.17 The United States delegation to the tenth session of the General Conference, having considered anew the purposes and achievements of Unesco in these lights, respectfully presents to this distinguished body certain suggestions for our basic Unesco programme.

10.18 The Destruction of Ignorance: We all know that knowledge brings us nearer to truth; that truth and knowledge are the hand-maidens of freedom. A just and lasting peace throughout the world cannot co-exist with ignorance. Unesco has begun a fight to eliminate illiteracy in certain parts of the world; but this should not be a patchwork programme. I propose that Unesco sponsor the elimination of illiteracy throughout the world in one generation. Even though we may fall short of this desired result, the goal, itself, will serve as a shining inspiration to all men!

10.19 The Harnessing of Science: Man boasts of an ever-growing mastery of nature; but he cannot claim an equal mastery of his own powers. Unesco cannot rest satisfied with the encouragement and promotion of scientific inquiry in a vacuum. It must constantly strive to relate the effect of scientific progress upon the lives of men to its massive effect upon their physical environment.

10.20 The Importance of a Balanced Approach: We must always remember that there are many roads to the objectives which Unesco seeks. These roads, fortunately, are not mutually exclusive. Unesco may properly encourage such diversity; indeed, the greatest menace to the things for which Unesco stands is the cult of conformity.

10.21 Unesco means technical assistance in the less-developed countries; it means cultural interchange among the intellectual leaders of the world; it means the translation and the wide dissemination of scientific and technical papers to overcome the artificial barriers of language and geography. Unesco cannot mean any one of these things exclusively; but it dare not mean less than all of them taken together.

10.22 As we strive to raise the basic standards of learning and living for those who have all too long been deprived of even the most elementary educational advantages, we must, at the same time, insist relentlessly on intellectual and artistic standards of the highest quality.

10.23 Above all, Unesco must hold to the Doctrine of the Open Mind: Perhaps because the first article of our own Bill of Rights emphasizes freedom of speech and freedom of the press, we in the United States of America believe in freedom of communication both as a basic moral principle and as a fundamental goal toward which the most practical aspects of the Unesco programme can be realistically directed. The free flow of ideas is basic to every other objective. The United States of America believes that the most fruitful sphere of work for Unesco lies in those programme activities which look toward the removal of barriers to communication between the minds and spirits of men; and the positive promotion of cultural and scientific exchange. Through mutual understanding, the independence, the integrity, and the fruitful diversity of the Member States can be maintained without threatening the peace of the world.

10.24 Unesco, with its vast international forum and its great moral influence, should always be alert to any limitation, anywhere, of the personal freedom and the creative powers of the individual. We should expose relentlessly the hypocrisy of any power which proclaims in words its devotion to the enhancement of culture, but in deed stifles

artistic or intellectual endeavour that dares to be nonconformist."

10.25 In the magnificent Kongresshalle in Free Berlin there is an inscription by Benjamen Franklin, written large in letters that proclaim its enduring message:

"God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, 'This is my country'."

10.26 The world in which we may be seconds away from mutual destruction is not a world in which we can afford to be centuries away from mutual trust and understanding. As Prime Minister Nehru has said:

"Man does not live by politics alone, nor indeed wholly by economics ... Unesco might be said to represent the conscience of the world community".

10.27 But to have a conscience, to be well-intentioned, is not enough. We must unlock the secrets of how to live with each other as peoples and nations without creating hostility; of how to share our respective capabilities, our cultural and material wealth, our knowledge, our beliefs and defense of freedom, without creating distrust. And we cannot do this without sharing in the human experience of humility. It is hard to learn how best to give. It is even harder to learn how receive. We have a long way to go in meeting both these challenges.

10.28 The dynamic forces, the tremendous world-wide changes of the twelve years since Unesco was created, have brought us to the boundary of a great frontier. That frontier is nothing less than mankind itself living on our whirling globe. But the far boundary of this frontier is lost in the mysteries of space - of all that which remains unknown to man. As man moves on to this frontier - as he moves from the unknown to the known - Unesco can play, if it chooses, the rôle of the adventurous, creative pioneer and leader. No generation, no organization, in human history has faced a comparable challenge: it is a challenge to greatness.

10.29 It is my profound hope that all of us, as delegates to this historic Conference, will determine that Unesco should advance to this great frontier of our day with courage, with disciplined intelligence and, above all, with a will to further those spiritual values which give significance and meaning to human life itself.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I thank the representative of the United States of America for his suggestions and call upon the delegate of Ceylon, Mr. Malalasekera.

12.1 Mr. MALALASEKERA (*Ceylon*):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is somewhat unnerving to follow immediately after "big-brother America"; But little Ceylon will try to do its best. We bring greetings from Ceylon's Emerald Isle, that island which is famed not only for its delightful and fragrant tea, but also for its ancient and splendid civilization. Our delegation considers it a special privilege to participate in this tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco. To us too, the new headquarters of the Organization, with its bold and daring architecture, symbolizes the audacity of the vision which conceived this agency of co-operation in the field of education, science and culture. Here structure, function and beauty are welded into a single composite whole, and the poetry of aspiration is welded with the prose of practicality. Whatever may be said of the forms around us - and I have no doubt that there has been and will be much debate on all this, particularly the murals, some of which are fantastic - one thing is clear, there is nothing of complacency in what has been here achieved.

12.2 Mr. President, it is exhilarating to meet in this building, to meet before the challenge of these walls. We, all of us, have come here to establish the programme that will mark the end of the first decade of Unesco's activities, and the beginning of the next. It is therefore a turning point, and the directives that we give now should be in accord with the needs of our times and the changes that are taking place so rapidly around us in every aspect of our lives. Part of our responsibility is to see that the precious heritage of the past is made to serve the continuing happiness of humanity.

12.3 There has been, in the past programmes of Unesco, a certain pragmatism of approach which has resulted in a dispersal of energy and of effort. Vast sums of money have been expended, a great deal of which seems to have disappeared amidst the intricacies of the administrative set-up, recalling to mind the proverb of the mountain and the mouse. There has, to our mind, been too much tendency to rely on experts and to over-estimate the value of their services. We also think that certain terms used in current programmes need re-definition and clarification - such terms as "under-developed countries", "fundamental education". Remnants of bad old ideas, outmoded conceptions of patronage and superiority, have to be completely swept away if we are to fulfil our mission.

12.4 We have detected sometimes a dull, dispiriting note in the execution of plans and a reluctance to welcome new ideas. Undoubtedly much has been learned from the experience the Organization has so far gathered to itself. There has been a concern to define more clearly the methods of its work; the establishment of Major Projects has been a step in the right direction. Arid zones, primary education, the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, these represent almost the entirety of the Organization's aims. But, Mr. President, we feel it is not enough to concentrate the resources of Unesco on a few carefully selected, even though decisive, themes. We feel that something of the imagination and courage which conceived the idea of Unesco amidst the debris of a world-devastating war, and which have resulted in the architectural design around us, should inspire these programmes and all our future programmes.

12.5 In his inaugural address to the present session, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan very wisely said that it would be more in accordance with the spirit of Unesco, and the provisions of its Constitution, if the Executive Board were made more representative of the nations which form this great

community of peoples. We should like to support the view already expressed that better national representation in the Secretariat itself would promote greater cultural understanding and solidarity, closer co-operation and interchange of thought between widely differing nations, than exists at present. We hope, therefore, that steps will soon be taken to achieve this end.

12.6 Mr. President, these are all general remarks. At the proper time our delegation will have its word to say on some of the points raised here, and on some of Unesco's projects. But there is something we should like to say now, at once. Much has happened since Unesco was founded and many developments have taken place in Member States which have outmoded, we think, some of the conceptions and ideas that still cling to various parts of the programme. Peoples maturing their independence look boldly for exchange between countries and seek to extend the frontiers of understanding. Unesco cannot substitute itself for the Governments of these countries, but it can support and guide their work, providing that leadership in education and cultural thought which is to be expected of it. While the economic development of countries is the charge of other Agencies, in carrying out without ambiguity its own and proper charge, Unesco should ensure that this economic development is in the service of man, and that man is not outstripped by the technology which is now his to command.

12.7 Never in the history of mankind has there been a more urgent need for spiritual leadership and for the enhancement of spiritual values. The concept of hostility has penetrated deeply not only into our actions but also into our attitudes and our thoughts. We climb a high mountain and declare that the mountain has been "conquered". By way of contrast, Tensing, when he reached Everest, declared that he had gone on a "pilgrimage". We send a projectile into the sky and claim that space has been "annihilated". Mankind is seized with a frenzied desire for power which can only be disruptive and destructive; it is always arrogant and self assertive, and when it has nothing to conquer it turns against itself and becomes self annihilating. We see this desire for domination, particularly in international affairs; and alas, Mr. President, we see this sometimes even here in our own deliberations. Twenty-five centuries ago the Buddha declared; "Let not the good man be guilty of any act, however small, if it be unworthy". Let us remember that. Power of itself is not evil; when it is disciplined and imbued with moral values and integrated with enlightenment, it becomes creative. Everything it touches can be thereby enlivened and energized for new growth. Enlightenment is the result of wisdom, and the way to wisdom is right understanding or, to borrow a term from our own culture, "right awareness". Life cannot be made happy merely by a dynamism of demand, which creates new and ever-increasing needs. Fire always grows with the fuel it feeds upon. Our present problem is how to combine the good things of life with inner richness, ripeness, and a sensitivity to truth, beauty and human dignity, developing a sense of purpose beyond the immediate demands of daily affairs.

12.8 We have to recognize that we are no longer circumscribed in a narrow sphere of existence. We now live our lives in a cosmic setting which stretches from our feet to the stars, to the infinities of space and time. We have an obligation to win new insights in our own time, and to labour for their translation into action. Ours is the task of integrating the dynamic energies of modern life into civilizing ideals. Civilization is no more and no less than the turning of ideals into institutions.

12.9 We have to produce a new type of men and women who can estimate the human situation from the point of view of those involved in it, who are also capable of communicating a sense of urgency, while giving to life itself an inspiring unity of purpose. There are among us many prophets of doom, but we cannot afford to dissipate our energies in the pleasurable luxury of pessimism and frustration, for to do that would be to betray our humanity.

12.10 Mr. President, it is in this spirit of constructive co-operation that my delegation will count it an honour and a privilege to work with you in this noble task, and to serve the Executive Board and the Secretariat, which in the past have served us so well.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of Ceylon and call upon the delegate of Korea, Mr. Kim.

14.1 Mr. KIM (Korea) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to begin by expressing, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, my deepest gratitude for the privilege extended to me of addressing this great gathering of delegates of all the peace-loving nations who have met to study the vexed problems of lasting peace and the world-wide development of education, science and culture.

14.2 I would also like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the Director-General and the members of the Executive Board and the consultative bodies for their patient and devoted work, without which our Organization could not have been so successful in its operations. I am at one with the entire Korean people in sincerely trusting that all the efforts made to ensure the success of this so vitally important Conference will yield satisfactory results.

14.3 In the same way that we saw Unesco come into existence after the last world war; the Korean National Commission for Unesco was born immediately after the cease-fire along the 190-mile front bisecting the Korean peninsula. It is for that reason that we cherish the fond hope of lasting peace and pay tribute to the exalted ideals of Unesco.

14.4 Unesco was prompt in drawing up a programme of immediate aid to Korea and was good enough to offer us a considerable sum for reconstructing a printing works for school textbooks and to consider a project for the reorganization of education in our country. To that end, it sent us a mission to assist the activities of the Fundamental Education Centre and the Korean Foreign Languages Institute, and in this connexion the members of our delegation would again like to express their heartfelt

thanks to the United Nations and Unesco's Member States.

14.5 In addition, the Korean people is deeply grateful to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

14.6 As far as reconstruction in the field of education, science and culture is concerned, however, we are still very far from having reached the goal we have set ourselves, and hence we cannot disclaim a very special interest in the plans for the establishment of the International Fund for Education, Science and Culture and the Special Fund for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries.

14.7 Korea has had a vast amount of aid and assistance from its allies and from all the peace-loving countries, but a nation's pride precludes it from merely going on enjoying outside help over a long period of time. Our spirit of independence and our desire to participate in the development projects have already been reflected in our efforts to place the organization of the Korean National Commission for Unesco on a stronger basis.

14.8 Encouraged by the generous gift we have received of a splendid site in the heart of Seoul, we have prepared a plan for building a "Unesco House" which will serve us as an international cultural centre.

14.9 Furthermore, we have been consistently pursuing our five-year plan for international publications and will shortly have collected the whole of the material necessary for the publication of a "General Survey of Education, Science and Culture in Korea", which will form a valuable link between Korea and the rest of the world. This work will bear witness to our complete endorsement of the high ideas inspiring the Unesco Project on East-West understanding.

14.10 Moved by Unesco's lofty ideals some hundred eminent personalities have joined forces and succeeded in organizing a Unesco Association whose purpose is to collect the necessary funds to enable the National Commission to play its part in carrying out the joint tasks which Unesco has undertaken.

14.11 We hope that Korea will soon be able to take its full share in Unesco's unceasing endeavour to establish world peace by promoting a deeper understanding between nations and a more intimate appreciation of the cultural values of each Member State.

14.12 In conclusion, I would like to add a few words concerning the unification of Korea. Despite the ethnic and cultural unity of its people throughout its history, Korea, ever since its liberation in 1945, has remained divided into two parts by an artificial barrier.

14.13 May I express once again, in concert with all Koreans, our earnest hope that the efforts of the United Nations will succeed in bringing about the unification of our nation? Abraham Lincoln said that no nation can permanently endure when it is in the ambiguous state of being half slave and half free. We hope that the other half of our nation - North Korea, now reduced to slavery - will be able to regain its freedom and that the Korean people as a whole will be able to place its combined force at the service of the world struggle for peace and security.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of Korea and call upon the delegate of Iraq, Mr. Nasir.

16.1 Mr. NASIR (Iraq): Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is a great honour for me to have the privilege of conveying to you the hearty congratulations of the people and Government of the Republic of Iraq and the Iraqi National Commission for Unesco, on this happy occasion of the inauguration of the permanent and most beautiful headquarters of our Organization. May we all pray that it will be a house of peace, in which all Member States will exert their highest efforts to implement the aims of Unesco; "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations".

16.2 The Iraqi people and the Iraqi Government believe deeply in these aims and principles, and they support them whole-heartedly. In fact, our national revolution which took place quite recently, on 14th July of this year, is based on the same aims and principles. That is why we have begun to free our own people from the serfdom to which they were exposed for many centuries and, at the same time, offered our hands to all peace-loving people, irrespective of their race, religion or the political and social system which they have chosen. Our Government recently passed a Land Reform Law according to which we shall rid ourselves of the terrible system of feudalism under which men were denied their basic right to live as dignified human beings. This Law will contribute greatly to raising the standards of living of our people and, consequently, to giving them a better opportunity for education. Our revolution, as our national leader Qasim put it, is "a social as well as a political revolution, which aims at social reform and justice among all segments of the people; at freeing them from poverty and fear; and at guarding them against ignorance and disease". But we also believe that the contemporary world is one world in which we all must collaborate with one another in order to achieve peace and justice. We cannot achieve peace and justice within our own borders unless we defend the right of other peoples to enjoy peace and justice, or if we deny these rights to others or usurp them. That is why our new policy is that of peace and justice for the entire world in which we live, and friendship with all the nations of the world. If I may quote our national leader again, "the Iraqi Republic is peaceful and it seeks with sincerity the friendship of all the peoples of the world". Thus Unesco will find in the new Republic of Iraq, small as it may be in area and population, a great supporter of its aims and ideals.

16.3 We shall have the opportunity in the various Committees and Working Groups to comment in detail on the programme and budget of Unesco. Therefore I shall spare you a reiteration, and shall limit my comments to the general phases of the

programme of our Organization. Before I do this, however, I would like to convey the thanks of my Government, and those of our National Commission for Unesco, to the Director-General and his staff and to the Chairman and members of the Executive Board for their great efforts, their deep thought and their skill in preparing the documents and comments pertaining to the programme and budget.

16.4 Coming back to my general comments, I shall start with the field of education. Iraq is deeply interested in the spread of education among its people. Since the revolution took place the Iraqi Government has allotted additional funds to education, and especially to primary education. About two million dinars (a little bit more than five and a half million dollars) has been allocated to primary education alone. This amount constitutes about 33 per cent of the original budget for this type of education. The New Law of Education, passed recently by the new Government, stipulated that Compulsory Education should be implemented as soon as possible. This step needs study, research and planning; thanks to Unesco, an expert on compulsory education assigned to Iraq a few months ago has completed such a study, which will be most helpful to us.

16.5 We in Iraq, like the rest of the world, suffer from the shortage of teachers. We are doing our best to overcome this difficulty. We have opened thirty teachers' training schools for men and women, to prepare teachers for our primary schools. We plan to strengthen the programmes of these teachers training institutions, and we are sure that, in spite of the fact that the local conditions and problems differ in the Latin American countries and Iraq, we shall benefit a great deal from the experience of the Major Project on Primary Education in Latin America which Unesco is sponsoring.

16.6 Fundamental education in Iraq has made noticeable progress. We have six centres now, and we hope to increase their number gradually. The Arab States Centre for Fundamental Education, near Cairo, is serving our needs in more than one way. We are sure that Unesco will continue to support this Centre and strengthen its rôle in the Arab world.

16.7 We are very gratified that the Organization is increasing its interest in the field of higher education. Baghdad, the capital of Iraq and the seat of higher learning during the Ahbasid Caliphate, is resuming its ancient rôle in science, education and culture. Baghdad University, which came into being a year ago, consists now of twelve colleges in Baghdad and its suburbs. The University is anxious to have the co-operation of Unesco in many fields. Unesco can, I am sure, also offer invaluable help and advice to many other newly established universities throughout the world.

16.8 I should not conclude my general remarks about the programme in education without referring to the education of the children of the Palestine refugees. The civilized world cannot ignore the lot of these unhappy human beings who were forced to leave their homes and homeland. My delegation feels that Unesco should increase its interest in the education of the children of the Palestine refugees and offer them a fair opportunity to be educated and to become useful members of their communities.

16.9 In the field of natural sciences, Iraq takes great interest in the work of the Organization. As a rising country in this latter part of the Twentieth century, science and science education are to us prime necessities. Any development in agriculture, and industry must be based on modern science and sound science education. Iraq is deeply interested in the Arid Zone Major Project and has participated actively in activities related to it, such as regional seminars and conferences. We are also interested in the work of the Middle East Field Science Co-operation Office in Cairo, and we hope that its rôle will be further clarified and its programme strengthened, so that it can better serve the Arab world at large.

16.10 We are deeply interested in the translation, into Arabic, of some of the important scientific documents and publications of the Organization. I might refer in particular to "Impact", which contains articles of great importance to the Arab world.

16.11 In the field of the social sciences, we lay strong emphasis on the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. In spite of the misleading terms "East" and "West", we are enthusiastic about the mutual appreciation of cultural values among nations. We in Iraq and the Arab world teach our children and youth about other civilizations and cultures, but we are sorry to find that many of the countries of the world do not do likewise. For example, in many a European or American country, when I mention that I come from Baghdad, I hear quite often the comment that I come from the land of Aladdin; that is almost the only thing they know about Iraq. My delegation feels that we, as Member States, should wholeheartedly encourage our Organization in its endeavours in the field of appreciation of cultural values between East and West. The East-West Major Project should aim, among other things, at a true and sympathetic understanding of the hopes, aspirations and fears of other peoples. I am sure this will help us all to understand each other and to collaborate with each other. In our case, with the establishment of Baghdad University, we shall play a more active rôle in the East-West Major Project.

16.12 The social effects of industrialization interest my country greatly and we look forward to the publication of the studies of the Research Centre on Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, which the Organization is sponsoring.

16.13 In connexion with the East-West Major Project and the implications of industrialization, I fail to see how we can keep from our midst a great segment of humanity, the Chinese people with their great culture.

16.14 In the field of Cultural Activities and Exchange of Persons, Iraq independently, and in co-operation with Unesco and other States, is doing a great deal. Thousands of our students are scattered over a large area of the world. In accordance with our new policy of becoming a friend to all nations, our students, teachers, technicians and professors will have the opportunity to discover for themselves new worlds and to understand better all the peoples of the world. We offer hundreds of scholarships to students from other countries, thus giving them the chance to learn our language and understand us better. Our cultural relations with the Arab world

are very strong. This is exemplified by the many activities in which all the Arab States participated and to which observers came from Unesco and from our neighbouring countries. I refer, in particular, to the Third Arab Cultural Conference and the Antiquities Conference, which were held in Baghdad last year, the Fez Conference of the Arab National Commissions for Unesco which was held at the beginning of this year, and the cultural meetings held recently both in Baghdad and Cairo between the United Arab Republic and the Republic of Iraq, and which culminated in the signing, a few days ago, of a Cultural Agreement between the two countries. We hope that these activities will continue, and that our Organization will play a strong rôle in encouraging them.

16.15 In the field of Mass Communication, we have set up an audio-visual centre for educational purposes, and we are beginning to experiment with radio and television educational programmes. The continued interest of Unesco in this field will offer us much needed help and advice. We also hope that our Organization will make available in Arabic some of its publications, such as the Unesco Chronicle.

16.16 Mr. President, fellow delegates, may I conclude by saying that our Organization can become more effective only through our own sincere efforts to make it so? Words alone, no matter how lofty and inspiring they may be, are not enough. Deeds alone are the criteria for our actions. For, in the words of a famous Muslim sage, Al-Gazzali, who live and taught in Baghdad during the latter part of the Eleventh and early part of the Twelfth century: "If you pursued learning for one hundred years, and collected one thousand books, you could not be ready to receive the blessings of God except by deeds".

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

8 November 1958, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Thailand, Australia and Italy 121

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. The general discussion will now continue, and I call upon Mr. Umreiko, head of the delegation of Byelorussia.

2.1 Mr. UMREIKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say that my delegation is in full agreement with the penetrating analysis of the international situation and the appraisal of the principles underlying Unesco's activity which were presented yesterday morning by Mr. Kuznetsov, head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2.2 As Mr. Kuznetsov pointed out, the Soviet Union is developing extensive cultural relations with all other countries irrespective of their political systems and ideologies. I might mention, in particular, the agreement on cultural exchanges signed at Washington, in January of this year, by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. An active part was played in those negotiations by Mr. Kuznetsov himself, who is with us here. This is an example of how the Soviet Union is striving to establish cultural co-operation between the Soviet and American peoples despite its political differences with the United States of America. That gifted pianist Van Cliburn was, as the phrase goes, "discovered" in Moscow; the American people are justly proud of him, but he won his laurels at a competition in Moscow. The talented dance company led by Igor Moiseevich has made a triumphal tour of the United States. The exchange of cultural values between the Soviet and American peoples is increasing, and we are gratified to see it.

2.3 Unfortunately, however, the State Department of the United States of America is at the same time persisting in its reactionary foreign policy, which is designed to keep the world perpetually on the brink of war. This we must protest against with all our strength. The American people and their culture are one thing, but the foreign policy of the State Department as it is at present is another.

2.4 Ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has carefully studied the Report of the Executive Board and the Director-General's Reports on the activities of Unesco during the past two years. We, too, are in basic agreement with the individual conclusions, criticisms and proposals which have been put forward during the present discussion with regard to the main aspects of Unesco's work, and which should be aimed at solving the important problems arising in connexion with science, culture and education throughout the world. Unesco undoubtedly has certain achievements to its credit in the field of natural science, such as the organization of the Conference on the use of radio-isotopes in scientific research, and the study of the arid and the humid tropical zones. Unesco has also taken useful action for the development of education and cultural exchanges.

2.5 Considerable work has been done in Byelorussia under the plan for developing cultural and scientific relations with a number of countries. The National Commission, and many libraries and other institutions, are now exchanging publications with a whole series of foreign countries. Subscriptions to Byelorussian scientific and artistic publications are received from Australia, Austria, the United Kingdom, Denmark, India, the People's Republic of China, New Zealand, Sweden, the United States of America, Argentina, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and a host of other countries, while Byelorussian scientific institutions and libraries subscribe to many scientific, technical and literary periodicals published abroad. The Byelorussian public is keenly interested in the culture and art of other nations, and performances given in our country by guest artists from France, the People's Republic of China, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Switzerland, Greece and elsewhere have been enthusiastically received. Great interest has been shown by Byelorussian workers in visiting art exhibitions and performances by national groups from India, the German Democratic

Republic, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia and other countries, and visits by Byelorussian performers to England, Norway, Poland and other lands have attracted widespread attention. Considerable space is devoted in Byelorussian publications, films, photo-reportages, exhibitions, etc., to the life and culture of foreign nations.

2.6 The Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, true to its peace-loving policy and the principles of peaceful co-existence and friendship between nations, educates all its workers in a spirit of mutual understanding and international co-operation. Our attitude towards the cultures of all peoples and all countries is one of great respect, regardless of their political structure, religious convictions or national characteristics. Our cultural and educational activities, literary publications, periodicals, radio, television, cinema and other mass media are used to acquaint all of our people not only with the achievements of multi-national Soviet culture but also with the cultural riches of the Eastern and Western nations. All this serves to demonstrate our fidelity to the noble ideals of international friendship and our zeal in the struggle for peace and social and cultural progress.

2.7 Ladies and gentlemen, I referred just now to certain positive measures taken by Unesco during the past two years. But we should feel we were doing a disservice to Unesco if we passed over in silence all the shortcomings and defects from which this international Organization is suffering. One of Unesco's great shortcomings is that many of its activities are altogether insignificant - I might say ineffective - lacking a broadly international character, and having no direct and clear-cut connexion with the struggle for world peace which is the central problem. Meanwhile, Unesco is frittering away its funds and energies on a wide variety of minor, trifling questions. Attention is being diverted from the major problems of education, culture and science, the solution of which would help to consolidate world peace and friendship between peoples and so relax the international situation.

2.8 One of the features of Unesco's programme, of course, is the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. The form of this project is highly important, but in substance it suffers from grave shortcomings. For how is it possible to consider the question of mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values without the participation of the People's Republic of China? The question of the vindication, within Unesco, of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China, one of the greatest countries in the world, is causing particular concern among the peoples of all countries. It cannot be regarded as natural that the 650 million-strong Chinese nation - a nation which in the course of history has been responsible for the mightiest achievements of human genius - should still be unrepresented in this international gathering and should be taking no part in the implementation of the project. This is preventing Unesco from becoming a genuinely international organization, fettering its activity and undermining its authority. It must be obvious to anyone who is really interested in the development of cultural and scientific exchanges and the dissemination of knowledge concerning the achievements of different countries in the cultural and scientific spheres, with a view to mutual enrichment and assistance and the reinforcement of international understanding and co-operation, that these are impossible of attainment without the participation of that great world power, the People's Republic of China. The vindication of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China is quite obviously of outstanding importance not only because it has a population of 650 million but also in view of the vitally important contribution that it can make to the solution of the great problems confronting Unesco.

2.9 The present position regarding the place belonging to the People's Republic of China is entirely incompatible with Unesco's Constitution and seriously hampers the Organization's efforts to solve its problems in a constructive manner. If Unesco is to tackle these problems in a realistic and forthright manner, the legal right of the People's Republic of China to a place in the Organization must be recognized.

2.10 Our delegation feels obliged to make certain other criticisms, particularly of the manner in which Unesco's funds are expended. Can it really be regarded as normal for half of the total amount contributed by Member States to be spent on the exaggeratedly inflated Secretariat machinery and the permanent staff? It is precisely for this reason that trifling sums are expended, or no appropriations whatever provided, for implementing highly important projects in the programme. In our opinion, it is essential to the general improvement of Unesco's work that every effort and all available funds should be concentrated on matters of such importance as international scientific conferences and the intensification of international co-operation through cultural exchanges between all countries, on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of any country, by the conclusion of international agreements covering different aspects of science, culture and education, the exchange of visits by delegations of cultural workers and facilities for free access to national and international exhibitions on educational, scientific and cultural subjects.

2.11 By turning its efforts in this direction, Unesco will enable a judicious use to be made of its physical and financial resources, and above all, will promote the expansion of cultural exchanges between the different countries and enable them to help each other in solving the major problems facing Unesco and the Member States.

2.12 We regard Unesco's attitude towards a number of international non-governmental organizations as erroneous, not to say discriminatory. The present Conference, under various legal and other pretexts but in reality on political grounds, is ignoring a number of international bodies which are widely representative and democratic in character and whose activities are in line with the fundamental aims and tasks of Unesco. Among these should be mentioned first and foremost, such widely representative organizations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Broadcasting Organization, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers etc.

2.13 Another important question is the principle

of fair geographical distribution in the selection of Unesco staff. We regard it as completely inadmissible that a large group of countries - including the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, a number of the Eastern countries, and others - should be entirely unrepresented on the staff of Unesco, and particularly in its leading organs. If Unesco despises to call itself a genuinely international organization and intends to abide strictly by the terms of its Constitution, the Secretariat must be built up on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

2.14 Ladies and gentlemen, if, as I am convinced, it is our unanimous wish that Unesco should achieve really big successes in its work, we must be businesslike in bringing out the shortcomings and mistakes in its work and planning how to eliminate them. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is confident that the representatives of 81 countries, meeting together for the tenth session of the General Conference, will arrive at a sober appraisal of the situation and make the necessary efforts to provide solutions for major problems in the interests of peace and international scientific and cultural co-operation - the purpose for which Unesco was founded.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Maeda, head of the delegation of Japan.

4.1 Mr. MAEDA (Japan):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, Unesco has now completed twelve years of eventful history. It is gratifying that as the foundations of this international Organization, dedicated to the peace of the world and to the happiness of mankind, in conformity with the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter, are being solidly laid, Unesco's Permanent Headquarters have been moved to this new building. Let me first of all express my heartfelt felicitation on this notable achievement. This building assembles in itself the essence of modern architecture; it is an impressive creation which reflects all the features best calculated to develop a sense of genuine art in design and construction. I think you will all agree with me that this wonderful achievement deserves our heartfelt admiration and that congratulations are due to all those who have contributed to this success. I must also express my gratitude to the French Government and the Municipality of Paris for their invaluable assistance so generously given to the realization of this project. This should give us a new inspiration in our endeavour towards the fulfilment of the great work that is expected of so internationally useful an institution as Unesco.

4.2 The Japanese delegation has examined in detail the Reports of the Director-General and the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. We have noted with satisfaction that Unesco's activities are being more and more strengthened and concentrated. Therefore, sincerely associating myself with a number of previous speakers, my congratulations go to the Director-General and to the Executive Board for what they are doing, so effectively, to forward the aims of Unesco.

4.3 Humanity now faces a tremendous challenge. Scientific knowledge is progressing at a speed undreamed of in the past and is fundamentally changing our way of living. This transformation will bring lesser demands on human labour, it will rationalize living conditions and contribute to the happiness of mankind, thus realizing a dream cherished by the peoples of the world. In every country, there is a demand on the part of the common man that the conditions of living should be made better, and that life should not be a matter of such stress as it is at present. Man should have the leisure, after toil, to cultivate the higher faculties of the mind and, by this means, to make himself richer in personality and pleasant activity. If we are to have more amenities of civilized living, we must call science to our aid. Already science has done much, but much more remains to be done. The scientist, if he gives to his work the right direction, can be one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

4.4 On the other hand, this scientific progress, by its dreadful power, is also threatening the very existence of mankind. Scientific technique, which tends to develop blindly, should therefore find an auto-limitation to its activity and should serve only the progress and the prosperity of mankind.

4.5 There lies the rôle of Unesco in all its varied fields of activity, but particularly in the field of education. Unesco has, since its establishment, concentrated its work on education and towards the active realization of international understanding and co-operation through education. This is a correct approach to the problem which is of the utmost importance in the world today.

4.6 Education must focus its attention on training the younger generation to become useful members of our society. To this end, the programme for improvement of school textbooks and school curricula is of the utmost importance. We cannot afford to confine the minds of the young to the narrow grooves of an older system. The minds of the young, at the earliest possible stage of development, should be made to broaden out as much as possible, through the medium of the right textbooks and the influence of the teacher, so that there will be not only a national but an international outlook. Today, the nations must hold together, as they never did before, if the peace and harmony of the world are to be maintained. The young mind cannot attain this necessary outlook unless the means to do so are abundantly available. The barriers of the past have been for the most part abolished, through the speed of communications and the ease of travel. Travellers of old, before the march of science brought about remarkable changes, took years to cover a new and unknown country; today the position is quite different. Today it is the barriers of knowledge that require to be most rapidly abolished, so that each country of the world shall no longer be unknown territory. We should know how people in other countries live, what are the inspirations of their life as expressed in their literature, what are the influences of their religious history, and their achievements as nations. This will create a bond of sympathy and understanding. Knowledge is, no doubt, the power of doing good through insight and appreciation. If, therefore, knowledge is rightly guided by human wisdom supported by moral strength, a real brotherhood of man is not difficult of attainment.

4.7 Each national cultural heritage, as distinct from the universality of science, has its roots deep in the individuality of the people. This may be the reason why sufficient understanding and appreciation cannot be achieved between the people of different races. It may be for this reason that Unesco decided to include in its programme a Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Japan's geographical position in the Far East has not favoured us with a place at the cultural cross-roads of the world. However, since ancient times we have been able to assimilate the civilization of the continent of Asia and, since the latter part of the Nineteenth century, we have endeavoured to accept Western civilization on our own initiative and by our own volition. We have been able to build our own civilization, with a distinct individuality of its own. In this connexion, I would like to recall a remark made by a certain philosopher, to the effect that Japan is, concurrently, the country of the Far East and also the country of the Far West. This view implies that Japan has an advantage as well as a danger, the danger of being isolated from others. Under such unique circumstances it is understandable that Japan is particularly interested in this Major Project and aspires to serve, in her humble way, as a connecting link between East and West. In 1957, the Congress of the International PEN Club was held in Tokyo. Later, a symposium on the history of the cultural contacts between the East and West was also organized in Tokyo, both of these with the full co-operation of Unesco. In 1958, a symposium on the history of religions was held, and also a meeting of experts on the treatment of the West in school textbooks of Asia, in co-operation with and under the sponsorship of Unesco. We are confident that these meetings contributed in many ways to the pursuit of the objects of the Major Project. The Japanese National Commission for Unesco has also, on its own initiative, but in the same spirit, compiled a one-volume encyclopedia on Japan for foreigners completed just a half-month ago, and has started a translation of representative Japanese modern philosophical literature. We believe that it is part of our responsibility as an Asian member, that we should contribute effectively to the execution of the programme.

4.8 In order to promote international understanding and co-operation, the rôle of the exchange of persons should not be overlooked. Japan has great interest in the exchange of leaders in all the fields of activity of Unesco - education, science and culture.

4.9 In 1952 and 1954, at the seventh and eighth sessions of the General Conference, the Japanese delegation presented draft resolutions for the promotion of the study of oceanography, which were then adopted. It is a matter for congratulation that marine science research now constitutes one of the important activities of Unesco in the Department of Natural Sciences. I hope that Unesco will continue to attach great importance to this project, designed to raise the standard of living of the people and contribute to the happiness and welfare of mankind.

4.10 The Japanese delegation also presented, at the Montevideo Conference, a draft resolution for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This problem, together with the problem of automation, raises a variety of other important questions. I should like to draw the attention of the General Conference to the importance of the study on the economic, social, cultural and moral implications of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

4.11 We are all glad that Unesco has made such striking progress during its brief existence. It has set itself to achieve a very great ideal of human progress, so that its work will affect not only the contemporary world but also generations to come. Unesco promises continuity of service to the well-being of mankind, in a manner which will make a distinct contribution to the extension and improvement of good relations between the various parts of the world, through the inspiration of a common ideal, shaping minds to a pattern which will create new and distinctive human values in our civilization. History offers such a wealth of experience that it is time we should guide ourselves along right and constructive lines of human progress. All nations should be glad of the opportunity Unesco affords them, through its benevolent and useful objectives, to bring the world nearer to universal harmony and peace, so that we may face the future with greater confidence than we have done in the past. There is in every country of the world a desire that the old order should be replaced by something vital and new, and I think you will agree with me that Unesco provides the right answer to this world-wide desire. On behalf of my country, which has benefited so much by Unesco I most warmly wish this magnificent institution greater and more unprecedented triumphs in the years to come.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Kahuda, head of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

6.1 Mr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the French and Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to offer you the cordial greetings of the delegation of the Czechoslovak Republic and wish all success to the work of the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco.

6.2 We also wish to express our gratitude to the French authorities, thanks to whose kindness we are able to hold the present Conference in this beautiful city, in this country of progressive culture, whose admirable and peace-loving people are linked to Czechoslovakia by bonds of long-standing friendship.

6.3 The Czechoslovak delegation has come to this tenth session with the firm intention of working to ensure that international understanding and co-operation shall help to safeguard and consolidate peace and the peaceful co-existence of nations. It is in this spirit that we have studied, in the light of Unesco's purposes and functions the activities of the Organization, the part played in them by Czechoslovakia and our common tasks.

6.4 During the period which has elapsed since the ninth session, Czechoslovakia has achieved considerable success in the field of education and in scientific and cultural development. In Czechoslovakia, with a population of about 13 million, over 80,000 students are at present attending higher educational institutions, while there are upwards of

200,000 pupils at technical secondary schools. Half of these receive grants, and free medical treatment is available to all of them. Our country has nearly 15,000 public libraries. In the past year, just a little under 4,500 book titles were published, with a total print of 43 million copies. Czechoslovakia has 70 professional State theatres and 3,500 cinemas, where the seats are among the cheapest in the world. Practically every family has a wireless set, and the number of television sets is rapidly increasing.

6.5 All educational, scientific and cultural work is based on the concepts of service to the nation, progress, peace and international co-operation. Evidence of our efforts to harmonize technical and cultural progress, to demonstrate the human content of contemporary achievements and to build up a genuine culture among individuals and nations was provided by Czechoslovakia's contribution to the World Exhibition at Brussels. Millions of visitors were able to convince themselves of the production successes scored by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Czechoslovakia and their efforts to promote international co-operation, friendship, peace and prosperity for the workers of the whole world, and agreed that the award of the first prize to the Czechoslovak pavilion in the Exhibition was well-merited.

6.6 Socialist humanism has been a powerful ideological factor in helping to solve the highly complex problems of our century. Some of those problems concern the very existence of the human race, for example, those relating to the banning of tests of atomic weapons and the use of means of mass-extermination. We are therefore firmly convinced that such questions, which concern a threat to the very existence of human culture, cannot be disregarded by any international organization, least of all Unesco, in which all the active forces working for progress, science and culture are assembled. Such questions frequently arise in connexion with the misuse of scientific discoveries, with intentions that run counter to the Constitution and the mission of Unesco.

6.7 Comparing Unesco's potential contribution to the consolidation of peace with the contribution it has actually made during the past period, I am bound to say that we are not entirely satisfied with its work. During the past two years we have been repeatedly exposed to serious danger through acts of military aggression committed by certain Member States of Unesco against other Member States; but although the armaments race is becoming faster and faster, our Organization still stands aloof and takes no constructive steps in the matter. Unesco has failed to exploit, even partially, the initiative taken in the interests of peace by a number of Member States, including the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to put a final end to the nuclear weapon race.

6.8 It would, of course, be unfair to forget or fail to appreciate what Unesco has done to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among nations. We greatly appreciate the part it played in the celebrations held to commemorate that great international teacher, Comenius. Neither should we overlook the work done by the Department of Social Sciences in organizing international seminars in the field of social, economic and legal studies. Special mention should be made of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, and a number of other measures.

6.9 The reports on the Organization's activities reveal, however, that its contribution to the settlement of questions concerning peace and cultural life has been very slight, and that Unesco, especially during the past two years, has exerted no significant influence on world events. This is due not only to its failure to work for the solution of key problems affecting the living conditions, working conditions and cultural life of society, but also to the further fact that the forms of its activity have not evoked a widespread response among the masses. Unesco should not confine itself to working in seminars and individual groups but should make itself heard by everyone throughout the world. So far, however, its typical activities have consisted of narrow, restricted measures solely concerned with professional and technical questions. But Unesco cannot confine its aims to the implementation of an exclusively technical programme. We must strive to ensure that the Organization and its leaders, in carrying out the programme, will henceforth apply themselves to discover more effective and intensive ways of consolidating peace and international understanding, ensuring that any measures proposed will be adapted to their fundamental aims, and made purposeful and progressive, and popularizing Unesco's work among the general public.

6.10 Unesco can achieve its aims and accomplish its tasks only if it becomes a genuinely universal organization. This is indicated in its Constitution. The eighth session of the General Conference likewise took a proper decision in welcoming the admission of further countries and organizations wishing to take part in Unesco's work and able to carry out the duties laid down in the Constitution. We note however, that no share is taken in Unesco's work by countries representing a population of 750 million, and that during the past two years the Organization has taken no steps to bring about a satisfactory solution of this problem. No share is yet taken in the work of Unesco by the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic or the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. I would like to point out in this connexion, that the culture of Viet-Nam and Korea is represented in our Organization by delegates from Southern Viet-Nam and South Korea only. Our delegation regards this state of things as inadmissible, for everyone knows that it is the Governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam - not represented in Unesco - which are doing most to raise the cultural level of the Viet-Namese and Korean peoples.

6.11 But the great and serious flaw in Unesco's claim to universality is the absence of representatives of China. It is impossible to think seriously of a successful implementation of the Organization's programme if representation and participation is denied to China, with its population of 650 million. The gravity of the circumstances call for a favourable decision by the Executive Board, the General Conference and the various Commissions and

UNESCO ARCHIVES

Committees of the Secretariat. To maintain a negative attitude is to oppose the principle of universality and the spirit of Unesco's Constitution.

6.12 The principle of universality has also been disregarded in the choice of the organizations admitted to consultative status with Unesco. Side by side with large organizations, there are a number of small associations which can do nothing to render Unesco universal and discourage belief in its objectivity. The list includes organizations of a restricted type and limited membership, which, as is evident from the Director-General's report, devote the greater part of the subventions they receive from Unesco to administrative expenditure of a kind which does not justify the support given to them. This applies, for instance, to the Institute for Social Science at Cologne and to the International Social Science Council. Our repeated requests for information about them have been unavailing, nor have we once been invited to the conferences or meetings of these organizations. The social changes taking place in the countries in the Socialist camp seem to be non-existent as far as the first of them is concerned. If institutes of this kind are so restricted or even harmful in their sphere of action, they are unworthy of Unesco's support.

6.13 On the other hand, certain widely representative democratic organizations have not yet been admitted to consultative arrangements. The seventh session of the General Conference refused them admission while declaring that they would be entitled to re-apply at a later date and that the Director-General would maintain informal relations with them. We regard this as insufficient. The fact that certain democratic organizations are not participating in Unesco's work appears to us to be prejudicial to international co-operation and to the universality of Unesco.

6.14 In this connexion I would like to say a few words about the substance of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, and about the manner of its implementation.

6.15 Considering our many and traditional links with the Eastern countries and their cultures, Czechoslovakia welcomes Unesco's initiative regarding this project, which we view as a potential means of intensifying international understanding and co-operation. On the conclusion of the ninth session of the General Conference, we immediately set about putting the project into operation: Czechoslovakia, was, indeed, one of the first Member States to draw up plans to that effect - a task in which our scientific, educational and cultural institutions and social organizations participated. At the same time, a national conference was convened to consider the project. On the initiative of the representatives of Czechoslovakia, it was discussed by the Committee for Cultural Co-operation at the July session of the Congress on Disarmament and International Co-operation, at Stockholm.

6.16 As confirmed opponents of any form of colonialism, we consider it essential that this project be taken up by all concerned without any ulterior motives; our point is that the basis on which Unesco proposes to execute the project is a very narrow one. Neither the action so far taken nor the statements of the Director-General have convinced us of the contrary. The project becomes valueless if it is to exclude Eastern countries with a total population bordering on 100,000,000. This state of affairs should be remedied in the interests of Unesco itself - otherwise the project will be no more than the monument to a short-sighted misconception of the history of the development of countries which have taken the Socialist road. My earlier remarks related to a few institutions which receive support from Unesco but from which we await in vain any effort to give practical expression to the principles and aims of the Organization. For example, the Director-General's report says that Unesco is concluding contracts with the Brunswick Institute, which enjoys its support for the purpose of promoting international co-operation but has so far done nothing to promote co-operation with the Socialist Member States of Unesco, and whose activity is thus, to say the least, one-sided.

6.17 In concluding our remarks on the Director-General's reports, we would like to stress that Czechoslovakia is fully prepared to take the initiative and co-operate actively in promoting mutual understanding and friendship between nations, and our readiness to do so is manifested both in the United Nations and in the Specialized Agencies and cultural organizations. On our initiative, the ninth session of the General Conference adopted a resolution on the subject of co-operation in the cultural and scientific fields, and this year our interest in the subject has been demonstrated by our presentation of a draft resolution on the necessity of peaceful co-existence. Czechoslovakia attaches weight to its membership of Unesco and its collaboration with the Organization, as is evident from the exceptionally large sums which it devotes to the implementation of various measures - for instance, it met the entire cost of the ethnographical seminar, the inter-disciplinary seminar, and so on. Our press, radio, cinema and television give regular publicity to Unesco's work, and in this respect Czechoslovakia is one of the most active of the Member States.

6.18 The tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco has been presented by the delegation of Czechoslovakia with proposals for exploring the possibility of bringing about the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, explaining and publicizing the aims and activities of Unesco, providing assistance to Member States in conducting international activities, commemorating the centenary of the publication of Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species", studying the problem of higher education, contributing to the practical implementation of the theory of defectology, discussing research into automation and its practical application, and encouraging cinema and television services to take an interest in questions of international co-operation and co-existence.

6.19 Mr. President, Czechoslovakia is firmly convinced that Unesco is in an excellent position to exert influence in favour of international co-operation for peace. Our delegation will welcome any measures by the Organization designed to consolidate international understanding, friendship, progress and peace.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Stanković, head of the delegation of Yugoslavia.

8.1 Mr. STANKOVIĆ (Yugoslavia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of Yugoslavia is delighted to be present on this occasion and to pay tribute to the efforts so far made by our Organization as its contribution towards encouraging co-operation among all nations of the world and thus consolidating peace.

8.2 The experience of the past twelve years has been more than sufficient to convince us that Unesco undoubtedly meets what, in this time of change, is an imperative need. This impels us to give it our support all the more vigorously in view of the fact that peace is repeatedly threatened at the present time and that countries are still divided by all too many points of dispute. It is becoming perfectly clear that there is only one possible alternative to war - the peaceful and active co-existence of nations which have different social systems and have reached different levels of culture, and the development of economic, political and cultural co-operation among them based on equal rights and the exercise of mutual toleration between countries great and small.

8.3 It is on Unesco, undoubtedly, that the noble task devolves of promoting such co-operation in the spiritual and moral sphere, dissipating present misunderstandings and eliminating mutual ignorance. Only a blind man, nowadays, could remain unaware of the increasing interdependence of all countries in the world, resulting mainly from the headlong development of science and technology, and forcing the various peoples to get to know one another and hence to understand and draw closer to one another.

8.4 But this interdependence further obliges them to concert their efforts to eliminate the most serious barrier to fruitful collaboration - the economic and cultural inequality which exists between countries and which is often all too marked.

8.5 Yugoslavia is firmly convinced that this manifold task of Unesco is not only of vital importance, but also that it is entirely solvable despite its immensity and its attendant difficulties, for it is in line with the true interests of mankind in general.

8.6 That is why Yugoslavia, since joining Unesco, has given the Organization its unqualified backing, followed its activities with the closest attention and made every possible effort to promote the implementation of its programme. Devastated by war and still grappling with innumerable difficulties, Yugoslavia has nevertheless striven to raise the cultural level of its population, improve its system of teaching and education, encourage scientific research and develop its cultural relations with other countries - all in consonance with the principles on which our Organization is based.

8.7 It gives me pleasure to draw attention to the fact that we have been generously assisted by Unesco, especially in our efforts to plan the reform of our school system.

8.8 Yugoslavia will continue to support Unesco's activities, in the knowledge that it is thus contributing to the consolidation of peace.

8.9 The delegation of Yugoslavia is happy to note the increase in the number of Member States. It is regrettable, however, that Unesco still falls short of the universality it should have through the absence of various countries, including the People's Republic of China. Needless to say, no world-wide organization can succeed in its manifold activities so long as a considerable section of the human race remains unrepresented in it.

8.10 Fresh efforts will be needed to make Unesco into a universal Organization in the full meaning of the word.

8.11 The delegation of Yugoslavia thanks the Executive Board, the Director-General and his colleagues for their work in implementing the Programme for 1957-1958 and in preparing the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, and approves in principle the new project we are about to discuss.

8.12 In our opinion it is more specific than its predecessors, achieves a better balance between general and special activities, and enables Unesco's efforts to be properly concentrated on matters of outstanding importance. This tendency towards concentration is demonstrated, for example, in the increase - of which the delegation of Yugoslavia approves - in the appropriations for the three major projects.

8.13 We feel, however, that the representation of Member States in the Secretariat should be more consonant with geographical distribution, and that the Secretariat should vigorously oppose any tendency towards bureaucratization.

8.14 The increase in the total budget figure for 1959-1960 also seems to us to be justified, and essential to the satisfactory progress of Unesco's activities: the important point is to maintain the latter at least at the 1957-1958 level and especially to enable the three major projects already launched to be developed on the necessary scale.

8.15 We are glad to note the incorporation of technical assistance activities in the Proposed Programme and Budget. This reflects the tendency towards closer co-ordination of Unesco's activities with those of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the other international organizations.

8.16 I do not wish to carry my analysis of the Proposed Programme and Budget any further but would like to make a few general observations.

8.17 In the first place, the delegation of Yugoslavia attaches special importance to the implementation of the three Major Projects, to which it considers that the Organization should give continued priority. In view of the scale of these projects and the efforts required for their implementation, we are glad to note that the present Proposed Programme does not suggest any new major project - thought certain activities, such as those relating to education in tropical Africa, the social consequences of industrialization, and research in marine sciences, are perhaps worthy of being raise to the rank of major projects at a later date.

8.18 It is, however, the importance of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values that the delegation of Yugoslavia particularly wishes to stress. The pursuit of the aim behind this great project seems to us to be among the most urgent tasks of the moment.

Many of the disagreements now dividing the human community stem from illusions and prejudices, which are often serious, and which are rooted in past economic and political relations. Inadequate knowledge of the cultural treasures of those vast areas commonly called "the East" and "the West" is one of the results of this situation, and has created a lack of understanding which, to put it mildly, is both regrettable and dangerous. It is therefore in the interest of mankind as a whole to remedy this lack of mutual acquaintance and understanding, which commonly gives rise to a spirit of enmity and the vain and dangerous illusion that one particular civilization, be it European or another, is the only valid one, to the exclusion of all others, thus blocking even the possibility of cultural exchanges between Eastern and Western countries.

8.19 Hence the delegation of Yugoslavia regards this major project as of particular importance and feels that all Member States would do well to give it their most active support in order to ensure its success. The Yugoslav National Commission for Unesco at present views its own participation in the implementation of this project as one of its most important activities, and has drawn up a nation-wide programme of work for the purpose.

8.20 Though there are a number of other points, of course, which still need to be clarified, we think it may be helpful to stress the present cultural aspects of East and West, with special reference to the new cultural values resulting from recent political, economic and social changes.

8.21 Turning to the chapter on education, the delegation of Yugoslavia, while emphasizing the importance of adult and women's education, very much hopes that Unesco will extend its activities in the coming two years in the field of vocational and university education. This is a problem of general interest, but which particularly affects the countries which are less developed from the economic standpoint; these need to raise the vocational level of their workers and expedite the training of qualified technicians, and so help to eliminate the economic and cultural inequality which exists between themselves and the more highly developed countries.

8.22 I would like to conclude by calling the attention of delegates to the increasingly vital rôle of the National Commissions for Unesco. These national institutions are undoubtedly in process of developing into genuine organs of liaison and communication between Unesco and the different countries. The only rôle allocated to them by the Constitution was that of advising the governments of the respective Member States. Experience has shown, however, that they are capable of taking a direct and effective part in Unesco's various activities, of taking the initiative and even of acting as intermediaries between the different countries to promote cultural co-operation among them. We also note with satisfaction that a new and promising form of collaboration among the National Commissions is now developing. I refer to the Regional Conferences of National Commissions, which enable them to exchange ideas freely, to compare their experiences and to seek for new methods of joint action with a view to contributing to the implementation of Unesco's programme by their united efforts. As proof of this, we have the Regional Conferences held recently in Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa, which have shown the far-reaching possibilities of fruitful co-operation and even of joint undertakings, especially for carrying out the great projects featuring in our Organization's programme. It is to be hoped that the convening of these regional conferences, bringing together the National Commissions of neighbouring countries with cultural affinities, will become a permanent method of action and foster joint undertakings of a practical nature.

8.23 During its twelve years of existence, Unesco, while grappling with many difficulties, has succeeded, despite certain errors, in charting its own course and extending its field of action. May it always remain faithful to its basic aims and work untiringly to creat an atmosphere of fellowship and understandin among human society.

8.24 I would like to close my remarks by quoting the words spoken at Aix-en-Provence by the late Professor Paul Rivet, the distinguished Chairman of the French National Commission for Unesco: "It is my profound conviction that the peace to which we all agree to devote the best that is in us, is a continuous creation".

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Chandavimol, head of the delegation of Thailand.

10.1 Mr. CHANDAVIMOL (Thailand): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the first point I wish to make is a comment about the permanent headquarters of our Organization. I note, from the Director-General's Introduction to the Reports, that the buildings are a remarkable example of international achievement; the generous action of our French hosts made the project possible; architects and advisers from five different countries were responsible for the plans; a Committee from twenty countries supervised their execution; nineteen countries have furnished or decorated the rooms, and artists from eight countries were commissioned to contribute to the decoration. The Director-General also mentioned that much has already been said and written about these buildings; perhaps too much attention has been given to the structure as a palace or a monument or a museum, therefore, he would like to emphasize that the designers had in view, above all, a place of work. However, as I walk around these buildings I feel somewhat disappointed that there is no sign of my country except our national flag in front of the buildings. Many countries are in the same position as Thailand, in that, for certain reasons, we may not be able to furnish or decorate a room or supply the architects and artists for these beautiful buildings. Yet I would like to see, somewhere in these premises, tokens that every Member State could contribute, which might consist of something representative of its national character - perhaps a painting, or even a doll in national costume. If this could be done, it would strengthen our public liaison programme and make every visitor feel that he is close to Unesco and that this country has

a share in building up the Organization. In short, I would like to see our permanent headquarters not only as a place of work but, in the words of the Chairman of the Headquarters Committee, as "an example and emblem of peaceful intellectual co-operation between the nations, a beacon of hope shining out over the whole world".

10.2 I would like, now, to comment on the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. It is not quite clear to me why such emphasis is placed on the Nineteenth century difference between East and West, for I always feel that we from the East sometimes do not quite understand each other, nor do we really appreciate each other's cultural values. The same may also be said of the West and, having listened to the political debates on the first two days of this Conference, I feel that the world is no longer divided into East and West - both are divided among themselves - and that there are other regions of the world which do not consider themselves East or West. With due respect to our illustrious ex-President, I would like to say that not only East and West, but all the world has now come together never to part again, and we must try to settle down in some kind of peaceful co-existence which will grow into active, friendly co-operation.

10.3 The Director-General has pointed out in his reports that international gatherings of one type or another figure largely in Unesco's programme, as one of its major methods of action. My country is a strong supporter of Unesco in this respect, and during the past two years Thailand had the honour of acting as host to several international meetings, four of which were connected with Unesco: the Unesco Seminar on Educational Statistics, the Ninth Pacific Congress of the Pacific Science Association, the Unesco Advisory Committee on Marine Sciences and the Unesco Expert Meeting on Cross-Cultural Research in Child Psychology.

10.4 Lastly, on behalf of the Government and the people of Thailand, I would like to thank the Executive Board, the Director-General, and the members of the Secretariat for their kind co-operation and assistance that Thailand has received from this Organization. At present four projects are being sponsored by the Government of Thailand and Unesco: the Chachoengsao Educational Pilot Project, the Thailand-Unesco Fundamental Education Centre, the Rural Teacher Education Project and the International Institute of Child Study. I would like to report, very briefly, that all of them have made good progress, and they have done much to spread the good name of Unesco throughout the Kingdom.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Stirling, head of the delegation of Australia.

12.1 Mr. STIRLING (Australia):

Mr. President, and fellow delegates, the Australian delegation joins me in expressing its pleasure at participating in the General Conference, once again in Paris. We also join in applauding the splendid facilities provided in the Headquarters building and in congratulating the Director-General and the Secretariat on what they have done to plan for this Conference.

12.2 Our meeting in this permanent home of Unesco reminds us of the dedication of those who have served Unesco whole-heartedly from the beginning; we pay tribute to Sir Alfred Zimmern, Sir Julian Huxley, Senor Torres Bodet, Dr. Luther Evans, and very many more.

12.3 The Australian delegations to previous sessions of the General Conference have expressed the view that the programme of Unesco should provide the utmost opportunity for Member States to carry out Projects which they themselves believe will give expression to their felt needs. In this way Unesco will best achieve its purposes as expressed in the Constitution - the promotion of collaboration among the nations in the fields of education, science and culture. We feel that during its twelve years of life the programme of the Organization has in fact, developed increasingly on lines which provide for such opportunities. We are gratified also that, side by side with this development, the Programme has become increasingly concentrated on activities which are of the greatest priority. This ensures that the limited resources of Unesco are not dispersed on too wide a scale for effective results.

12.4 I should like to make some comments on the three Major Projects which represent in striking form a concentration of the Organization's activities in areas of greatest priority. The Australian delegation has seen with pleasure the progress achieved in the Arid Zone Major Project. It has also noted the encouraging reports issued concerning the Major Project for the Training of Teachers and Administrators in Latin America. But we cannot but express our disappointment at the apparent lack of progress in the Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. This, in our view, is the most important Major Project of all.

12.5 To us, the reasons for the greater progress achieved in the Major Projects on Arid Zone Research and Teacher Training are not far to seek. Unesco gained, over a number of years, through the work of the Director-General's International Advisory Committee on the Arid Zone and in the work of its Department of Education, the basis of experience which we regard as essential to the success of projects of this magnitude. Furthermore, the vital element of this experience was a knowledge gained of the problems which Member States themselves considered most urgent.

12.6 But, in its present form, the East-West Major Project consists mainly of an extension of activities which were being undertaken by Unesco when the project was introduced at New Delhi. The Australian delegation believes that this Major Project will progress at a satisfactory rate only as a result of much further study of the underlying problems of improving East-West cultural relations. We must study ways in which this can best be tackled by Member States both of the East and West.

12.7 The introduction of the programme of Participation in the activities of Member States marked a good step forward in ensuring that Unesco's programme should provide opportunities for Member States to carry out activities of their own choosing. In the view of the Australian Government, the Parti-

cipation programme has, in the main, proved successful, and the Director-General and the Secretariat are to be congratulated on the way in which it has developed.

12.8 May I cite Australian experience in this matter? This programme has proved of value to activities in Australia undertaken on a national level and concerned with items associated with the Unesco programmes. Through the grant of funds under the Participation programme, leading overseas personalities in several fields have visited Australia. Their visits have given a stimulus which is particularly important to a country so far removed geographically from the majority of Member States. The value of these visits has not, however, been confined to the particular activities which led to the requests for aid. The visitors also contributed substantially to a better knowledge of Unesco among a broader section of the population. This was accomplished by addresses to representative bodies and by radio broadcasts, and in this way the visitors have helped to overcome a real problem - the spreading of knowledge of Unesco beyond specialist bodies working in the fields of education, science and culture.

12.9 Australia considers that the programme of Participation in the activities of Member States should not become too limited by the allocation of a substantial proportion of its funds to long-term commitments. The needs of Member States vary considerably. To obtain the fullest benefit of funds to assist them to carry out projects which they themselves feel to be significant, the allocation of funds must be flexible. It is realized that the requests for aid under this programme greatly exceed the funds available, but it should be possible for a wide diversity of requests to be assisted within the areas approved by the Conference for aid under this programme.

12.10 The Australian Government has viewed with interest the proposals for integration of operational costs of the Technical Assistance programme with the Regular programme of the Organization. The Technical Assistance programme also has the merit of providing assistance to Member States to undertake the things they themselves wish to do. It differs from the Participation programme in emphasis and scope, but the two have much in common and we strongly favour the closest integration of their administration by Unesco.

12.11 I have expressed the views of the Australian Government that Unesco's programme must provide for full participation of Member States. And here I mention the question of documents. I feel sure that all delegations have been concerned at the ever-increasing flow of documents received from the Secretariat, not only in connexion with this Conference, but throughout the whole budgetary period. In a programme which caters fully for the needs of Member States, the achievement of the Organization should be measured in the number of activities successfully accomplished rather than in an increasing number of documents. We feel, too, that considerable savings could be achieved by lowering documentation to a minimum consistent with efficiency, even if this may mean some sacrifice of convenience. These savings achieved might well prove enough to enable a number of additional worth-while activities to be undertaken by Member States and National Commissions.

12.12 May I now draw your attention to the resolution on the co-ordination of science adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 8 October, without opposition, a relatively rare occurrence.

12.13 The resolution requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in co-operation with Unesco and the other Specialized Agencies concerned with the peaceful application of science, to arrange for a survey to be made of the main trends of inquiry in the field of natural science, the dissemination and application of such scientific knowledge, for peaceful ends, and the steps which might be taken by the United Nations towards encouraging the concentration of such efforts upon the most urgent problems, having regard to the needs of various countries.

12.14 This resolution was introduced by Australia in the belief that it was the responsibility of the international community to bring the benefits of modern scientific progress more directly to the people of the world, and especially to the less technologically advanced peoples. In introducing Australia's ideas on this question to the General Assembly, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. G. Casey, said:

"I am increasingly impressed by what has already been achieved by men of science and by the promise of the future. The scientific advances of the past fifty years have been dramatic, but it is even more exciting to consider the probable course of scientific development in the next fifty years, for the tide of research and invention flows ever more strongly. For the first time in human history the whole world may have within its reach the attainment of high standards of material welfare and security - provided we can live together in peace, and concentrate our energies upon the co-operative application of man's advancing knowledge to the control of our physical environment."

12.15 It is the object of the Australian proposal that the United Nations, through its Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies, should look at the overall picture of scientific research, with a view to determining how far the need for research is being satisfied, what more needs to be done, and whether the men and facilities available for research are adequate.

12.16 In our opinion, the international organizations have a responsibility to facilitate the spreading of scientific knowledge and research - to take the discoveries of the laboratory into the homes, the factories, the farms and the hospitals. This is a responsibility which is shared by Unesco, WHO, FAO, the Atomic Energy Agency, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has the co-ordinating rôle.

12.17 The Australian delegation commends to the attention of fellow delegates the Assembly's resolution on the co-ordination of science, and urges that Unesco co-operate in the survey to be conducted by the Secretary-General. We will, I trust, have the opportunity of discussing the implications of the Assembly's resolution in greater detail when we have before us the Director-General's Report for the Economic and Social Council on the appraisal of Unesco's programme, and the Contribution by Unesco to the Development of Peaceful Co-operation.

12.18 Mr. President, to sum up, the Australian delegation congratulates the Director-General and his staff on what has been done in the past two years to carry out the programme approved at New Delhi. We believe that the decisions made at New Delhi have helped the Director-General to concentrate the resources of the Organization upon some of the major objectives of Unesco. In our view, the Participation programme has done much to promote combined action by the Secretariat and Member States.

12.19 The Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, stemming as it does from the very Constitution of Unesco, provides us, no doubt, with our greatest challenge, but also with our greatest promise of reward. We hope that the Conference, using the experience of the past two years, as emphasized in the Director-General's Report, will make decisions that will bring this project into clearer focus, and that will lead to swifter and better progress.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Moro, head of the delegation of Italy.

14.1 Mr. MORO (Italy) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is not without emotion that I arise to speak for the first time at the General Conference of Unesco but it is also with a feeling of particular satisfaction that I do so here, in the city of Paris, on the soil of France to whose magnanimity we so largely owe these new Headquarters, this splendid edifice and impressive symbol of international co-operation. May I begin by expressing my warmest thanks to the host country both for its hospitality and for its generosity?

14.2 I am speaking on a memorable day in the history of Italy's relations with Unesco - for it was ten years ago that my country, at Beirut, began to take an active part in the Organization's work.

14.3 I would like to take this opportunity - without overstepping the limits of the present discussion, which covers past and present activities, with a glance at probable or desirable future developments - to recall some of the contributions which Italy has made in the establishment of certain projects.

14.4 In doing so, I am moved, I assure you, not by any spirit of national vanity, but simply by the desire to stress certain points which we have regarded, and still regard, as essential.

14.5 I would like to mention, in turn, the remodelling of the programme, as agreed on at Montevideo, the East-West Major Project; the form of mutual aid known as "technical assistance" or "participation", and the vital contribution of non-governmental organizations to the common effort.

14.6 Twelve years of existence, for an organization like Unesco, may seem a long time, but really it is little enough; so far as Unesco's work is concerned, the effects are not immediate and time is measured in decades.

14.7 To affirm this is to reaffirm our faith in the Organization, in its lofty ideals. It also means that we recognize the immensity of the work which still remains to be done.

14.8 This can be seen simply by examining the document containing the appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council.

14.9 Nevertheless, these twelve years of existence - and this is most important - have been sufficient for Unesco to identify the problems and the major or inveterate difficulties, and to create that highly effective instrument, the Secretariat.

14.10 I would like, here, to pay tribute to the services of the Secretariat itself in this patient work of construction, and to those of its eminent chief, Mr. Luther H. Evans, the Director-General.

14.11 The remodelling of the programme took place at a time of crisis for the Organization and was designed to ensure greater concentration of effort in order to meet the desires of Member States more adequately. We believe that we made a substantial contribution in that connexion at the time, both in the Board and at the Montevideo Conference. Without trying to claim that the objective has been finally and fully achieved, we remain convinced of the value of the remodelling, the effects of which are positive and are still being unfolded.

14.12 The introduction of the Major Project concept, on the one hand, and the expansion of the programme of assistance, on the other, are two basic elements in the structural reform of the programme; but, like all good things, it is possible to have too much of them, and they involve two opposite risks.

14.13 Firstly, there is the danger that a particular Major Project may absorb the main content of the programme, to the detriment of tasks which are nevertheless essential.

14.14 Secondly, the danger of assistance is that it may transform the Organization into an agency supplying minor services in such a way that the wood cannot be seen for the trees. The effect of this would be that efforts, commendable in themselves, would be unproductive through lack of integration in the programme.

14.15 In view of the vacillations which have sometimes occurred, or which may still occur, between or towards these extremes, it might be advisable - in order to find the golden mean which resolves the problem - not, I suggest, to re-embark on the studies and discussions which have already been conducted to good purpose, but to call renewed attention to the existence of the Montevideo resolution on future programmes, with its definitions of general activities, special activities, common aims and priority areas.

14.16 It is a concrete and definite suggestion which I am making here. If the Director-General and the Programme Commission take it up, it will have the double advantage of providing the former with a guiding line, and Member States with an understanding of the position when they come to submit their requests or express their desires to the Organization.

14.17 The Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values strikingly exemplifies the happy results of the remodelling of the programme, not so much because of its effects, which it is too early to report, as by reason of the general interest and even enthusiasm which it has aroused.

14.18 It has been asserted on various sides that Unesco's fate is very largely bound up with the fate of this Major Project. It has also been recognized

that the Project is first and foremost a framework which Member States, through their support and initiative, have to fill in. We are not yet at a sufficiently advanced stage to pass confident judgement on the Project, and we still have a certain amount of time left, as Member States, for action; but the moment is now not far distant when we shall be called upon to take careful stock of ourselves. For the time being, it is interesting to note the various points which each of us would like the Project to include.

14.19 So far as my own country is concerned, and speaking as one belonging to what is known as Western civilization, I would like to reaffirm here my hostility to the tendency of identifying that civilization with pure technique, in contradistinction to ethics, as represented by the East. That thesis, as its mere utterance indicates, would not set our feet on the road to understanding: it would rather be evidence of the lack of understanding which the Project is designed to overcome, and hence of the need for the Project.

14.20 That is something we cannot accept; and I go so far as to maintain that, amid the wide diversity of national and individual contributions in all fields of culture, art and technology, it is only the existence of a deep-seated spiritual and moral unity which makes it permissible to speak of a Western civilization.

14.21 It would doubtless be extremely useful, at least at this initial stage, to develop contacts and meetings between men of culture from the different countries, so as to permit of frank explanations and find out what we have to seek in common.

14.22 Thus, to quote a recent example, the discussions which took place here during the Conference of Directors of Cultural Relations Services revealed that many representatives of the East, while recognizing the efforts we are making to develop a knowledge of Eastern civilization in our countries, were of opinion that our interest and research work were heading in the wrong direction.

14.23 The Italian National Commission has made an extensive analysis of this research work, and is about to present its findings in a document which could be submitted to the Programme Commission or used in the further development of the Major Project. While our good will and good faith are beyond question, it is not in fact impossible, despite the imposing picture which our research work and activities seems to present, that we have gone astray. It appears - so our Oriental friends consider - that we have been inclined to look for what interested us (from the intellectual standpoint, of course), neglecting what in their view was of greater importance. Furthermore, their opinion concerning Western values does not always coincide with ours.

14.24 Perhaps the main reason for this divergence should be sought in the fact that the Easterners try to see our civilization in its present guise, whereas it is the past that we are mainly concerned about when studying the East. That would explain many mutual misunderstandings, since the image of an existing civilization is bound to be distorted unless placed in the perspective of its past, whereas the image of a civilization whose present aspect is unknown is clearly incomplete.

14.25 Be that as it may, we have no desire to remain in error - if error there be - and it is possible that forthright confrontations will bring about a readjustment of opinions, possibly on both sides. In this connexion, the Secretariat has the fundamental task of ascertaining and informing us of the points of divergency, and any omissions, in our activities, which we need to repair.

14.26 But while this Major Project tackles a problem so vital and absorbing that it even threatens to encroach on other work, and while the other two Major Projects are well in hand in response to urgent and very concrete needs, other needs are making themselves felt, and will continue to do so.

14.27 Like a very sensitive feeler, Unesco should detect the new questions which arise and which will before long confront, not merely experts and pioneers, but mankind as a whole.

14.28 I thinking here of such problems as the development of Africa, and the social effects of industrialization and of the use of modern technology (automation and new sources of energy).

14.29 The Italian National Commission had proposed that the last mentioned question should be the subject of a fourth Major Project. Perhaps it is premature to take up this point today, but there is certainly an urgent need for the Secretariat to make the requisite studies in this field with all due thoroughness.

14.30 At the opposite pole to the Major Projects, so to speak, stands the programme of assistance to Member States.

14.31 With regard to this - and I refer to asistance irrespective of the form it takes or the title it assumes; "technical assistance" or "participation" - I would first like to restate my Government's attitude. We firmly believe in the value of this form of international solidarity, and, since deeds are better than words, we have just given proof of our feelings by making a very substantial increase in our voluntary contribution to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

14.32 This said, the remarks I am now going to make should be regarded simply as the expression of a desire to increase the effectiveness of this programme by strengthening the moral and human principles on which it should be based, by constantly reviewing the methods used to that end, and by concentrating efforts on priority objectives.

14.33 Member States, without any loss in the quantity of aid received, must also receive the advantage of the maximum qualitative improvement in such aid, and this can come about, in my view, on the human level.

14.34 In point of fact, the success of this activity necessarily depends on a moral and spiritual conception of life and of the relationships between States, communities and individuals, which should take precedence over purely material aspects and interests. This conception must become deeply rooted in the consciousness of the different parties, of those who give and those who receive; it will then be seen that the paltry balance of benefits received or granted loses its meaning and that the human contact built up is reflected in mutual enrichment, this automatically ensuring the reciprocity which is still very often - perhaps all too often - mentioned.

14.35 In saying this, I do not mean to belittle in any way the importance of technology in assistance described as "technical", or of the material factors

as, quite often, essential aids. Nor, I repeat, are my words intended to minimize the efforts and sacrifices involved in finding the material means. Their object is, rather, to establish the moral justification for those efforts and sacrifices, for givers and receivers alike.

14.36 Let it not be thought that these are purely theoretical considerations, without any practical bearing.

14.37 In the first place, the echoes of the recent meeting of Directors of National Cultural Relations Services have barely died away, they testify to the strength of the desire for clarity evinced in this field, in which so many opinions clash. In the second place, it must be recognized that the very substance of technical assistance includes a human element.

14.38 Time was, in the last century, when economists maintained that "capital limits industry". This statement is true, although incomplete, since each factor in production also places limitations on the undertaking embarked on; however, it reflected the position at the time.

14.39 I have no hesitation in asserting that today it is the human factor which limits technical assistance undertakings, especially in the fields of education, science and culture.

14.40 The linch-pin of the programme is constituted by the experts, and their recruitment is meeting with increasing difficulties; to withdraw staff from certain research laboratories is impossible or dangerous, and would be detrimental to progress and so to those whom it is proposed to assist. In addition, it is essential to prevent this sector from being left in the hands of second-rate minds that are now unemployed.

14.41 Lastly, even the expert who is most technically qualified for his work in his own sphere is not necessarily suitable for a technical assistance mission. This problem is one which transcends the scope of Unesco; yet it must, I consider, be tackled without delay if we are to avoid marking time and to eliminate the most serious causes of failure. I thus return to my first point and conclude that, here again, it is the moral approach which will point to the solution: the experts, just like the donor or the recipient States, must be imbued with the sense of their mission.

14.42 Whereas these aspects relate to basic questions, there are others which involve questions of method as to the choice between different projects, and which are entirely a matter for Unesco. The dispersal of activities involves a risk, not only of ineffectiveness, but also of dissociation from the actual personality of the Organization - and the Director-General is to be commended for having recognized this fact.

14.43 The movement already under way to integrate technical assistance activities in the general programme should therefore be steadfastly continued.

14.44 While it is true that technical assistance has its own methods, a better way must be found of determining the characteristics of the programme of "participation in the activities of Member States", which should not be merely a further expansion of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It would seem advisable, in the light of the discussions which took place among competent circles after the last General Conference, to fix certain criteria which the projects to be selected should meet. They should not only further the aims of the Organization, but should conform to at least one of the following criteria: "concern more than one State, be international; concern more than one discipline, be interdisciplinary; be achievable only with Unesco's assistance".

14.45 The chances are that projects of this kind will not meet needs which are too contingent or too localized, that they will not be ephemeral, and that they will produce the subsequent, long-term effects at which the assistance programme is aimed.

14.46 In any event, this field - especially in the endeavour to reach an understanding on fundamental principles between donors and beneficiaries and in the training and recruitment of experts - offers Unesco scope for activity in the course of which it can render outstanding and irreplaceable services.

14.47 May it so act that these hands, outstretched on either side, grasp each other in friendship!

14.48 The very structure of Unesco rests on a number of antinomies which constitute at once its reason for existence and a mortal danger to it.

14.49 One of them, basic and twofold in nature, resides in the opposition between culture, which is essentially free, and organization, which is necessarily based on planning, and between culture, which is a matter for individual conscience, and an organization made up of States.

14.50 By no means do we wish to have an organization which formulates doctrines for general use; all too often Unesco, in my country as elsewhere, is criticized for not being what it is not and should not be. While it should avoid disintegrating into a multitude of individual small services, it should also avoid becoming a sort of supra-national academy.

14.51 This is not to say that contact with science and culture in their most advanced manifestations, in the forefront of progress, does not remain a vital necessity for any fruitful action.

14.52 The solution to this antinomy is often provided by non-governmental organizations, which enable a synthesis of these contrary elements to be made, in so far as they supply Unesco with a direct contribution from the free forces of culture.

14.53 Participation by non-governmental organizations in the execution of the programme is already a fact of which Unesco may justifiably be proud; but even though it is more extensive than in any other United Nations agency, we would like to see it develop still further, and become more generally accepted and regularized. The successes attributable to the work of the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies are a powerful stimulus in this direction.

14.54 It is difficult, of course, to achieve geographical extension for certain disciplines in certain regions at the present time.

14.55 Unesco's duty will in that case be to recognize this kind of difficulty, avoiding the artificial creation of organizations which would be no more than an unfortunate fiction, and trying instead to promote conditions favourable to their natural birth.

14.56 Through the medium of the non-governmental organizations and the National Commissions, which

should work as closely as possible with the national sections of those organizations, Unesco will be able to reach the creative workers in all fields of education, science and culture,

14.57 I would like to conclude on these lines by recalling the views which my friend and compatriot Mr. Veronese has already had occasion to express:

14.58 "The Organization should reach the bearers of culture, the creators, at the highest level - those human beings who, by their nature and activity, carry weight and have political significance in their countries, those men who contribute so much towards giving the modern world its present aspect. And it is these men who, won over to the righteous cause, will have to mobilize the national forces, the spiritual forces, even more than the financial resources which will necessarily follow. It is in this way, and not by increasing a budget which in any case would remain insufficient, that we shall be able to bring about the world-wide expansion of Unesco - not a formal or "surface" expansion, but an expansion in depth, expressed not in protocols but in the minds and hearts of men, namely in those places where, as the founders of the Organization saw it, we must build the strongest defences, the spiritual defences against ignorance, poverty, evil and war, with the forces of truth, justice and freedom."

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

9 November 1958, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. A.K. BROHI (Pakistan)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of China and Canada, the representative of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education, and the delegates of Bulgaria, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Burma, Hungary and Albania 135

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT:

Will the meeting come to order? The ninth plenary meeting will be devoted to items 7 and 8 - general discussion of the Director-General's Report on the activities of the Organization and of the draft programme and budget. I would request the delegate of China, Dr. Hsueh-feng Poe, to take his place on the rostrum.

2.1 Mr. POE (China):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, in the name of my Government and of our delegation to the General Conference, I wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to the French Government and the French people for their warm reception and kind hospitality. We take pride in the fact that Unesco is holding the tenth session of the Conference in its new Headquarters, here in this illustrious city of Paris.

2.2 Next, on behalf of my delegation I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Director-General on his splendid Report, embodying as it does his painstaking exertions in implementing the resolutions of the Conference and in carrying out Unesco's programmes and activities.

2.3 Before I proceed, however, I must register my deep regret that the otherwise serene and harmonious atmosphere of the Conference is repeatedly disturbed by the persistent malicious effort on the part of the Communist bloc to drag into the Conference the so-called question of Chinese representation.

2.4 As you are aware, I am sure, Mr. President, we of the Chinese delegation have come a long way, from a region where Communist guns for the past two months and more have been pounding some of our off-shore islands. Just a few days ago, as the newspapers reported, 36,000 rounds of shells were hurled at our Quemoy (Kinmen) islands within six hours. Does it not seem ironical that from this very rostrum we should hear the Communists on the mainland of China described as "peace loving"? Permit me to tell you, fellow delegates, that the Communist régime has been detested and hated by the 500 million people on our mainland. The Communist régime represents nobody but its alien master; it is un-Chinese in origin, and un-Chinese in nature and purpose. Have we proofs? Yes, fellow delegates, plenty of proofs. When the Chinese prisoners of war in the camps of the United Nations Command in Korea were asked whether they wished to return to the so-called "happy Communist China", 14,000 of them, that is 75 per cent of the total number of Chinese prisoners of war, chose to go to Taiwan (Free China). That is clear proof of whom the Chinese people really prefer and of who represents China. There is another indication: All these years there has been a steady, continuing flow of refugees fleeing from the China mainland to nearby Hong Kong and other parts of the Free World. What does this mean? It means this: "Refugees are people who vote with their feet". That is to say, the oppressed Chinese on our mainland, being unable to change their régime by ballot, have no alternative but a geographical change. One more unmistakable illustration may be given. The number of overseas Chinese students coming to Taiwan from South East Asia to pursue higher education is steadily increasing year by year. At present there is a total of 10,000 overseas Chinese students in Taiwan. On the other hand, the number of overseas Chinese students going to the Communist mainland is greatly decreasing each year. Suffice it to say, the 500 million Chinese on our mainland, deep in their hearts, want my Government to represent them.

2.5 One word more. My Government is the legitimate Government of China, freely chosen by the 500 million people on the mainland. True, the Kuomintang is the dominant party, the party in power. But our Legislative Assembly consists of members of different parties. Certain delegates seem to imagine that by mere repetitious distortion they can turn white to black. No! One hundred lies cannot add up to a single truth. Mr. President, my duty to my Government and my loyalty to Unesco compel me to

deplore the obnoxious attempts made, and the provocative and slanderous things said by the delegates of the Soviet clique.

2.6 I shall now turn to a brief presentation of the progress, in the Republic of China, of educational, cultural and scientific work. According to the Constitution of our Republic, not less than 15 per cent of the national budget, not less than 25 per cent of the provincial budget, and not less than 35 per cent of the local budget, are to be spent on education. Despite financial difficulties in such trying times as these, my Government has each year fulfilled these constitutional requirements. This fact demonstrates the great importance my Government attaches to educational, cultural and scientific work. As a result of our continuous exertion, our educational development at different levels may stand comparison with that of any country. May I give some quantitative statistics: 95 per cent of our children of school age are attending primary schools; relative to the whole population, 152 out of every thousand are primary pupils; 30 out of every thousand are middle school students; and 3 out of every thousand are college and university students.

2.7 Qualitatively, we have also taken strides forward, in the training of better teachers, in improved methods of teaching, in bringing teaching materials up to date, in the revision of the curricula for institutions of high learning, etc. The most noteworthy point is that Chinese education, stemming from Chinese culture, teaches respect for human dignity and human worth, stresses individual morality and social ethics, and champions justice and peace. Such an educational programme is completely in line with what Unesco proclaims to be its purposes and objectives.

2.8 Need I add here, parenthetically, that the Communist régime on the mainland of China is doing just the very opposite? The Communists there are doing everything possible to destroy human dignity, to deny human worth, to uproot morality and ethics and, in a word, to undo Chinese culture! As to the preservation of the visible, tangible forms of our glorious ancient heritage, such as rare books, ancient manuscripts and precious works of art, I am glad to inform you that over 90 per cent of these priceless treasures have been removed to, and are preserved in Taiwan. Taiwan has verily become the living symbol and the true centre of Chinese culture. And here again, I shall no more than mention that the mainland Communists are doing the opposite - burning ancient books and even mutilating our own written language. Ladies and gentlemen, is it not queer to hear the question raised as to who is, or what is, representative of the Chinese?

2.9 In the carrying out of Unesco programmes and activities such as the exchange of publications and the exchange of students and scholars, my Government has also done its part to the best of its ability. The Unesco scholarships granted to Chinese students, though scanty in number, are made the best use of. We have also sent representatives and contributed our ideas to the different Unesco regional conferences. Unesco's co-operation with China in the promotion of our science education, in the holding of public exhibitions, and in the translation into Chinese of Unesco publications is very much appreciated by us. It is our hope that, in years to come, Unesco's co-operation with us will become increasingly closer in ways many and varied.

2.10 Speaking of Unesco programmes and activities for the future, may I venture to suggest that the Organization should concentrate its endeavour on the main purpose and function for which Unesco has been brought into being. Let me quote from the Preamble of the Constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. .....That great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men", ...,/ and Unesco is, in consequence created_/ "for the purpose of advancing through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations organization was established and which its Charter proclaims".

2.11 Unesco, Mr. President, was founded on recognition of the vast diversity of traditions and cultures. One of its primary functions is to find a common ground for understanding between diverse philosophies and systems. This is manifested in particular by Unesco's Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. But before we can have mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, we should seek first of all to ascertain what Eastern or Western cultural values are. Eastern cultures are many and diverse. There is no gainsaying, however, that Chinese culture is a dominant type of Eastern culture. The essence of Chinese culture is embodied in the teachings of Confucius. There is the doctrine of the Golden Mean; there is the cardinal principle of Benevolence and Righteousness; there is the established convention of "five relationships" in human society - the relationships between the governor and the governed, between father and son, between husband and wife, between brothers, and between friends. There is the universal ideal "to cultivate moral virtue oneself, to keep family relationships healthy and sound, to govern the nation wisely, and to bring peace to the whole world".

2.12 Where are these Chinese cultural values to be found today? They are to be found in Free China, where my Government and our people are cherishing these values and are endeavouring to translate ideals into action. On the Chinese mainland, under the Communist régime, these traditional Chinese cultural values are being liquidated by an alien force. Indeed, the Communist régime denies everything Chinese. It is un-Chinese. Nay, it is anti-Chinese. For instance, there is no intellectual freedom whatever on the Chinese mainland. If anyone entertains doubt about my statement, let him find out for his own satisfaction what has happened to the "hundred flowers" in Mao Tse-tung's garden.

2.13 Chinese culture, Mr. President, is basically moderate, self-restraining and peace loving. It is opposed to regimentation and aggression. It aims at unity, not uniformity. Unity is cohesive and leads to human solidarity and peace. Uniformity, on the other hand, is coercive and leads to social conflicts and international wars. The traditional Chinese way of life is to attain harmony and peace. Its inner norm is

the natural law, so splendidly described by Mencius. The Communist way of life is exactly the opposite. The Chinese are at peace within themselves, with the social order, with the universe and with God. Indeed, something like this may be said: If one is honest and a Communist, he is not Chinese. If one is Chinese and a Communist, he is not honest. If one is Chinese and honest, he cannot be a Communist. The Communist régime on China mainland is certainly only a passing phase.

2.14 The Chinese delegation realizes that great progress has been made with regard to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of East and West. However, one cannot deny that China assumes a major rôle in the cultural system of the East. No cultural programme will be adequate and effective without the active participation of China, especially in the planning and formation of the Project. It is with real regret that we note that the Republic of China is not represented on the advisory body. Some remedial measure should be, and I hope will be, found.

2.15 In conclusion, I wish to make one more observation. The promotion of international morality should receive the full attention and deserves the common endeavour of Unesco. As a term, international morality is perhaps outmoded, but in substance, international morality is the only solid foundation of international law and international peace. Mere scientific development and mere material progress do not suffice to bring salvation to mankind. There is the same central core in Eastern, as well as in Western, cultures. For instance, Confucianism and Christianity have very much in common. It is only with the untiring, unceasing promotion of international morality that hypocrisy and aggression and war may be averted.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of China and I now call upon Dr. Mackenzie, of Canada.

4.1 Mr. MACKENZIE (Canada):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to join with others in thanks and congratulations to France, who is this year our host and in whose fair land the permanent Headquarters of Unesco is now established in new and interesting buildings. We all know that these buildings in this beautiful city have been made possible by the generous attitude and the practical help of the French Government and the French people. For this we are grateful, though not surprised, for France has traditionally been "a mother of the arts" and what she has done, and is now doing for us, is very much a part of that tradition. I, myself, remember an occasion thirty-three years ago when, as a young member of the staff of the International Labour Office in Geneva, I had occasion to attend the meetings of what was our precursor, the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. Some of you will also remember that France provided, here in Paris at that time, the physical headquarters of the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. Thus what is happening today is a repetition of French understanding, co-operation and generosity of some thirty-five years ago.

4.2 This is the first time that I have had the pleasure and the honour of being present at a meeting of Unesco, but I have been interested in its work since its inception. In fact, in September 1943, as a representative of the Government of Canada, I attended a conference near Washington, D. C., to discuss with the representatives of other countries possible programmes which were later to become the responsibilities of Unesco, and I have followed the activities and the developments of this body ever since. This is due to my growing conviction, which has been strengthened by my experiences during the past two or three days, that human beings are, and fortunately will continue to be, very different from each other. The only methods that I know of getting them to work together for their general good, and for the solution of the many problems which confront them, are either coercion or effective and voluntary co-operation. Now history, for me, has taught us that coercion can never suit the needs of human beings or be acceptable to them. The possibilities of persuasion and of co-operation are now in the process of being tried out through the United Nations and its various Specialized Agencies, like Unesco. I know too well the difficulties that Unesco has encountered since its first inception, and I know the criticisms directed against it in many countries. But, despite this, I also know that the most difficult and the most important areas of concern in this world today are not science or technology or economics, but rather the whole field of human relationships, the relationships of men and women as individuals, and in groups, and as classes and, particularly, as races and nations. I would like to emphasize the point that our real problem, as human beings, is to find ways of living together in peace, with some measure of harmony and a measure of co-operation for the solution of our common problems.

4.3 I have mentioned earlier the reality of the differences between us and among us, and I have cited this Conference and the different approaches of its members to our problems as evidence of this. Furthermore, I am persuaded that unless we human beings can co-operate together, intelligently and effectively, and can devise ways and means of overcoming the many and complex problems which beset us, without resort to violence and destructive war, there is no hope anywhere for any of us, now or in the future.

4.4 My main concern for Unesco is that its areas of interest and of operation are so vast: the problems it deals with are so intangible, so hard to come to grips with, the evidences of its constructive results sometimes so difficult to determine and assess, that practical-minded men and governments will not provide it with the resources it must have, or will not have the patience to allow it to work out its proposals and its programmes to satisfactory conclusions.

4.5 It is in the light of this general introduction that I would now like, briefly, to try to put Unesco into a Canadian context. In stating the views set out earlier, I believe I am giving you the opinions of most of my thoughtful fellow citizens. True, it is only in this last year that we have been able to establish our own National Commission for Unesco (of which I have the honour to be Chairman), but that was not owing to any lack of goodwill toward Unesco or any doubt about the real importance and value of its work. Our difficulties, as so frequently happens, have been legal

and constitutional, for in our country much of the work which Unesco does, in particular its educational activities, are within the jurisdiction of our provinces. However, we seem at last to have been able to surmount these obstacles and we shall, I hope, be able to take a larger and more effective share in Unesco's work and programme as a result. But if this is to happen, I feel it both essential and desirable that individual Canadians and non-governmental organizations and groups, in Canada, be involved and participate to a far greater extent than has been true in the past, in the actual work of Unesco. It is not enough, in my opinion, to be a donor or a beneficiary nation, if that means merely the contribution, or giving, or receipt and use of moneys provided by governments, with the occasional provision or use of experts and information in areas where both are useful. In saying this, I am not suggesting that the limited funds that have been made available to Unesco should not be used in the areas of greatest need, nor am I suggesting that we should have spent for the benefit of Canada, or countries like her, the equivalent of the contributions we may have made. I am urging for Canada, and I believe this to be true of all other countries, that the programmes and projects approved by Unesco should be designed to interest and use the human and material resources in our Member countries. As an illustration, may I cite one of Unesco's Major Projects, "The Mutual Appreciation of East-West Cultural Values". There is in Canada much interest in this Project, and a survey just completed by our own National Commission indicates that we have resources, both human and material, in this field. My concern is that, somehow or another, Unesco and its Headquarters and Secretariat will be able to use these, and in so doing, bring to the personal attention of many Canadians, and in the same way to many citizens in other countries, the fact of the existence of Unesco and the reality and the value of its work.

4.6 In the Exchange of Persons programme, whether these be technical "experts", scholars, artists or members of trade unions or what you will, I hope that Unesco will arrange, in the same way, a real exchange, so that individuals come into our respective countries as well as go out from them. And I hope, too, that Unesco and those responsible for the implementation of its programmes will do everything possible to meet the particular needs or conveniences of the individuals in question and of the institutions to which they are attached.

4.7 I have in mind the fact that circumstances vary greatly in different countries and in different parts of the world, and the common or standard programme formulated by an institution such as this may have to be varied, and should be varied, to suit circumstances and situations and individual and institutional needs in the various Member countries.

4.8 In so far as the current programme of this Unesco Conference is concerned, Canada is interested in two major matters of principle: first, the nature and effectiveness of the programme; second, the intelligent and efficient use of all the moneys contributed. Specifically, this means that we should better proceed with the few Major Projects or proposals which seem particularly important and promising, and we should devote most of our attention and resources to these. In this matter of the programme and the budget, too, I believe that it would be well to consolidate our position and to assure ourselves that what we have done and are doing are both worth doing and also the most important that we can do. For the next few years at least, we believe that Unesco should stabilize its budget at about the present level, subject always to changes in the value of money or to special circumstances which may arise. This, to give us time to appraise what we have done and are now doing, with a view to the elimination of the unimportant or unessential items, and also with a view to the more adequate support of the really worth while.

4.9 In saying this, I do not want to suggest that Canada is not interested in Unesco or does not believe in the importance of its work, but every year our Government asks our parliament to appropriate money for the support of Unesco, the Colombo Plan, the World Health Organization, the Special Fund and other international organizations and programmes. All of these have to be examined together, and the importance of the work done considered and compared in competition with the other urgent claims upon our Treasury.

4.10 As you will have gathered, my own people were Scottish in origin and the Scots still have a good deal of influence in Canada and in Canadian affairs and finances. One of the most notable characteristics of the Scots, other than kilts and bagpipes, is their desire to ensure that every dollar spent is well spent and will achieve the absolute maximum in terms of constructive practical results. This attitude and this characteristic does perhaps help to explain the position we have taken and continue to take in respect of the programme of Unesco and its finances.

4.11 If I might digress for a moment, I would add this, that if we nations of the world were able to devise an effective agreement on armaments which would allow us more money for constructive and creative purposes and not require us to devote such large proportions of our national revenues to armaments, there would be plenty of money for Unesco, and for other constructive international organizations and efforts. The spirit and the climate, in which Unesco and associate sister organizations work, would then be much more conducive to success and progress and development.

4.12 And now, Mr. President, in conclusion I would like again to express, on behalf of my country and my colleagues, our congratulations to the President of this Conference and our thanks and our appreciation to his country, France. I would like to include, in these expressions of appreciation, the Director-General and the members of the Secretariat who have been performing and are performing a most difficult and important task in most difficult circumstances. To them, and in particular to the Director-General, who is an old friend of mine and an honorary graduate of my own university, I extend the good wishes of Canada and her people.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Canada and I call upon the representative of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education.

6.1 Mr. LACALLE (Ibero-American Bureau of Education) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, delegates, I thank you on behalf of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education for allowing me to present the latter's greetings to this international assembly, which has met in order to discuss present-day educational, scientific and cultural questions.

6.2 The greetings which I have been instructed to extend to you are not a mere act of courtesy, but a heartfelt gesture, which will take the form of a tribute, an opinion and an offer.

6.3 Ever since it came into being, and prior to the agreement for mutual co-operation which links it officially with Unesco, the Ibero-American Bureau of Education has closely followed the development of this Organization, has assisted it in the implementation of its educational programme and has acted as its interpreter and organ of liaison in the Ibero-American sphere. Thus, our Organization is in an excellent position to know of Unesco's many achievements and undeniable successes, as well as its mistakes and lack of co-ordination.

6.4 Only a few days ago, in Brussels, Dr. Vittorino Veronese pointed out in masterly fashion the real and profound contradictions which characterize Unesco's action. These contradictions are due to the fact that the Organization has to deal with spiritual matters, while applying political, administrative and technical methods. Contradiction, gentlemen, neither astonishes nor scandalizes us Ibero-Americans, who are familar with it, and we consider it a condition inseparable from human kind. To overcome and resolve it, so that it becomes a source of fruitfulness, is one of the things which make man's existence a wonderful adventure.

6.5 The main contradiction facing Unesco consists in the fact that, on the one hand, it must remain strictly neutral vis-à-vis the different human tendencies for which its aid is solicited, and, on the other, cannot adopt an attitude of Olympian indifference towards human needs.

6.6 To overcome this contradiction, the Organization had to change its tactics, replacing the natural inclination to centralize its activities within a rigid hierarchic and bureaucratic system by the trend towards flexible and functional decentralization.

6.7 Well, ladies and gentlemen, at this tenth session of the General Conference, it may be said that Unesco is now on the way to overcoming its contradictions because it has effected this expected and desirable change of tactics. A careful study of the proposed programme, submitted to the Conference for its consideration shows that the Organization has become more receptive and has begun an open exchange of views with the different sections of public opinion, welcoming and appraising a wide variety of suggestions, without prejudice; that it has taken account of the anxieties of its Member States and is disposed not only to give heed to organized political and technical authorities, but also to avail itself of the collaboration and help of the sphere of creative thought and the various forms in which man's spiritual side finds expression.

6.8 This trend in Unesco's general policy will be clearly revealed by the appraisal of the Organization's programmes for the United Nations Economic and Social Council, as a dynamic conception of the Organization must allow for the natural fluidity of educational, scientific and cultural life, which cannot be confined within the water-tight compartments of programmes.

6.9 Document 10 C/5, containing the proposed programme and budget, may be commented on in detail by Member States, but it has won the assent of the United Nations, the other Specialized Agencies and most intergovernmental organizations, including our own. This assent proves that Unesco has, so to speak, got into orbit.

6.10 This is the tribute which the Ibero-American Bureau of Education wishes to pay in the General Conference - an acknowledgement that Unesco's general policy is being more closely adapted to realities, and an acknowledgement of the intelligent and sound management of the Director-General, Dr. Evans, and of the breadth of vision of the members of the Executive Board.

6.11 With regard to the actual features of the proposed programme and budget, the Ibero-American Bureau of Education wishes to express its views on questions relating to the only two chapters falling within its special purview, namely the chapters concerning Education and the Latin American Major Project.

6.12 So far as the first of these chapters is concerned, I would repeat the answer we gave to the Director-General's request for comments: "All the proposed resolutions are excellent". All that needs to be added is that the efficacy of these resolutions will depend on the rapidity with which Member States respond to the stimuli contained in the various items of the programme.

6.13 Regarding the Major Project on Extension of Primary Education, although our Organization has already made known its views through the Inter-governmental Advisory Committee, of which it is a member, I feel it advisable to state that the Ibero-American Bureau of Education recommends three things in particular:

(a) The speeding up of work for the standardization and simplification of primary school curricula and activities, with a view to their unification within each country, so that there shall be equal opportunities open to the nationals of each, irrespective of whether they live in rural or urban areas.

(b) The inclusion in the work undertaken for 1959-1960 of provision for special advice to governments on the economic and educational advantages of establishing, in rural areas, one-teacher primary schools providing the full primary course. This system, which has been adopted in fully developed countries and which would make a useful contribution to the extension and standardization of primary education, was mentioned in a special recommendation made by the last International Conference on Public Education.

(c) The taking into account of the patent fact that private education in Latin America covers more than one-fourth of the total number of primary school pupils and that there is therefore no need to wait for further information concerning its impact on popular education.

6.14 In this connexion, it would be well to include in resolution 1.71 the idea of co-operation between private educational institutions and governments,

which is mentioned among the objects to be achieved by the Major Project.

6.15 I may add, for your information, that the Ibero-American Bureau of Education is making a practical contribution to the implementation of the Major Project, by undertaking responsibility for the training of specialists in educational information and documentation, for which purpose it is using twelve per cent of its annual income; and that, in conjunction with the Government of Paraguay, it has organized a seminar on rural teacher training, to be held in the city of Asunción in May next.

6.16 The Ibero-American Bureau of Education once again offers Unesco its full and cordial co-operation, and there is no need to emphasize it further. Our Organization represents a group of countries which have a common culture, a similar way of life and a deep longing after universality and perfection. In all our countries, international law governs daily life in innumerable ways. For centuries past we have been trained for international understanding and fellowship. In our region, there is no divorce between culture and life, and peace has sought refuge in the Americas.

6.17 Our countries regard international co-operation as something mutually beneficial, to which they contribute whole-heartedly and from which they hope to obtain useful help in raising their general standard of living and improving individual output. They are members of world-wide international organizations in which they form a homogeneous, united and efficient group.

6.18 The Ibero-American Bureau of Education must have the same characteristics and follow the same policy, for it is identified with the unity and diversity of the region in which it works. It is therefore easy to deduce the attitude which this body must adopt towards the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in fellowship with which it is striving for the realization of a single objective: to ensure that all Ibero-Americans, regardless of race, creed, occupation or opinion, shall live a full life, worthy of humanity.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the representative of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education and I now call upon Mr. Bachev, of Bulgaria.

8.1 Mr. BACHEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):

The last two sessions of the Unesco General Conference may be said, from one point of view, to have been memorable ones. The previous session coincided with the Organization's tenth anniversary, and the present one completes the first group of ten sessions of its Conference. These are both occasions which prompt us to searching reflection on Unesco's work and to a more detailed analysis of the distance it has travelled and the weaknesses and gaps that have been revealed in the Organization's activities. These are urgent reasons for carefully studying and determining future prospects and the most effective means of carrying out the practical tasks ahead of us.

8.2 The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria hopes that the present Conference will be able to justify its high purpose as the supreme organ of Unesco and to execute its tasks, animated solely by the noble aims for which the Organization was set up and which in fact account for the growing number of its Member States. Again at this session, we have welcomed to our midst three new Associate Members, to which I particularly want to convey greetings from this official rostrum.

8.3 In the course of our work, let us not forget the sublime words of the Preamble to the Unesco Constitution, stating that the diffusion of culture and education must serve the cause of "justice, liberty and peace". Awareness of these duties should make us bear always in mind and idea that cultural values are not intended to be shut up in thick books, in museums or dusty archives, but are meant to help in improving the living conditions of men and women in all our countries.

8.4 It is obvious that during the time which has gone by since the last session of the General Conference the Organization has done a certain amount of constructive work. Three Major Projects are under way; thanks to Unesco's initiative, international conferences have been convened, with practical results which have made a notable impact; and draft international conventions have been drawn up. To a certain extent, Unesco's activities facilitate cultural exchanges between peoples and help these peoples to know and understand each other better. The help of many institutions, organizations and specialists has made it possible to solve certain problems, and to carry out certain practical tasks, especially in the fields of education, natural sciences and bibliography.

8.5 But, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations so aptly remarked in his message to Unesco on the occasion of the official opening of the permanent Headquarters, "we cannot but recognize that we are only at the beginning of a great task".

8.6 I do not think that anyone amongst us could deny the correctness and the fairness of his assessment. Some achievements there are, but they are far from satisfying the vital needs of the peoples and, above all, of ensuring the safeguarding of peace throughout the world. For this reason we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by over-flattering appraisals of the still too limited successes obtained by Unesco, but must devote all our attention and efforts to fulfilling the great tasks imposed by the present and the future. Let us boldly and frankly lay bare the weaknesses which hamper the Organization's work, so that they may be avoided in future.

8.7 I would venture to remind you that, at the ninth session of Unesco's General Conference, at New Delhi, certain delegations voiced serious and well-founded criticisms with regard to the Organization - in particular, the delegations of Italy, Indonesia, Rumania and others. The main points of these criticisms may be summed up as follows: instead of concentrating its efforts and resources on carrying out the main tasks, Unesco dissipates them by undertaking a great number of small projects whose practical results do not go very far. I do not want to continue listing examples as other speakers have done - in an attempt to justify this criticism, for it would take up much of our precious time. I would point out, though, that during the past few years this weak point has not been corrected. The endless

flood of documents which were prepared for our Conference and which require an enormous amount of time to study is a result of this and stands as proof: it really took courage to tackle them and their detailed study is a veritable exploit.

8.8 It seems to us that, in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, this weakness is again present. At first sight, everything appears to be centred on three Major Projects. But careful study soon convinces us that the resources in men and material are still distributed over too many problems and ventures, which leads to the splitting up of the most important big Projects. It is for the same reason that Unesco's activities do not always follow the general outline mapped out by its Constitution and determined by developments in real life. This is the root of the discrepancy between the Organization's statements and its practical action, which does not always correspond with its original mission. The Project concerning Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values is a flagrant example. It can no longer be said that we are still at the beginning of this long-term Project. The Secretariat ought to have shown more creative imagination and taken more steps calculated to impress the public and inspire and develop ideas and practical measures in the different countries. One of the reasons why this Project is making no headway is the fact that the People's Republic of China has not its rightful place within Unesco.

8.9 I wish to say once more how deeply the delegation of Bulgaria regrets that our assembly has not found the courage to break with certain prejudices and has not, by a wise vote taken with due regard for its responsibilities to the peoples, re-established the rights of a great country and corrected an injustice of which, I am sure, it is fully aware.

8.10 The Executive Board also has its faults, which react unfavourably on the work of the Organization and the General Conference. The debates and decisions of the Executive Board are not always in harmony with Unesco's requirements. Often a majority is found to take decisions which cannot contribute to the development of the Organization and cannot help in the equitable solution of the most important problems.

8.11 I shall quote but a few examples; besides the illogical attitude - to give it no stronger name - of the Executive Board towards People's China, I have in mind the cases of certain international non-governmental organizations.

8.12 For many years past the Executive Board has shown bias with regard to international organizations which ask to collaborate with Unesco. In contrast to the Executive Board's vague and indeterminate statements which, more than once, have succeeded in swaying the General Conference's decisions, our language will be direct and frank.

8.13 Which are the organizations that Unesco refuses to admit to consultative arrangements? Those of which organizations from Socialist countries are Members (although not one of them consists solely of Members of the Socialist side).

8.14 How is this refusal justified? By the assertion that they are political organizations which are not interested in Unesco's activities. That is generally the reason given by the Executive Board in an attempt to justify its negative attitude towards these organizations. Is this true? A careful, impartial study of the aims and activities of certain organizations admitted to consultative arrangements and of others which have been refused this advantage would lead us to different conclusions.

8.15 This is evident from a study of Unesco's own documents. Let us take as an example the International Federation of Catholic Youth: its main function is to organize young emigrants and train them for the work awaiting them on their return to their respective countries - I very much doubt whether they will ever go back - and to try to influence young people who have remained under the Communist régime (see the English version of document 50 EX/24, Annex III, Appendix 42). Well, that is politics, and dangerous politics. The same applies to the International Union of Socialist Youth, which is manifestly a political organization (see document 50 EX/24, Annex III, Appendix 85, page 1).

8.16 That is, briefly, the policy of the Executive Board, as it has been up till now. It has been costly. Since 1952 the International Union of Socialist Youth alone has been allocated 12 travel grants enabling the holders to go from Japan to Europe, from Norway to Latin America.

8.17 This is money which, instead of being spent in the interests of science and education, has served purely political ends.

8.18 And which are the organizations refused admission to consultative arrangements? In 1952, the International Union of Students was deprived of consultative status - and yet it is an organization representing students' interests and developing collaboration and friendship amongst them; it is an organization which helps them to continue their studies, which inculcates in them a respect for culture and devotion to the cause of peace; an organization whose statutes prescribe the duty of maintaining close relations with the United Nations and Unesco. It is the same with the other international organizations which have suffered from this discriminatory policy. We consider, however, that the decisions and recommendations of the Executive Board ought to be objective and not prompted by prejudice or - what is worse - by political considerations which have nothing to do with Unesco's interests. It is high time for the Conference to put an end to this state of affairs and to repair the damage that has resulted from it.

8.19 As an inevitable consequence of the weaknesses of the Executive Board, it has not given the Secretariat sufficient help and guidance in the drawing up of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. Many delegates have commented very appositely on this problem, so it will suffice for me to express my agreement with them and to urge that these comments be taken into account at the meetings of the Administrative Commission and the plenary Conference.

8.20 We have to point out that, in our view, certain Unesco publications call for criticism. We should like the Organization's publications to give an objective picture of its own activities and those of the various Member States, and to set forth problems and facts without bias. We do not accept the idea that they should reflect a particular policy or the views of a particular group. Even a publication like "Basic

Facts and Figures, International Statistics Relating to Education, Culture and Communication" contains considerable gaps and errors. I am thinking of the English edition, which I have had an opportunity to study, and of the figures concerning our country. With the exception of one solitary figure relating to cultural activities in Bulgaria, all the others are incorrect and give a distorted and unacceptable picture of the true situation in our country.

8.21 One of Unesco's basic duties is to give appropriate aid to small countries such as Finland, Albania, Greece, and others, in their efforts to make known their national culture abroad. In this respect, the Secretariat has made provision for practical measures in Chapter 4 (Cultural Activities) of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. But these measures seem to us to be inadequate and limited. We should like to draw the attention of the Secretariat and the competent Department to the necessity of devising much more effective measures to make possible the translation, publication and distribution of fine works of national literatures which are not widely known.

8.22 The Secretariat should consolidate its relations with publishing houses and Member States with a view to developing this most useful activity on the widest possible scale.

8.23 In our country, substantial cultural achievements have contributed to the profound changes that have been brought about in all the departments of our life. These considerable achievements have supplied a wider and sounder basis for accelerated cultural development. At present we are endeavouring to improve our education system so that it may meet the requirements of our time as satisfactorily as possible. Polytechnical education is being developed; more attention is being devoted to vocational education as compared with general education; more and more schools are being built, especially in the country districts; and arrangements are being made for the training of an adequate number of competent supervisory staff. In the field of higher education, the main task consists in establishing an ever closer connexion between teaching and life, between instruction and practice.

8.24 Cultural and artistic activities are gaining in scope and quality daily. In this field, we maintain contacts with a considerable number of countries - which is actually a direct contribution to the carrying out of Unesco's programme. A good many of the exchanges we made this year, for instance, come within the scope of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Exhibitions of Syrian and Mongolian folk art and of photographs of Indian folk dances gave us an opportunity of admiring the beauty of the national works of these countries, so remote geographically, but so near to us in their aspirations after well-being and happiness. Four Bulgarian artists who visited the People's Republic of China exhibited the works they made in the great Asian Republic. On our side, we organized an exhibition entitled: "2,500 Years of Art on Bulgarian Soil". This exhibition is at present meeting with considerable success at Neuchâtel, Switzerland, amongst both specialists and the public at large, and particularly amongst secondary school pupils. We hope to be able to show it in Italy and Germany and in any other countries which may express a desire to have it.

8.25 We consider that, by such ventures, we are helping to promote international understanding and peaceful coexistence.

8.26 For 1960, the Bulgarian Composers' Union, in collaboration with the Music Institute of the Academy of Science and the Unesco National Commission, is preparing for an international conference on the folk music of the Balkan countries and the Near East. During the conference, a festival of choral singing and folk music and dancing will be organized. We hope that this will be a great cultural event which will make a concrete and practical contribution to the carrying through of the East-West Project.

8.27 Our delegation is, in principle, in favour of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, while reserving the right to make comments and observations during the work of the appropriate commissions.

8.28 We should like to express the hope that Unesco's governing bodies will carefully study the comments and criticisms that have been voiced during this discussion and will take the necessary steps to improve our working conditions; that they will remove the obstacles that cause the Organization to stray from the path laid down for its development and activities, and will thus enable it to serve its basic ideals - world concord and peace.

8.29 And before concluding, Mr. President, I should like to join with all those who have expressed their thanks to the French Government for the facilities it has offered us for the work of our Conference.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Bulgaria. I now call upon Mr. Babitchuk, of the Ukrainian delegation.

10.1 Mr. BABITCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to express our deep gratitude to the Government of the French Republic and the French people for the cordial welcome and hospitality offered to those attending the present session.

10.2 Since the ninth session of Unesco's General Conference, many events of world-wide importance have taken place. On 4 October 1958, mankind celebrated the portentous anniversary of the launching by the Soviet Union of the earth's first artificial satellite. This exploit of the Soviet people will go down in world history as the greatest achievement of man's creative genius, the opening of a new era in science and technology, and the triumph of the human mind over the forces of nature with a view to the still greater progress and development of our society. The launching of artificial earth satellites into cosmic space has raised many problems of vital importance not only in the fields of science and technology, but also in international affairs. The most urgent of these is to ensure that the great achievements of science and technology are used for the good and not for the harm of mankind. In this respect, Unesco should also play a very responsible rôle.

10.3 In October this year, the conference of writers of Asian and African countries concluded its work,

adding a new and brilliant page to the history of the peoples' struggle for progress, peace and freedom, national independence and equality of rights. This imposing gathering of writers made a great contribution to the extension and consolidation of international cultural co-operation, particularly in respect of the implementation of Unesco's East-West Major Project. Addressing themselves to other writers throughout the world, those attending this conference said: "We writers of the countries of Asia and Africa wish to strengthen our cultural relations with all other countries, including Western countries; we reject the division of cultures into higher and lower, Eastern and Western, and we shall therefore consolidate the mutual relations between all cultures with a view to the preservation of the treasures of world culture". It is obvious that this conference's appeal should have a useful effect on Unesco's future work.

10.4 The present tenth session of Unesco's General Conference is carrying out its work in an involved and strained international situation. The aggressive forces of the imperialistic States continue to play the dangerous game of creating explosive situations, rattling arms, and making the spectre of atomic war their emblem. The imperialistic aggressors, by military force, blackmailing and provocations, are seeking to hinder the mighty movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from colonial servitude and to achieve national independence and self-determination; these aggressors consider the world from the standpoint of their own selfish interests and desire to subject it to their own dictates. The recent events in the Arab countries in the East and the present provocations against the People's Republic of China are evidence of this.

10.5 The increase in international tension is also due to the armaments race and the propaganda concerning a new war, fomented in every possible way by the imperialists. The continued testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons increases the danger of atomic radiation and is a menace to the life and health of millions of our contemporaries and to future generations. The Soviet Union's plea for putting an end to the armaments race and for discontinuing experiments with atomic and hydrogen weapons, everywhere and forever, as a first practical step towards disramament, has indeed become the plea of all the peoples.

10.6 It may be answered that Unesco cannot solve these problems, which are being dealt with by special bodies: the United Nations and the various governments. But we must not forget that Unesco's Constitution sets forth the noble aim of contributing to peace and security. It is precisely in this spirit, therefore, that Unesco should settle questions concerning the proper use of scientific and cultural achievements, with a view to promoting human welfare and progress, contributing to the development of scientific and cultural relations, and putting into practice the idea of the peaceful coexistence of States and peoples.

10.7 It must be admitted that Unesco is still not making use of all its possibilities in this matter. It frequently does not concern itself with questions of vital importance which are agitating all peoples. Convincing evidence of this is provided both by the Director-General's Report and by the Organization's proposed programme for the next two years, submitted to the present session for consideration. In these documents there is scarcely any mention of ideas such as peace and peaceful coexistence. We consider that Unesco should assist more actively in creating an international situation in which it would be possible to establish genuine cultural co-operation between all countries, regardless of their social and political systems.

10.8 In summing up the results of Unesco's activities during the period between the last two sessions, it must be pointed out that the Organization achieved certain positive results with respect to the development of cultural co-operation, through the policy of experience in science, education and art. This assistance, however, still does not go nearly far enough. Unesco is still paying little attention to the development of education in the mother tongue in Asian and African countries, where a considerable proportion of the population is illiterate. In the programme in question, insufficient attention is given to the question of discrimination in education. In our opinion, the time is ripe for the preparation of a special international convention on the prevention of discrimination in education. Unesco is still not making enough use, in its work, of the experience acquired in various countries with respect to the organization of education and cultural development.

10.9 The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has great experience in this matter. Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Ukrainian people had no possibility of free national development; it suffered social and national oppression and was economically and culturally backward. Prior to the October Revolution, only one-fourth of the population was literate. Thanks to the Soviet régime and the application of Lenin's national policy, the Ukrainian people found freedom and independence, equality of rights and its own State organization, and achieved outstanding successes in economic, scientific and cultural development. Today, the entire population of the Ukrainian SSR is literate. The Republic has more than 30,000 schools attended by six million children. The number of children studying at the seven-year schools is now thirty-six times greater than it was prior to the Revolution, and the number of those attending the ten-year schools seventeen times greater. The number of students now attending higher educational establishments in the Ukrainian SSR is fourteen times greater than the number prior to the Revolution. In the present academic year alone, higher educational establishments in the Ukrainian SSR trained approximately 60,000 highly qualified specialists. Specialized secondary education has also been developed on a wide scale. In 1957, the total number of specialists having received higher and specialized secondary education and working in the national economy of the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 1,240,000.

10.10 Today, in the Ukraine, there are more than 63,000 clubs, cultural centres and libraries, which are extremely important foci of culture. The Ukrainian SSR has more cultural and educational institutions than any other country in the world with the exception of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic. With regard to the number of books and book loans per head of the population, the libraries

of the Ukrainian SSR have long since outstripped those of many other countries, including the United States of America. In the Ukraine, books translated from fifty-five foreign languages are published in the native language. The Republic has 123 museums. In the cultural field alone, the Ukraine has more than 146,000 workers, including more than 17,000 writers, composers, artists, actors, musicians and film workers; more than one and a half million people take part in amateur dramatics in the Republic.

10.11 Every year, the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic allocates vast sums to meet the social and cultural needs of the people. Thus, in 1958, for instance, forty per cent of the State budget was appropriated for these social and cultural needs.

10.12 The Ukrainian people regards the exchange of the treasures of national cultures as the easiest and best means of establishing mutual understanding between the various peoples; our Republic is, therefore, endeavouring in every way to develop friendly relations with all countries in the fields of culture, science and education. Last year alone, approximately 800 delegations and individual representatives from 75 other countries saw something of life in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

10.13 We consider that Unesco, as an Organization whose purpose is to promote the development of cultural relations, should make every effort to ensure that the peoples realize their desire for broader international cultural relations.

10.14 In accordance with the decision adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, Unesco has begun the implementation of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Our National Commission ascribes great importance to this Project, as a factor which should help to bring Eastern and Western countries closer together and to strengthen mutual understanding between the peoples of these parts of the world in a spirit of esteeem for one another's national traditions, and cultural, scientific and artistic values. At the same time, we must point out that this Project loses much of its significance owing to the fact that China's lawful place in Unesco is occupied by the anti-national Chiang Kai-shek group. There is not, and cannot be, any justification for the shameful fact that this great country, with its centuries-old culture and one-fourth of the world's entire population, still cannot occupy its rightful place in our Organization, owing to the intrigues of American diplomacy.

10.15 At the beginning of my speech, I pointed out certain shortcomings in the proposed programme and budget submitted to the present session. We consider that Unesco should contribute to the development of international cultural co-operation, which is a fundamental factor in peaceful coexistence, particularly by convening large-scale international scientific conferences, increasing cultural exchanges between all countries regardless of their social and political systems, concluding various international conventions with a view to facilitating the access of the peoples of all countries to the latest scientific and technical achievements, and by promoting free access to international and national exhibitions on cultural, scientific and educational themes.

10.16 Greater attention should be given to questions such as the promotion of international understanding and co-operation, the promotion of human rights, the promotion of social development. The budgetary allocations for the implementation of these Projects should be increased if we are to have a rational distribution of budgetary resources.

10.17 The programme has several other substantial shortcomings, and we reserve the right to revert to them during the discussion of the various parts of the programme in the commissions and committees.

10.18 As regards the increase in Member States' contributions, our delegation considers that it is made necessary not by any important programme activities of Unesco, but by an excessive and unnecessary increase in the administrative staff, the high level of administrative costs, and expenditure on all kinds of unimportant and unjustifiable measures. In this connexion, attention must also be drawn to the unlawful distribution among Member States, contrary to the Constitution and Rules of Procedure, of the arrears due by the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek group, which here represents nobody. Let the interested protectors of this group pay all its arrears, and let them not evade paying the least part of this shameful maintenance. We do not recognize the Chiang Kai-shek clique; we demand its exclusion from Unesco and we will not pay contributions for it.

10.19 Among the other shortcomings in Unesco's work, special mention must be made of the violation of the principle of the equitable geographical distribution of appointments, the consequence of which is that a large group of countries is not represented on Unesco's staff at all. Since the Organization's establishment, not one of the Directors-General has come from an Eastern country; they have always been "Westerners". This can certainly not be regarded as natural.

10.20 When addressing the Conference, at the present session, the United States representative asked Unesco to keep its work free of politics; but I should like to point out to the Conference that this request is at variance with the United States official policy concerning Unesco. The report of the Sub-Committee on International Organizations and Movements to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, dated 1 June 1957, recommends that Unesco should be used for the purposes of the struggle against Communism, that it should be turned into a strongly anti-Communist Organization, a regular instrument of anti-Communist activity. Unfortunately, we must also point out that some of Unesco's publications are tendentious, containing slanderous fabrications concerning the Socialist countries.

10.21 In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the General Conference, at its tenth session, will pay due heed to the comments made by the various delegations and will not allow Unesco to be turned into an ideological bloc serving group interests (which would lead to the complete decline of its moral and political prestige), but that, soberly appraising the situation, it will draw up resolutions for the fundamental improvement of the Organization's work, the achievement of its essential aims, the consolidation of world peace and international security, and the promotion of mankind's welfare.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the Ukrainian delegate and I now call upon Dr. Hla, of Burma.

12.1 Mr. HLA (Burma): Mr. President, Director-General, and fellow delegates, I shall be very brief since it is Saturday and late in the afternoon, and I am quite sure you are tired already.

12.2 I consider this a great honour to be able to address this gathering of distinguished colleagues and friends from all corners of the world for the third time in my experience with Unesco. I have had the good fortune to represent my country, the Union of Burma, on three successive occasions, and during the last four years, since the eighth session at Montevideo, I have learnt to appreciate a great deal the noble ideals which Unesco has striven to achieve. I recall the pleasant memories of the time when we were together, four years ago, in that most beautiful marble palace at Montevideo, in the new world. I also recall with genuine feelings of joy, the time when we were together two years ago in that magnificent building, the Vigyan Bhavan, in New Delhi. The ninth session of the General Conference and the present one have been distinguished by our entry on both occasions, into new buildings. That we are now holding this present session in our own permanent Headquarters is, indeed, a matter for pride and rejoicing for all of us. Before I go further, Mr. President, I wish to pause here to pay tribute to the genius of the planners, architects, masons, engineers and skilled workmen who have produced this fine structure, characterized by such powerful simplicity and great effectiveness. I also wish to pay tribute to our host, the French nation and the city of Paris, that eternal centre of European culture, for the warm welcome it has extended to all of us. For me and for those of us who are the children of the sun-kissed lands, the weather in this beautiful city is perhaps somewhat short of what we would have liked to experience, but weather may be wet or cold, our hearts have been warmed by the kindness and the hospitality of our Parisian hosts.

12.3 Mr. President, with your permission, I wish to say a few words on the programme of Unesco for 1959-1960. The Director-General, guided by the Executive Board, has not found it necessary to make very revolutionary new proposals. The programme and budget proposals, as set out in document 10 C/5 Rev., rest on the same sound foundations as were laid at its eighth and ninth sessions.

12.4 The Burmese delegation wishes to associate itself, with many other delegations, in congratulating the Executive Board, the Director-General and its advisers and colleagues on their wisdom in deciding to carry on with the good work, the good unfinished work, rather than start new ventures with the work on hand still not completed. The three Major Projects: the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, Scientific Research on Arid Lands, and Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values certainly deserve Unesco's sustained efforts for their implementation. My delegation also notes with satisfaction the proposal for the expansion of the programme of Aid to Member States, now termed the programme of Participation in the Activities of Member States. So far, so good, but I wish to add, on behalf of my delegation, a small point. In the programme for the mutual understanding of Oriental and Occidental cultures, we feel there is room for various improvements and more energetic action. For instance, we talk about mutual understanding, but mere understanding is not enough. How much of the Oriental cultures, and to what extent have the Oriental cultures been made known to the West? Like many others from my part of the world, I am a member of a once European dominated country; we are therefore familiar with certain aspects of the European culture and for this we are now grateful. Looking back over the years, we did criticize, but one of the good things of European domination is that, at least, we are now conversant with certain of the finer aspects of European culture. But how many of our friends in the West are conversant with our culture? I think this aspect needs to be stressed and that more energetic action in this respect needs to be taken by Unesco in the next two years.

12.5 In my country, the Union of Burma, Unesco's popularity has steadily grown and the technical assistance rendered by Unesco in the form of fellowships, expert services in education and financial help - though small or puny in amount - for the engagement of a museum architect, has been most welcome. We have not asked much and of course we have not received much, but that is not the point. The point is that Unesco has been actively concerned in carrying out its responsibilities for the promotion of education and culture.

12.6 Mr. President and fellow delegates, I do not propose to bore you with the detailed enumeration of the various activities in which both my Government and certain private organizations, such as the Burma Translations Society, have been engaged. They are the kind of activities which Unesco actively encourages. I shall mention only one: the Burma Translations Society, with the backing of our Prime Minister, acted as host to a Unesco Regional Seminar held last year on the production of literature for neo-literates.

12.7 One of the distinguished achievements of my country since its birth as a sovereign independent State in 1948, has been to wipe out illiteracy throughout the country and to revive its cultural heritage. I would not claim that we have had complete success, but we have had a fair success and the shape of things is encouraging.

12.8 Next, with your permission, Mr. President, I wish to comment briefly on the geographical distribution of posts, both on the Executive Board and in the Secretariat. I fully endorse the comment which has already been made by several important delegations. While recognizing the sincere efforts made by the Director-General in the geographical planning in relation to Secretariat appointments, I feel that there is still ample room for improvement in this direction. Whether one considers the Secretariat appointments or the composition of the Executive Board, my delegation cannot help but associate itself heartily with the sentiments expressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan, the previous President of this Conference, and by our distinguished colleague from Ukraine, who has just spoken. If our goal is to make this Organization truly international, not only in form but also in content, then it will be imperative for our friends from Latin America, Europe and North America

to come boldly forward and help rectify these defects without undue delay.

12.9 In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to say how pleased my delegation is that the admission of Kuwait, the Federation of the West Indies and the Italian Trust Territories of Somaliland as Associate Members of this Organization has been approved. I should also like to congratulate our friends from Albania, Ghana and Malaya, on their admission as full-fledged Members. This act on the part of the Conference is in conformity with the very ideals laid down in the Constitution of our Organization. My country strongly believes in the universality of Unesco membership, irrespective of colour, creed or political attributions. The Burmese delegation, however, notes with regret that this Organization of ours has not seen fit to discard the spirit of discrimination in regard to the People's Republic of China. I do not propose to repeat, at this very late stage, the various cogent reasons for the admission of China, for they have already been stated over and again by many delegations earlier. I would say only this, it is not China, but Unesco, which stands to suffer and to lose both spiritually and materially, by shutting itself off from this huge part of resourceful and hard working humanity.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Burma and I now call upon the delegate of Hungary, Mrs. Joboru.

14.1 Mrs. JOBORU (Hungary):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for us that the tenth General Conference of Unesco is taking place in Paris. The cultural values created through centuries by the people of France as well as the present lively cultural activity in Paris and in the whole country create an atmosphere for our discussions which is an inspiration to success. We thank our French colleagues for their friendly welcome and for their hospitality, the pleasure of which we have frequently had in the past during various regional conferences.

14.2 Mr. President, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great significance to international cultural relations. Hungary has close cultural ties with many countries of the world. At present we participate in the work of 88 scientific and 23 international cultural organizations. With twelve countries we have cultural agreements covering the fields of education, science, literature and art. Among these countries some are Asian and African - the Chinese People's Republic, the United Arab Republic. Cultural relations are steadily improving, too, with countries where there are no such agreements as yet - again with Asian and African countries, among them India and Japan.

14.3 In 1958, Hungary's delegates participated in hundreds of international conferences. During the current year, Hungary was the meeting place for such significant international cultural events as the International Liszt Piano Competition and the Bartok Festival, and we are now preparing the 1959 Haydn Festival. In the course of the last two years, Hungary had the honour of being visited by the Leningrad Ballet and also witnessed guest performances by theatre groups from Belgrade and Prague. On the other hand, the artists of our State Opera visited Moscow and Brussels. An exhibition of young Italian painters in Budapest drew a large number of spectators. Hungarian children's drawings were shown in England, India and Japan, while a number of our young artists participated in various musical competitions in Paris and Geneva, as well as the Theatre Festival at Avignon. Popular Hungarian song and dance ensembles visited England, France, the Soviet Union, China, Egypt and Viet-Nam, while folk-lore dance ensembles from India and Indonesia visited our country.

14.4 Hungary is now in the process of building socialism, and one reason for our encouragement of international cultural exchanges is that, side by side with economic development, we are going through a period of significant cultural transformation. For this we must be acquainted with all progressive achievements of culture in the world. Without going into detail, I want to mention only one fact which illustrates our cultural development. Prior to 1945, the percentage of illiterates was more than 10 per cent, while now illiteracy is practically non-existent and more than 70 per cent of the children who have completed the compulsory primary school of 8 years are continuing their studies. Of the children attending secondary schools, 40 per cent are enrolled in middle schools preparing for universities. In the field of public education, we have reached the point where the main task is the gradual introduction of compulsory secondary education. We wish to further this cultural progress, which has never been matched by any period in Hungary's history, on the basis of our own traditions and particular requirements. At the same time, we wish to integrate into our own culture all values of international human knowledge, all its newest achievements and fruits.

14.5 In the course of the past two years Hungary has actively participated in the work of Unesco. We attended several regional conferences, such as the Conference of the European National Commissions for Unesco, held at Dubrovnik, the conference devoted to the Problems of Secondary School Education, held in Sèvres. Hungarian delegates took part in various Unesco seminars held in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Italy and in Norway, and we also attended the European Conference of National Libraries, in Vienna, last September. Our Government became a party to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and has set up an advisory committee to prepare for the Government a draft list of Hungarian cultural property to be included in the international list.

14.6 Ties between Hungary and Unesco were also strengthened by the emergency educational assistance received from the Organization, according to the decision of the ninth General Conference. I avail myself of this opportunity to express also our thanks for the valuable school equipment we received through this programme.

14.7 Regarding the draft programme of Unesco for 1959-1960, we consider that it includes projects of great importance which are closely linked with the basic objectives of the Organization, one of which is the East-West Major Project. Assistance to research

in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the fight against illiteracy, the documentation work of Unesco, and several other projects we also consider to be important aspects of Unesco's programme. Unesco's governing bodies and the Director-General have done great and useful work in the elaboration of these projects.

14.8 While recognizing these good initiatives, we are, nevertheless, of the opinion that Unesco does not do everything in its power for the promotion of cultural relations, mutual understanding and appreciation among the peoples. We live in an age when the peoples of the world are deeply interested in each other's life and culture, since they are aware that only mutual understanding and peaceful co-operation can preserve peace and security, upon which all social and cultural progress is based. All international organizations which associate themselves with these noble endeavours of mankind, become more and more popular and their authority is constantly increasing. At the same time organizations which disregard these noble aims or do not contribute enough to their realization, cannot avoid a decrease in their popularity and authority.

14.9 All who are here at this Conference, when making our critical observations and proposals regarding the draft programme and budget, sincerely wish the permanent increase of Unesco's authority. We are of the opinion that there are two main reasons why Unesco, with its special means in the field of education, science and culture - and in spite of many useful achievements - does not take a worthy share in the solution of the great problems of our age. One is Unesco's discriminatory policy towards certain countries and organizations with world-wide cultural significance. The harmful consequences of this policy are particularly obvious in the case of the exclusion of the Chinese People's Republic from Unesco's activity. I do not want to deal now with the general aspects of this important question. I wish only to touch on it in a special context.

14.10 Hungary is one of the countries that welcomed the East-West Major Project with great pleasure. Our National Commission elaborated a series of concrete proposals on how to contribute to the realization of this important Project. At the Conference of the European National Commissions for Unesco, held in Dubrovnik last October, our delegation, supported by the Belgian delegation, put forward a proposal suggesting that Unesco's Member States should organize an East-West Mutual Understanding Week in 1958, drawing the attention of the public opinion to this great enterprise of Unesco by various lectures, exhibitions, publications, etc. We intended to propose, at the present Conference, that a great meeting be arranged for the teachers of East and West, whose noble duty is the education of youth in the spirit of mutual understanding and appreciation. But how can we make and how realize such proposals, so long as the Chinese People's Republic is not admitted to Unesco? How can we speak of the rich cultural heritage and the present exciting cultural revolution of the East, without including Popular China's ancient cultural values and its marvellous cultural achievements of today?

14.11 The East-West Major Project is good proof of the well-known fact that even the best projects are condemned to setback if they are based on wrong principles. We find a somewhat similar case in the educational programme. Unesco has important projects for furthering the education of youth. The leading bodies of Unesco often emphasize that Unesco can successfully proceed with its activities by co-operating with the competent international educational and cultural agencies. If this is so, we must raise the question, how can Unesco successfully contribute to the furthering of such urgent educational problems as for example, the education of youth in the spirit of mutual understanding, without co-operating with such international organizations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth or the International Union of Students? What other organizations can take the place of these special agencies with their millions of members all over the world?

14.12 Another reason why Unesco's efforts cannot achieve better results is, in our opinion, the lack of the necessary concentration of activities, which has been mentioned by many delegates in the course of our discussion. We also consider that Unesco should choose a few major items in its various fields of activity and spend all its intellectual and material efforts on their realization. All these activities must be closely linked with the vital problems of our age, such as the fight against cold war and the menace of atomic war, and the struggle for peace, security and human progress. May I give one example from the field of education. A world-scale campaign for the complete abolishing of illiteracy, the further development of the various forms of adult education, the elaboration of the serious problem of how to bring general and professional education into harmony with the scientific, technical, social and moral requirements of our day - these main items should be still more emphasized in Unesco's educational programme. It would obviously be possible to define the main tasks in all other fields. And it would then be possible to concentrate all our efforts, first of all, on the realization of these main objects, through organizing meetings of experts, publishing books, producing films, etc. Such a concentration without, of course, excluding many other less important items, would mean a significant increase of authority for Unesco. By doing so we could certainly see to it that Unesco did not mean only six letters for many people, even in the United States of America, as we learned from the honourable delegate of the United States of America.

14.13 We share the opinion of many delegations that Unesco's new draft programme gives evidence of many valuable endeavours for a better concentration. But the still existing dispersed character of the programme makes for difficulties in the work of the General Conference as well as in the work of the Secretariat, and diminishes the results of our efforts. I confess that, having studied the programme, a strange comparison occurred to me - the name of the philosopher, Picco della Mirandola, came to my mind. At the end of the Fifteenth century, he tried to summon a world congress of science, philosophy and theology, and he elaborated 900 theses for this prospective meeting. The congress has never taken place! We, however, are fortunate to be able to come together every two years, and I believe that it would do only good to the great and noble cause we serve, if the number of our theses did not reach that

of the World Congress envisaged by Picco della Mirandola.

14.14 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, allow me, in conclusion, to express the deep desire of the Hungarian Government to develop educational, cultural and scientific relations with all countries of the world. The Hungarian Government, together with the National Commission for Unesco, will do everything in its power to promote all efforts of Unesco aimed at mutual understanding and peaceful co-operation among the peoples, in the field of education, science and culture. We declare this in the hope that Unesco's future activity will be firmly based on the noble principles of the equality of all nations, without any discrimination, and will resolutely serve peaceful co-operation among all peoples of the world.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Hungary. I now call upon Mr. Treska, of Albania.

16.1 Mr. TRESKA (Albania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, I should like first to express the deep satisfaction of my Government, which has finally been able to achieve one of its keenest desires: to become a Member of an important international Organization like Unesco, which has set itself the noble task of gradually bringing the nations of the world to co-operate in the fields of education, science and culture, and of achieving the object for which the United Nations was established, and which is proclaimed in its Charter: international peace and the joint prosperity of the world.

16.2 I would venture, here, to inform the Conference that, since 1954, the People's Government of my country has on several occasions asked to be admitted to membership of Unesco, but the delegates of certain governments on the United Nations Economic and Social Council raised artificial obstacles to prevent the People's Republic of Albania from taking its rightful place, to which it was fully entitled, within Unesco. Representing a recently admitted Member, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that its first duty is to convey its warm greetings to the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference and to wish it most heartily further successes in its noble task.

16.3 The Albanian delegation, which I have the honour to lead, affirms its resolute intention of making its full contribution and doing everything in its power to ensure that the tenth session of the General Conference is crowned with success, in the interests of peace in the world and the peaceful co-existence of countries, irrespective of the differences existing between their political, economic and social systems. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always based, and still bases, its policy on the great principles of world peace proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and the Constitution of Unesco. Furthermore, I shall take the liberty of stressing here, before this assembly, that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, long before its admission to Unesco, was putting into practice the principles to which this noble Organization subscribes both at the national and at the international level.

16.4 Albania, a small country of about one and a half million inhabitants, managed to shake off its yoke after many centuries of heroic struggle against the oppressions of invaders and the machinations of various imperialistic States, but it did not become really free and independent until 29 November 1944, thanks to its struggle for national liberation against Italian and German Fascism and against the feudal and bourgeois cliques in the country, and thanks to the brilliant historic victory of the Soviet Union over the Hitler coalition. Thus, the Albanian people took its fate into its own hands by introducing into the country the régime of a people's democracy. In a few days' time - that is, on the 29th of this month - the whole Albanian people will be celebrating the fourteenth anniversary of their liberation and, on that date, will survey the tale of their brilliant successes in the struggle they are waging for the recovery of their national economy and culture along Socialist lines and for the consolidation and preservation of peace in the world.

16.5 The Albanian people are proudly conscious of the constructive results of their creative and peaceful work. And rightly so. For, with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies, they have been able in a short space of time to create a modern industry with an output fourteen times greater than it was before the war. They have made agriculture take giant strides forward on the basis of voluntary collectivization and have successfully brought about a veritable cultural revolution in the country.

16.6 I do not wish to enter into the details before this high assembly, but I may perhaps inform you, ladies and gentlemen, that in 1938, 83 persons out of 100 in Albania were illiterate; there were only 643 primary schools in the country, mostly in the towns and big centres, 11 seven-year schools and 11 secondary schools. There was no higher education in Albania, no scientific research institutions, and practically no theatres, libraries or other cultural centres for the public.

16.7 Today, there are primary schools even in the remotest mountain villages. These schools, as a result of the introduction of compulsory primary education, now number 2,275 - more than three and a half times the number existing in 1938. Gradually but surely, we are introducing a compulsory seven-year course. Today there are 419 seven-year schools, that is, 38 times as many as in 1938. They are attended not only by children living in the towns and villages where they operate, but also by those living at a distance of two or three miles from the school. Secondary schools now number 56, a figure representing more than 500% of the secondary education establishments existing in 1938. For the first time, higher education has been instituted in Albania. The University of Tirana - perhaps the youngest in the world - and the other higher education institutions are today attended by three times as many students as there were pupils in the secondary schools in 1938 - not to mention the students continuing their studies abroad. Over 85% of the students hold State grants.

16.8 Scientific work, organized on a sound basis, is using the services of the best staff in our country and is already producing positive results

for the later development of the people's economy and culture.

16.9 By the end of 1955, which marked the completion of the first five-year plan, there were no longer any illiterates amongst our men and women under 40 years of age. Great successes have been recorded, too, in night schools and correspondence schools. In Albania one inhabitant out of every five receives some form or other of instruction.

16.10 Thanks to the constant support and attention of the People's Government, literature and the arts have blossomed considerably. As an illustration of the efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania in these fields, I need only say that the appropriations for education, science, arts, culture and social questions represent about 20% of the State budget.

16.11 With regard to foreign affairs, the People's Republic of Albania has signed cultural conventions with several countries and is constantly striving to expand its exchanges with other countries in the fields of science, culture, literature and the arts.

16.12 In past times, the masterpieces of world literature were practically unknown amongst the ordinary people of Albania. Now, the best literary works have been, or are being, translated - ranging from Chinese, Greek, Latin, Indian and other classics to the most eminent representatives of contemporary progressive and democratic literature.

16.13 Theatre and opera scarcely existed before the Liberation; now, alongside national works, plays by Shakespeare, Schiller, Molière, Beaumarchais, Goldoni, Lope de Vega, Ostrovski, Gorki, and many others are being staged, and, in music, works by Dargomijski, Glinka, Verdi, Rossini, Mascagni, Smetana, etc. performed. The Albanian broadcasting network gives special musical programmes including works from almost all the nations of the world.

16.14 Finally, to conclude this section, our country is a member of several international organizations, such as the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Meteorological Organization, etc. and takes an active part in the work of these organizations.

16.15 In all these ways the People's Republic of Albania has contributed - and is contributing - to the strengthening of peace in the world, the peaceful coexistence of the nations, and understanding and friendship between the peoples. Our country is thus making its modest contribution to the development of world culture. And all this is being done simply because the Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that cultural relations and exchanges are of great importance for mutual understanding among the peoples and peaceful co-operation between them. The People's Government of our country will do all in its power to widen and deepen its cultural relations with other countries, guided in the future as in the past by the basic principles accepted by Unesco.

16.16 The delegation which I have the honour to lead approves the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 as a whole, though it reserves the right to present its detailed comments and proposals when this question is discussed by the General Conference or the competent Commissions.

16.17 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I am nearing the end of my speech and I would not wish to tax your patience, but I consider it my duty to say once more, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, how very much I deplore the injustice committed with regard to the great Chinese people. There may perhaps be delegates in this hall who will say that the question to which I refer has been settled once and for all and that there is no need to revert to it. Well, gentlemen, there is a Russian proverb which says, more or less: "If you want to make something understood, you must go on repeating it". And we shall never cease repeating our arguments and coming back to this question as long as the Chinese people does not have its rightful place in Unesco. We have set ourselves very noble aims, whose achievement will surely further the cause of world peace and peaceful co-operation between the nations - that is, the very foundations of Unesco and the United Nations. But there is no doubt that the aims we have in view cannot and will not be attained until the great Chinese people, over 600 million strong, has the opportunity of contributing to the work Unesco has set itself. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has every reason to be astonished at the fact that the General Conference, by an artificial majority, due to a voting device whose strings are not altogether invisible - a majority, moreover, which is steadily diminishing to the point of becoming finally an infinitesimal minority, for "history is harsh to those who will not understand" - persists in closing the door on the real representatives of the Chinese people and bestowing favours on a group of individuals who represent no one and who constitute a real source of dissension.

16.18 I may perhaps - without seeking to compete with the head of the Lebanese delegation, who has shown himself to be thoroughly acquainted with the treasures of folk wisdom - quote a proverb of my own people. In our country, we say that "the sun can never be hidden behind a needle". Unfortunately, that is exactly what people have been trying to do in the last few days in this very hall which, as some of my honourable colleagues have said, symbolizes mutual understanding and co-operation between the peoples.

16.19 The Albanian delegation is happy not to have tried its skill at this game, which merely does harm to our Organization's prestige and compromises the ends we are seeking to attain. For how can we deny the existence and discount the impressive work of the People's Republic of China, without the risk of finding ourselves on a slippery slope of argument leading to conclusions that are false and jeopardize the cause of peaceful collaboration and world peace? As the representative of a small country which has, in the past, met with all kinds of aggression and, in consequence, all kinds of discrimination in the sphere of culture, I feel it is my duty to protest, in the name of the ideals inspiring our Organization, against the intolerable discrimination of which several peoples and several non-governmental organizations are still victims. And I would venture to ask this high assembly to put forth all its efforts and to use its influence to end this state of affairs which is not - and cannot be - in keeping with our day and age.

16.20 The delegation of the People's Republic of

Albania is firmly convinced that the work of the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference will contribute to the eventual strengthening of the cultural relations between peoples, in the interests of their material and spiritual well-being and, consequently, of the preservation of peace throughout the world - that is, of the final noble aim of our Organization and of everyone who is interested in a better future for humanity as a whole.

16.21 In conclusion, I am happy to have this opportunity, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, of expressing my deep gratitude to the French people for the hospitality they have accorded us here in Paris, in the heart of their country, in the heart of France, which has given mankind countless great figures of world-wide fame in the fields of science, culture, art and literature.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

TENTH PLENARY MEETING

10 November 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speech by the delegate of Pakistan 151
First Report of the Administrative Commission: Right to Vote of China 155
General discussion (continued): Speeches by the delegates of Argentina and New Zealand 162

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. I call upon Mr. Brohi, Head of the Pakistan delegation.

2.1 Mr. BROHI (Pakistan):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in this preliminary statement, the Pakistan delegation cannot begin better than by placing on record its sincere expression of heartfelt gratitude for the courtesy and hospitality extended to its members by the Government and people of France. The French people have played an important part in the fostering of democratic institutions, and their own contribution to the civilization and culture of mankind can admit of no controversy. We are in full accord with the many tributes that have been paid to France and her people, and we would like to convey to them through you, Mr. President, the felicitations of the Government of Pakistan and her people.

2.2 During the course of this general debate, which deals with the report of the Director-General and with the proposals for the programme and budget for the next year, the Pakistan delegation would like to take the opportunity of stating, as concisely as it can, the historical rôle which, in its judgement, Unesco ought to play in redeeming modern man who finds himself involved in this rather unenviable mid-Twentieth century predicament. We shall leave the consideration of the substance of the report and proposals for future work to be dealt with in the appropriate committees at a later stage. The thoughts that follow are offered in a spirit of humility, but with the firm hope that they will be considered relevant by those present here, and also those who, in the days that lie ahead, are to participate in promoting the ideals and purposes for which Unesco has been founded. Those to whom has fallen the duty of working out the institutional framework of Unesco, for the realization of the objectives which inspired its founding fathers, must be made fully aware of the relevance of certain methodologies and techniques that may be adopted for the purpose of fulfilling Unesco's historical mission in the scheme of the contemporary world order.

2.3 Anyone who is conversant with the educational, scientific and cultural tendencies of our time, and who has attempted to analyse the thought content of the age in which we live, must have been struck by its rich and varied character. Never before has mankind been confronted with such a vast medley of conflicting ideologies; and never before has the need for choosing a sound ideological basis upon which to found the programme for securing world peace and security become so important. Any mistakes made here are found to have catastrophic results.

2.4 In the welter of voices that one hears all round us, one is called upon to assimilate as much as is humanly possible; but the dilemma of our times consists precisely in this, that an isolated individual, no matter how great his talents, is not qualified, merely by his own unassisted effort, to work out for himself a consistent philosophy in terms of which mankind could be led to avoid the horrors of atomic war, and to pursue with due diligence the realization of the values that count. Modern man, assuming he has the time and inclination, is not well equipped to adjust himself mentally to the kind of world which recent discoveries about the secret of the atom and man's resulting mastery over the forces of nature have brought into being. Not only is an individual helpless to resolve the confusion of thought that surrounds him, but no one nation, however large and powerful it be, is qualified to attempt a reconstruction of a world view capable of fostering international understanding and good will throughout the world. In fact, such a nation as we have here posited is precluded from undertaking this task by reason of the fact that anything it may have to offer in this field would be distrusted by other nations, if only because the prevailing political rivalries and

economic exploitation with which we are so familiar have infested the international community of mankind to such an extent that the intellectual culture of one nation always appears to be at war with the harmonies of human life in another nation. And yet, as we all can see, the need to co-ordinate the manifold and multi-dimensional thought activity of mankind in the mid-Twentieth century is urgent and, unless it is met, mankind cannot hope to look forward to a life of security and peace.

2.5 The historical rôle of Unesco, as we see it, is to undertake and fulfil this task. The solution of the problem posed above can only be worked out by the co-operative effort of many minds from many different environments and of divergent cultural backgrounds, coming together to evolve a world perspective in which the orchestration of the forces of contemporary thought can create a richer harmony for the benefit of all. Unesco is the international platform where these minds can meet, and is thus the only forum where Member States, by making available such educational, scientific and cultural resources as they have, can enable the realization of the goals that have been set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution of Unesco.

2.6 When the highly emotionally charged text of the Preamble goes on to assert that "wars begin in the minds of men" and enjoins that "it is therefore in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", it also, by a necessary implication, indicates the precise scope and character of those very defences that have to be so organized and erected. The perception of the essential nature of these defences, and the establishment of the conditions necessary for their construction, appear to us to be the most important preparatory step that must be taken in order to make the working of Unesco a success.

2.7 The mind of man in general is the subject-matter of Unesco's attention, and it is the function of Unesco to investigate and exploit all the avenues that lead to a creative understanding of its multi-dimensional activity. In substance, Unesco, if it is to be loyal to the spirit that called it into being, ought to stand for the total transformation of the inner man so that he is made fit to play a rôle of service in the establishment of a supra-national synthesis of mankind. Thus Unesco is, to our way of thinking, a new kind of laboratory set up by the war-weary peoples of the mid-Twentieth century, where the mind of modern man will be helped to outgrow its immaturity. It may also be conceived of as a new Temple of Learning and Light, erected by the founding fathers, where the worshiping votary may find all those inner resources with which to enjoy and appreciate life, and so come to live in harmony and unison with the rest of his fellow-men.

2.8 Anyone reading the verbatim records of the inaugural speeches made by the representatives of the Member States on the eve of every General Conference that has been convened during the twelve years of Unesco's existence is bound to be impressed by the fact that the underlying substance of what they have attempted to express reflects the Sermon on the Mount. And I venture to suggest that for sheer sublimity of expression, and the depth of feeling from which those high and noble thoughts have been voiced, there is nothing comparable in grandeur in the whole range of recent writing. And yet, these moral exhortations and expressions of lofty idealism have not found an adequate echo in the heart and soul of mankind. Probably this was to have been expected; for Unesco, by its very Constitution, remains in the last resort an international governmental organization which has, in any event, to carry out the wishes of its Member States. But we should like to emphasize that, despite this limitation, in order to be able to discharge its basic functions Unesco must carry its thinking beyond official policies and programmes, if it is to serve the ideals for which it has been created. In other words, it must find a balance between its rôle as a servant of the Member States, and its rôle as the mentor and guide of those Member States; and if it is to lead them on towards the goal of international peace and security, it must learn to reflect the spirit of its Charter even while it is professing to obey the mandates of its Member States.

2.9 These considerations point out what is really at stake. It is high time that humanity learned to distinguish between the mere external ability to impress as opposed to an inner capacity to transform the life and environment of others. We have often failed to realize that the education of humanity is based, not so much on the law of mechanical causation as on the law of personal sympathy. We have often heard it said that what we need the most are the experts, and that the destiny of the world must henceforward be handed over to these experts. But it is often conveniently forgotten that there are experts whose development has been uni-directional and therefore lop-sided. Not without reason has the specialist been defined as a person who knows more and more about less and less. A man can be "concocted" into an expert, up to a point where he ceases to be a man. We have been anxious to recruit all kinds of experts in the service of Unesco, on the assumption that these experts, by reason of the highly specialized skill and knowledge which they have acquired in some sphere of thought, belief and action, stand qualified to bring about the salvation of mankind. But every expert who is only an expert is not even a man; indeed, as the Spanish philosopher, Unamuno, has described him, only a caricature of a man. Such an expert, even when he is handsomely paid, will not succeed in bringing about any relief for anyone. The work of Unesco in the field of promoting international understanding of different peoples and cultures cannot, for instance, be handed over to the mere experts in anthropology. As is too well known, the specialist who has not been initiated into the higher graces of life is intellectually arrogant and a bit of a bore and a snob. Instead of ministering to the forces of light, such a prince of darkness can only be a sure guide to chaos and disorder.

2.10 Similarly, the ideal of promoting international understanding of Eastern and Western cultural values is grounded upon a philosophy which teaches that "in my Father's house are many mansions" and that in His garden are many flowers. We must therefore inculcate in ourselves a capacity to appreciate all the creative manifestations of the spirit, not so much for their own sake as for the sake of advancing our personal evolution. In order that man may grow and

become more fully integrated, it is necessary that he should be helped to enter into communion with the universal heritage of mankind. It is only by sympathetically identifying ourselves with all the cultural formations that we shall be able to liberate ourselves from our narrower prejudices and unwarranted presuppositions. It is the destiny of contemporary man consciously to participate in his own evolution, and thus to become the father of the man he is to be in the new age. This can be achieved only by transcending the framework of narrow individuality that ties us to our petty little purposes and prevents us from seeing beyond our noses. This is possible in principle, because basically mankind is one and indivisible; the existence of the classes and communities, the clans and tribes, and the nations and regional groups into which mankind appears to be divided, does not contradict its essential unity. The fact that it is in me to understand Chinese music, Japanese painting, European thought and Oriental homesickness and longing for the life of the spirit, merely indicates that all that there is, is mine; I am the spectator of all time and of all existence. The difference between me and the highly evolved man consists in this, that whereas I have not, the latter has, struggled to possess what is admittedly for both of us our common inheritance. Unesco must therefore, on a large and international scale, help modern man to enter into communion with the diverse forms which the culture of mankind has assumed down the ages. It must foster a capacity in man to develop bi-focal vision, so that he can see, in an historical dimension, things that are near as well as things that are remote. It must also foster in man the capacity to see stereoscopically - to see that which is left and that which is right, as though they were not two distinct and unrelated facets of human experience, but merely the parts of a larger whole. When man has been taught to regard his historical destiny in this fashion, he will learn to express within his being the interplay of the different musical notes of the world culture as though they were interwoven into the pattern of a richer and higher harmony.

2.11 It cannot be emphasized too often that Unesco must learn to regard the diverse cultural formations from a trans-nationalistic perspective; in fact, to see the world thus, is to see it with the Unesco mind. The creation of this type of mind is what Unesco can undertake; like a midwife, in the image of the well-known Socratic metaphor, it can facilitate the emergence of a new type of consciousness by reason of which the modern man will have risen to a height wherefrom he will be able to survey everything "sub specie aeternitatis". Unesco must act as a diligent crusader in the cause of the human spirit; it must anxiously strive to help man escape from the narrow and constricting scaffolding of national prejudice. The mind of mankind has to be educated by Unesco to accept the whole of human history, not merely as the proper province of its study, but also as a lever for the attainment of a higher vantage point from which the essential unity of mankind can be understood.

2.12 Unesco must also undertake to bring about a Copernican revolution in the comprehension of the grammar of universal history. Hitherto all history has been regarded from a national perspective by the historiographers and has, therefore, been made to support this or that national trait, or, if you prefer, this or that national prejudice. But hereafter, Unesco must undertake the all-important rôle of teaching human history from the point of view of global consciousness. It must endeavour to enable modern man to take legitimate pride and interest in the history of other peoples, past and present. Just as, thanks to the genius of Copernicus, the science of astronomy made progress in the very act of learning to look at the heavens, not from this tiny Earth, where its astronomers lived, moved and had their being, but from a point external to it; so also Unesco can bring about this Copernican revolution by looking at human history not from a nationalistic standpoint but from a supranational perspective. When studies in this field are initiated and are made available to our young children, they will begin to feel the pulse-beat of universal history; they will thus be qualified, when their time has arrived, to take over the burden of the future and give a new direction to the forces of human history.

2.13 The problem of securing the cultural advancement of mankind presents different facets, according to whether you look at it from the point of view of the Member States or from the point of view of Unesco. It is not really so much a question of transforming or enlarging or expanding, or even disseminating the cultural content of our age, as of viewing it in a larger perspective; this seems to us to distinguish the point of emphasis and also the strategy of Unesco from that of the Member States. Just as the same woman can be the wife of one person and yet the sister of another, so also the cultural content of several nations and peoples, by entering into a different relationship with the Unesco mind, can become completely transformed. The Unesco mind does not have to pick and choose between the Eastern and Western cultures, it does not have to emphasize which one is more valuable or relevant. Let this be the task of nation States - if they choose to be so arrogant even in these matters - but let Unesco teach the modern man to view the Eastern and Western cultures as aspects of a larger synthesis.

2.14 It is in this context, Mr. President, that we must regard the controversy which has been raging in Unesco for quite some time concerning the equitable and just distribution of the appointments and elective offices created under its aegis. It is unfortunate that the upholders of the large and liberal spirit of Unesco have sacrificed on the altar of indefensible casuistry the question of making these appointments and assigning these offices. It is true that it is not possible to distribute region-wise the various appointments and offices which Unesco must establish since the question of the competence of the incumbent to carry out the duties of his or her office must be taken into consideration. In fact, in these matters arithmetic cannot, from the nature of the case, be the final court of appeal. But, if Unesco intends to be an effective instrument for the dissemination of information, enlightenment and guidance to the whole world, it must learn to select its personnel in such a manner as to enable the largest number of people all over the globe to be influenced and transformed by its work. This means that there is a self-evident need for the decentralization of the

activity of the Organization. For it is impossible adequately to convey the Unesco message to the diverse people inhabiting the globe, unless the personnel has been selected from different parts of the world in a wise and judicious manner. While policy control and financial control may rest with the headquarters, the actual planning and execution of Unesco's activities should be increasingly entrusted to regional offices, which should be manned by a staff that has a command of the language spoken in the region concerned, and also a capacity to understand the viewpoint of the people belonging to that region. It is to be recognized that, Unesco, unlike the United Nations, because of its imprest financial resources, cannot settle its offices all over the world. The choice as to the place of the regional office must necessarily lie with the central headquarters, but once this choice is made, the personnel recruited for the regional office ought to be chosen from the people of that region. Similar remarks apply to the filling of elective offices and other appointments: the question of competence here is not really so very important, if only because, from the nature of the case, the educational, scientific and cultural advancement of mankind can be furthered only by those who understand the people who are to be influenced and educated. This requirement is an essential part of the concept of competence, as it applies to the question under consideration. Unesco has therefore to enlist the services of only those men and women who are part and parcel of the cultural ethos of the people belonging to that region. To act otherwise would be to supply not the mother, but the stepmother, to the infant spirit of a people.

2.15 One of the important factors on which the effectiveness of Unesco's work depends is admittedly the composition of its Secretariat. A world-wide Organization dealing with a variety of cultures and national backgrounds must also reflect this diversity in the composition of its Secretariat. Any specialist, however competent, cannot be a specialist in sensing the views and values of eighty-odd Member States. We would therefore like to see proper geographical representation accomplished with somewhat greater speed than has been the case so far. My delegation, for the reasons given already, cannot accept the oft-repeated statements which imply that there is a fundamental contradiction between the concept of geographical representation and that of competence. It is possible that each one of us may overestimate one point or another in assessing the competence of a particular person; but we believe that the word "competence" must be defined in the light of the fact that Unesco is an international body and must be an instrument of service on a world-wide scale.

2.16 To be an effective instrument of service, Unesco must be more than a formal institution resembling a national bureaucracy with its civil servants. To fulfil its objective, Unesco must reach the people, and for this reason my delegation attaches great importance to Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations. We feel that there should be much more careful and stricter application of the directives governing Unesco's relations with such organizations. We would like to see more encouragement given to the formation of federated unions or co-ordinating councils of international organizations of the same type. For example, rather than granting consultative status individually to international denominational organizations, it might be more effective to grant the same status to a co-ordinating council which would group them together for consultative arrangements with Unesco. Moreover, in the view of my delegation, organizations claiming to be international must not only include all the areas of the world in their membership, but should also be actively pursuing their activities in these areas. Particular attention should be paid to this when Unesco is giving subventions to non-governmental organizations for specific activities. Some consideration could be given to establishing, as has been done by the Economic and Social Council, two categories of non-governmental organizations; first, those of a more general character, and second, the more specialized organizations which have specific relevance to Unesco's activity.

2.17 We are gratified to see that in the draft programme and budget for 1959-1960, some attention has been paid to higher education. But we would like to give further emphasis to the importance of contacts between Unesco and the universities, particularly in Asia and Africa. We hope that the execution of any programme concerning higher education and universities will be placed in the hands of those who have travelled in the parts of the world concerned, and have a deep understanding of the overall problem facing these countries and of the rôle of universities in relation to national evolution in these countries.

2.18 In conclusion, Mr. President, it would seem to us true to say that the Unesco spirit is the Twentieth century incarnation of the Socratic tradition in human history. Socrates has rightly been acclaimed as the father of the intellectual culture of mankind, and of all the voices that have stressed the importance of teaching ethics through knowledge, his has been the most decisive. And what is the meaning of Unesco's rôle, if it is not to provide a moral and intellectual base to the structure of power relations in the international order, in order that the power of a nation be made subservient to the law of reason and the Socratic idea of the good? For these reasons one would have thought that Unesco activities in the Twentieth century would be consciously regarded as the fruition of the Socratic mission, and the manifesto of Unesco as a recent international edition of Socratic scripture. In the new buildings where Unesco is to be housed permanently, one would have wished to see somewhere the image of Socrates; indeed, it should have been the duty of those who wanted to build these monuments here to have them expressly dedicated to the Greek sage of whom I speak. No more fitting tribute could have been tendered to the wisest and the noblest of the ancient Greeks than by inscribing the work of Unesco in his holy and sacred name. To have done so would have given the Socratic impulse that animates our intellectual heritage a sense of historical continuity through the work of Unesco. Instead, we have been offered murals by Picasso, which, whatever they may mean to contemporary art critics, make no sense when they are viewed in the context of the lofty, universal and almost cosmically

great aims and aspirations of Unesco.

2,19 Mr. President, I have done. But before I leave the rostrum, I would like to intimate to the General Conference our interest in the programme of Unesco, with particular reference to those activities that are being sponsored by it in our part of the world. Unesco has rendered a great service to our country by sponsoring activities too numerous to mention in this preliminary statement. We would like to tender to the Director-General and the Secretariat our most sincere and cordial thanks for the attention they have paid to the work of Unesco in our country. The Arid Zone Research Project is a matter of particular concern to my delegation; it is being looked after by the central Ministry of Agriculture and the Meteorological Department of our country. Unesco provided the Ministry of Agriculture with the services of Dr. M. Monsi, an expert in ecology, and, when he left us at the end of December 1957, his place was taken by Dr. Rep. The Meteorological Department is concerned with the geophysical aspect of research problems in connexion with the project; here again, Unesco has already provided us with the services of Dr. Thirlaw, an expert in geophysics. Unesco has also arranged for the training of Pakistani nationals in this field and the necessary equipment has been provided. With the assistance of Unesco, Pakistan has been able to set up, at Quetta, a modern geophysical observatory which, without fear of contradiction, can be regarded as the finest institution of its kind in the whole of Asia. In addition to giving training to our own students, it has been receiving foreign scholars and Unesco Fellows for training in geophysics. This project has also been undertaken in collaboration with the Pakistan Meteorological Department and the Department of Civil Aviation. We look forward, therefore, to a life of continued co-operation with Unesco; it is needless to renew our assurances that our Government will do all it can to further the purposes for which Unesco, as an intergovernmental institution for international co-operation, was founded.

FIRST REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION: RIGHT TO VOTE OF CHINA

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Fellow delegates, if you have no objection, we shall now interrupt the general discussion in order to consider the Administrative Commission's first report on the right to vote of China. This report, with the draft resolution contained therein, has been distributed to you as document 10 C/54. Four speakers are already on the list for this discussion and will take the floor in turn on behalf of the delegations of Rumania, China, India and the United States of America. I shall first call upon Mr. Hla, Rapporteur.

4. Mr. HLA, Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission (Burma):

I submit to you document 10 C/54, being the first report of the Administrative Commission to the General Conference on the right to vote of China. The Administrative Commission having considered the communication from the Government of China, document 10 C/51, referred to it by the General Conference at its fifth plenary meeting, submits the following draft resolution to the General Conference: "The General Conference, considering the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 8 (b) and (c) of the Constitution, decides to permit the delegation of China to vote during the tenth session of the General Conference." This decision was adopted by the Commission by 39 votes to 21 and 7 abstentions, after a first vote which resulted in a tie: 22 votes in favour, 22 against, with 11 abstentions.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Joja, delegate of Rumania.

6,1 Mr. JOJA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, delegates, I think it is obvious to everyone that Unesco can successfully develop its activities and perform its tasks only if it has at its disposal certain financial resources, constituted by the contributions of its Member States. In this respect, it is natural and quite justifiable to set forth in a single analytical document - the "Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960", presented to the General Conference - not only the objects proposed but also the financial resources provided for the next two years. The participation of each Member State in the regular provision of Unesco's budget is one of its fundamental obligations, and it is natural that failure to perform this obligation raises the question of that State's rights in our Organization.

6,2 Only States who completely perform the obligations imposed by the Constitution of Unesco and, first and foremost, the obligation relating to the payment of contributions, can enjoy the rights reserved to Member States, including the right to vote. How can a Member State be entitled to decide on the activities, programme and tasks of Unesco if it does not honour that obligation? We are convinced - and we have always said so - that the China of Chiang Kai-shek, which for years has been unable to meet this obligation, cannot have the right to vote at the General Conference. The repeated attempt to grant the China of Chiang Kai-shek exceptional and privileged treatment, in this matter also, is quite contrary to both the letter and the spirit of Unesco's Constitution, particularly as this exceptional and privileged treatment is granted to a clique whose presence at Unesco gives rise to numerous and legitimate protests on the part of progressive world opinion. Every privilege granted only to some persons entails sacrifices and even servitudes for others; but we are living in a period in which privileges and servitudes are being abolished ever more widely and resolutely.

6,3 The Rumanian delegation therefore protests against the efforts to grant the China of Chiang Kai-shek exceptional and privileged treatment with regard to the budget, and it asks - as a first and immediate measure - that the China of Chiang Kai-shek be deprived of the right to vote. Moreover, the granting of this right to the China of Chiang Kai-shek would be contrary to legal and statutory principles and to international usage.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Poe, delegate of China.

8.1 Mr. POE (China):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I wish to state first of all that I deplore and, in deference to the dignity of this august international, educational and cultural assembly, I ignore the unprecedented and not altogether civilized words just spoken of my delegation and my Government. In requesting to retain the right to vote on the part of the Republic of China, I wish to present most briefly a few pertinent points.

8.2 In the first place, Article IV, paragraph 8(c) of the Constitution of the Organization does provide that, in case of incomplete payment due to conditions beyond the control of a Member State, its right to vote may be granted. It is unnecessary for me to elaborate that certain events and certain conditions have made my Government unable to pay its full quota. This, our case, is exactly taken care of by the above-mentioned stipulation - let me repeat, Article IV, paragraph 8(c) of the organic law of Unesco. To deny my delegation the right to vote would be tantamount to stifling, to taking away the life of a very important constitutional provision.

8.3 In the second place, our right to vote has repeatedly been granted at previous sessions: at the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth sessions of the General Conference. Perhaps some of you may argue that precedents themselves are not necessarily conclusive. But, fellow delegates, the long chain of precedents does signify that the General Conference has, at its successive sessions, established the unwritten ruling that as long as, and as far as, the conditions beyond the control of my Government persist, it is only just and fair that my delegation's right to vote should be respected and granted.

8.4 Thirdly, my Government, in making and increasing our token contribution to Unesco, has made sincere and steadfast efforts. This year, 1958, we have raised our token contribution from fifty thousand to sixty thousand dollars. In terms of our original assessment this amount is, I admit, a token contribution. But in terms of our national resources at command, and at trying times like these, the sum of sixty thousand dollars is certainly quite a substantial contribution.

8.5 Last but not least, I venture to suggest that, in the last analysis, it is not merely the size of payment a Member State may turn over to the Organization that counts. The sincerity and the loyalty of a Member State should also be taken into consideration. The Republic of China has always been and ever will be a loyal and sincere Member, carrying out to the best of its ability the Unesco programmes and activities, and earnestly taking its part in the common endeavour to promote international peace and the common welfare of mankind.

8.6 In conclusion, Mr. President, let me say this: voting and representation go together. While it is unthinkable to have voting without representation, it is incomplete and meaningless to have representation minus voting. Therefore, my delegation does request on behalf of our Government that, both in accordance with the Constitution of the Organization and in the interest of the General Conference, the right to vote in all meetings and conferences as now recommended by the Administrative Commission be again granted to us at this session, as it has been granted at previous sessions.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Husain, of the Indian delegation.

10.1 Mr. HUSAIN (India):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, we have been asked to approve the recommendation of the Administrative Commission that, under Article IV, 8(c), permission be given by the General Conference to the Republic of China to vote, on the ground that its failure to pay its dues is owing to conditions beyond its control.

10.2 First, I would like to say that, as we stated in the Administrative Commission, the Indian delegation regards this matter as a purely administrative matter and not a political issue. My delegation therefore does not propose to mention in this connexion the question of the representation of China, about which the views of India are well known and have already been expressed on two occasions during this session.

10.3 Now what are the facts of this administrative question? The facts are that the Republic of China, claiming to represent 639 million people, has failed to pay arrears of contributions amounting to nearly five million dollars. This default has taken place not as a single isolated failure to pay, but as a continuous and a consistent act of default, year after year for a period of nine years, as well as the last two years. This default has lasted almost as long as the life of Unesco itself. It seems to be the policy of this Government not to pay what it is supposed to pay yearly. The Director-General has reported, in document 10 C/27, Part III, that no payments whatever have been made for six years, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954 and 1956, and for the other three years a token payment of $208,633 has been made; and that, to be exact, a sum of $4,630,913 is outstanding. Thus, for these nine years, the Republic of China has paid only a little over 4% of what it is supposed to pay. The total amount now overdue for this period is not small; it is almost as much as one-fifth of the total annual budget of Unesco. The position for 1957-1958 is no better: again a token contribution has been made, and about $1,119,000 is due. It is important to note these facts in order to realize that, had this large amount of money been available to our Organization, there are many good and valuable schemes which could have been implemented, and others which could be extended in their scope, but which, for lack of funds, are not being pursued.

10.4 The conclusion is clear enough: the default of this Member is serious, and is of an habitual and chronic character. We must therefore seriously consider what we are going to do about this embarrassment to our financial resources.

10.5 The next important point, Mr. President, is to note that there are no prospects or promise that these large arrears will be cleared up in the near future. We have never been informed as to when conditions will be within the control of this Member State, to enable it to meet its obligations; nor, as things are, are we likely to be told when it would be

able to pay. In the letter, dated 1 November 1958, to the President of the General Conference, there is no indication or undertaking that these arrears can or will be cleared up. In fact it is stated therein that the contribution for the year 1958 is to be only $60,000. It is admitted that this is a token contribution; presumably this Member will continue to fail to meet its obligations to this Organization by making such token contributions. Further on in the letter, it is stated that this contribution is regarded as, and I quote: "quite substantial".

10.6 It also appears that, in regard to the forecast of anticipated contributions, the 4.83% shown against China is anticipated as practically not forthcoming. And indeed what has been given or promised is a token contribution, because it is no more than about one-tenth of what is annually due from this Member.

10.7 Now, Mr. President, if we accept this practice of making such token contributions on a more or less permanent basis, as a way of discharging obligations to Unesco, without any consequential disability, as we are being asked to do in this case, we are setting up a precedent highly detrimental to the financial stability of this Organization. Such an action would be a clear invitation to other Member States not to make their assessed annual contributions, or to make only token payments and get away with it because no adverse notice is taken of such defaults in payments. This raises, Mr. President, the question of what view we should take of this state of affairs. According to Article IV, 8 (b) of the Constitution: "A Member State shall have no vote in the General Conference if the total amount of contributions due from it exceeds the total amount of contributions payable by it for the current year and the immediately preceding calendar year." The refusal of the right to vote is categorical enough, but in the following clause some latitude is given in the exercise of it. This clause states: "The General Conference may permit such a Member State to vote". It is important to note that the words used are, and I quote: "may permit". That is to say, the General Conference may or may not permit, and has full discretion in the matter. This discretion must obviously be exercised in the interests of Unesco, and should not mean the extension of undue financial concessions to individual members on a permanent basis. For many years now, we have given the Republic of China the highly privileged position of enjoying the full rights of this Organization while making, once in a way, token contribution to its essential finances. It is the understanding of my delegation that the relaxation under Article IV, 8(c) was obviously intended to cover exceptional cases, for exceptional reasons. Had this not been so, and we could more or less permanently condone such defaults, there would not have been any point whatever in providing, in Article IV, 8(b), that a member shall not have the right to vote if the arrears of contributions exceed those due for over two years. The fact that such a provision exists in our Constitution is clearly intended to make us accord, at our discretion, permission to vote to a defaulter, only for compelling reasons of a transitory nature. Otherwise clauses (b) and (c) of Article IV, 8 would be inconsistent with each other.

10.8 Now in this case, as I have stated earlier, the default is neither temporary nor arising out of an emergency which is expected to be overcome in the near future, when the Member State in question can start making its full contributions to Unesco and also clear up arrears. In this case there is no such prospect, and we must therefore squarely face a situation which is not intended to be covered by Article IV, 8(c). It has been suggested by certain delegations that what has been done in the past we should do again this year. I submit, Mr. President, that this habitual condoning of a habitual defaulter and offender would amount to our abrogating the operation of Article IV, 8(b), which forbids the giving of the right to vote to a defaulting member. We must adhere to the well-known principle that whenever you acquire rights in an organization, you acquire simultaneously the obligations to that organization; and if those obligations are not met, then you cannot with any justification whatever claim the rights of that organization. It is from this point of view that we must look at this proposal.

10.9 My delegation regards this as a purely administrative matter, and believes, therefore, that we should take a decision free from political consideration and emotional bias, either for or against. Let it not be said hereafter that, to the detriment of Unesco, we condoned the defaults in contributions of a Member State because of the political affiliations of that Member State. In view of these considerations, I submit, Mr. President, that the right to vote be denied to the Republic of China under Article IV, 8 (b) of our Constitution.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Hanes, delegate of the United States of America.

12.1 Mr. HANES (United States of America): Mr. President, this matter has been fully debated in the Administrative Commission, which is a Commission of this whole body. I am pleased, therefore, that the debate this morning is to be short, and will not necessarily repeat many of the arguments that were put forward in that Commission, which are fully known now to the other delegations. I shall therefore be brief in my own statement.

12.2 We have all listened to the explanation offered by the delegate of China concerning the reasons why his Government is in arrears in the payment of its assessments to Unesco. We have also noted his remarks concerning the efforts which his Government has made with regard to its contributions. I would particularly note the wording, which has been mentioned before this morning, of the pertinent article of the Constitution. I would repeat this because of certain remarks that have just been made by the distinguished delegate of India. In his remarks he gave a certain interpretation of paragraph 8 (c), which reads: "The General Conference may nevertheless permit such a Member State to vote, if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member Nation." It is, of course, up to any delegation to put its own interpretation on what is meant by this article, and particularly to give its own interpretation as to what matters are

beyond the control of any given Member Nation. This body, in the past, has decided on several occasions that circumstances similar to those which we are considering today were beyond the control of the Member Nation involved. The situation today does not materially differ from those situations in the past. If the General Conference is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member Nation, then, Sir, I submit that it is for this that the provision of the Constitution was put in, in order to permit a Member Nation which finds itself - not voluntarily, but by circumstances beyond its control - in a position in which it cannot meet its obligations, none the less to participate fully in our deliberations.

12.3 I have, frankly, Mr. President, been impressed by the efforts which the Government of the Republic of China has made to discharge its obligations to this Organization. It is true that its payments have been token payments; they have been relatively small compared to its assessment. They have not, Mr. President, been small relative to any other criterion which we might apply with regard to Unesco. Over recent years, as has already been noted, the delegation of the Government of the Republic of China has been paying a token payment at an annual rate of $50,000, which it has this year raised to $60,000. For the past biennium, therefore, its payment has been $110,000. This is no small sum, Mr. President. Indeed, in terms of money it is a larger contribution than that made by two-thirds of the Members of this Organization. There are only twenty-five Member States which make a larger contribution in dollars, or in a sum of money, than this contribution of the Government of the Republic of China. This, Mr. President, I submit, is not the action of a Government which is uninterested in the work of Unesco. It is not the action of a Government which does not wish to do what it can, under difficult circumstances, to discharge its obligations to Unesco.

12.4 My delegation, Mr. President, is satisfied that the circumstances in which the Government of the Republic of China finds itself are circumstances which are beyond the control of that Government. We are satisfied that this Government, which has been a Member of Unesco since its inception, is doing everything within its power to be a loyal and helpful and effective Member of Unesco. My delegation most strongly supports, Mr. President, the acceptance of the report of the Administrative Commission which has been submitted to us.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Kuznetsov, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

14.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, gentlemen, I readily admit that the question of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives may have already wearied some of you; but we must not grow weary of this question, for it is much too serious. My delegation is completely opposed to the Administrative Commission's proposal. The views of the USSR delegation are familiar to you.

14.2 I should like to add a few words in the calmest tones I can command. What should I say? The contribution due from the Chiang Kai-shek representatives will never be received by Unesco; they will never be able to pay off their arrears. Why not? Because those "special circumstances" themselves, which force these deserters from the Chinese people to live outside the boundaries of China, will never permit them to return to their native land, where they are shunned by their own people. They are a band of adventurers who have entrenched themselves in Taiwan with outside support. These people have no right to speak on behalf of China, even though they make bold to do so. It is quite futile to expect these people to contribute millions of dollars. Someone will perhaps pay for them - I do not know - but they themselves have no means of paying.

14.3 Gentlemen, we must form a thoroughly clear and serious picture in our minds of what Taiwan is today. Let us not cherish any illusions. Taiwan is a centre of infection constituting a most dangerous threat - that of sweeping the whole world into a conflagration. We Soviet people, we Russians, know all too well what a world-wide military conflagration means.

14.4 I clearly remember the First World War; but it was nothing compared to what we witnessed in the Second World War, in which I myself took a direct part. Throughout the war I served in the ranks of the Soviet army on the Leningrad front. I have first-hand experience of air bombardment, shelling and the hunger suffered during a blockade. I know all about Leningrad and its heroic defence, Stalingrad and the battle for Stalingrad. We must do everything to prevent a repetition of these things, to ensure that there will never be a Third World War, with which we are threatened by the powers of darkness. We must so act as to ensure that this cup passes from us. But all who vote for the Chiang Kai-shek group do in fact - regardless of their own personal intentions, good or evil - fan the fire that spells such danger.

14.5 This is the reason, gentlemen, why my delegation will once again vote against the proposals of the Administrative Commission, and, along with the Rumanian and the Indian delegates, I propose - and ask for a separate vote on my proposal - that the draft resolution recommended by the Administrative Commission be rejected.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Tellalov, of the Bulgarian delegation.

16.1 Mr. TELLALOV (Bulgaria):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the head of my delegation has spoken twice in this hall about the question of China. We have had the opportunity to express our opinion in the Administrative Commission also, and I do not want to waste your time here in repeating our opinion on this matter. I wish only to support those who have already spoken here - Rumania, India, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - asking this meeting of the General Conference to oppose the proposal of the Administrative Commission. It was said here by the

Indian representative, and I feel that the United States representative does not succeed in refuting it, that Article IV, 8(c) of our Constitution very clearly states that we can give to somebody the right to vote if he does not fulfil his payments for a reason which does not depend on the Government.

16.2 We said here that the Chiang Kai-shek Government does not represent anybody and that it cannot fulfil any obligation of the Chinese people. You did not accept our point of view at the start of this meeting; now, when we are discussing a very practical matter concerning membership fees, the Chinese delegate and the United States delegate themselves accept the fact that the Chinese Government cannot fulfil its obligations. I think it is now very clear to everybody that we speak, here, of a government which does not exist, which will never fulfil any international obligation. I think, gentlemen, that it is a very expensive "scholarship" for our Organization to have here a Government for which we vote every year that their payments be postponed. This is a story which has repeated itself for many years, and I do not feel that it is necessary for this session to accept once more this very expensive scholarship. Therefore I should like to ask you, gentlemen, to vote against the recommendation of the Administrative Commission.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Setjodiwirijo, of the Indonesian delegation.

18. Mr. SETJODIWIRIJO (Indonesia):

Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Indonesia, I would like to speak very briefly. My delegation wishes to give its full support to the statements made by previous speakers - the distinguished delegates of Rumania, India, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Szabo, of the Hungarian delegation.

20.1 Mr. SZABO (Hungary) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we feel it is no mere chance that the question of China's representation has been raised several times in the course of this Conference.

20.2 In our opinion, this means that the question of the real representation of China is one of the most important problems before this Conference. The discussions to which this question has given rise show that it has become one of those issues on which the fate and, even more, the future work of the Organization depend. Is, in fact, one quarter of the world's population to take part in the Organization's work, or is it to be arbitrarily kept outside the pale of Unesco? With full knowledge of the facts, several delegations - in fact an ever-growing number of delegations - are taking their stand against those who are usurping the place of the People's Republic of China. The question now before us is whether the Kuomintang clique, which is acting illegally in the name of China and for years has not paid its share towards Unesco's expenses, is to be given the right to vote at this Conference.

20.3 We all know that, when arrears in contributions exceed a certain figure, the General Conference may, in accordance with Article IV, 8 (c) of the Constitution, authorize a Member State to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member Nation. It would be easy to prove that this condition is not fulfilled in the case before us and that, even on this basis, we cannot confer the right to vote on those who are putting themselves forward here in the name of China. At the meeting of the Administrative Commission, some delegations made it clear that these contributions are equally unlikely to be paid in the future.

20.4 That, however, is not the main point. This is that the General Conference has before it a letter, not from the representative of a Member State but from the representative of the Kuomintang clique, who can be regarded as no more than a private individual. To prove the truth of this statement, several Member States have already put forward arguments which cannot be dismissed out of hand.

20.5 Reaffirming in this plenary meeting of the Conference the views we have already put forward in the Administrative Commission, we therefore propose that the General Conference reject the Administrative Commission's draft resolution which, moreover, was only approved in the face of great opposition.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Pazur, of the Czechoslovak delegation.

22.1 Mr. PAZUR (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, on 5 and 6 November a large section of this Conference signified its desire to reconsider the question of whether China should take part in Unesco's proceedings; and in the Administrative Commission the result of the first vote - 22 votes to 22 - was also most revealing.

22.2 The Czechoslovak delegation is in favour of depriving a delegation of the right to vote when it has done nothing but pile up debts from year to year. This incredible and illegal situation has been prolonged for nine years, and meanwhile the representatives of a vast country whose population makes up over a quarter of all mankind are denied the right to take part in the work of this world-wide Organization. This is comparable with the situation which would obtain, for example, if France were represented in Unesco by a mere handful of private landowners on the islet of If.

22.3 In the Czechoslovak delegation's opinion, it is absolutely necessary to put an end to this untenable position. This abnormal state of affairs must be put right for the sake of the Organization's authority and of the principle of universality on which it should rest. Our concern must be the effectiveness of our Organization's work, and here the absence of 650 million Chinese is bound to have unfortunate and even disastrous results. Lastly, the contribution of a power such as China, if regularly paid, would also facilitate Unesco's work.

22.4 Accordingly, Mr. President, the Czechoslovak delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted to the plenary meeting by the Administrative Commission.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon Mr. Awad, of the delegation of the United Arab Republic.

24.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, it has been to the deep regret of the delegation of the United Arab Republic that the subject of maintaining cultural relations, or finding ways and means of having cultural relations with the Chinese people, has not been approved for consideration during this tenth session of the General Conference. We have been hoping that if this subject were submitted, we might come forward with special plans which would help us to maintain cultural relations in one form or another with the People's Republic of China, just as the United States Government has found it possible to establish political relations with the People's Republic of China, at the ambassadorial level. The Ambassadors from Washington and Pekin in Warsaw held many interesting meetings and were able to create a better atmosphere in the relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China.
24.2 I was hoping that Unesco might also do something of the sort. Unfortunately, the decision of the General Conference has made it necessary for us to recognize the delegation from Formosa, a delegation of which several members are well known to me and with whom I had friendly contacts when we were working together in the Secretariat of Unesco. But we cannot refrain, Mr. President, from entering into the differences between one and the same people. The Chinese people are divided; a small part is in Taiwan and the rest is in the great mass of continental China. It is as if the United States were divided into Rhode Island as one part, and the rest of the United States as the other. I would certainly refuse to consider that Rhode Island should speak in the name of the United States, and I am sure that the people in Minnesota and Texas and Arizona would shudder at such an idea.
24.3 In the end, Mr. President, the General Conference has decided that the delegation of Formosa should be seated as a representative and should be one of the members permitted to participate in this General Conference. We do not wish to go against the decision of the General Conference. The General Conference has decided and we all abide by its decisions. But the Chinese Government, in whatever form it may be, has been making only token payments and these token payments deserve only a token membership of this General Conference. For a token payment we should give token membership. But to allow them also to go beyond that token membership and to vote in all the Commissions and in all the Committees, and on decisions which they have no way or means of carrying out, seems to us an absurdity. How can anybody participate in a discussion which leads to certain decisions and undertakings which neither he nor the government in whose name he speaks could possibly fulfil in any way whatever?
24.4 Mr. President, the delegation of the United Arab Republic has participated in the Administrative Commission, and has voted against the participation of the delegation from Formosa in our deliberations in the Commission as well as in other Commissions. Therefore it is my duty to maintain this attitude of the United Arab Republic delegation, and to repeat what I said at first, a token payment means a token membership. Therefore, I hope that the General Conference will reject the decision taken by the Administrative Commission.

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
As no further delegates have put down their names to speak before the vote is taken, the discussion is closed.
25.2 Since two delegates have requested that the vote you are about to cast be by roll-call, which is in order, this procedure will be adopted.
25.3 I would remind you that you have to vote on a draft resolution which I shall read out again:
"The General Conference,
Considering the provisions of Article IV, 8 (b) and (c) of the Constitution,
Decides to permit the delegation of China to vote during the tenth session of the General Conference."
25.4 Those in favour of adopting this resolution should answer "yes" when the name of the country they represent is called out; those against the resolution should answer "no".

26. (The vote was taken by roll-call:
Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Nicaragua, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.
Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Cambodia, Canada, Denmark, Ethiopia, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Pakistan, Sudan, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Kingdom.
Absent: Haiti, Nepal, Saudi Arabia).

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The result of the vote is as follows: 42 in favour, 22 against, 11 abstentions, and 3 delegations absent. Accordingly, the draft resolution is adopted and the delegation of China is accorded the right to vote.
27.2 I must announce that the representative of the Polish delegation, Mr. Zulawski, has asked to speak after the vote. I therefore call upon him.

28.1 Mr. ZULAWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I have asked to speak in order to explain the Polish vote.
28.2 The Polish delegation has, for reasons of principle, voted against the Administrative Commission's proposal as set forth in document 10 C/54.

For us it is quite inadmissible that the right to vote and take part in our discussions be accorded to a group of political bankrupts, in fact bankrupts plain and simple. We cannot be taken in by the pretence that this group, which represents nobody, can take the place of the true representatives of China, that is, of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The formal proof, the full avowal of these usurpers' bankruptcy is to be found in their letter, reproduced in document 10 C/51.

28.3 This letter in fact states quite plainly that the persons putting forward the request made therein cannot pay their statutory contribution, owing to circumstances beyond their control. This is a fact; the circumstances are indeed beyond their control, but these circumstances depend entirely on the will of the Chinese people. And it seems that the trying times through which these gentlemen are passing and to which they refer in this letter are by no means over. Accordingly, Mr. President, we feel that there is no good reason why we should continue this pretence of not looking the facts in the face. It was in view of the real facts that the Polish delegation cast a negative vote.

28.4 Lastly, Mr. President, we voted "no" for perfectly valid legal reasons, stated with the utmost clarity and fairness by the honourable delegates of India, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic and other countries, who voted against the adoption of the Administrative Commission's report.

29. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of China, who has asked to make a statement.

30.1 Mr. CHEN Hiong-Fei (China) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, after the vote which has just been taken, I should like, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, to thank the Conference for having been good enough to take account of the real circumstances which have made it impossible for us to discharge our financial obligations to the full, and especially for recognizing, at the same time, our effort to contribute our share towards meeting the Organization's needs.

30.2 Mr. President, the Chinese delegation has already stated on previous occasions that, conforming to the will and attitude of the Chinese people, it has no intention of countering attacks by further attacks. However, after hearing the latest remarks directed by the Soviet delegation against the Government and people of China, whom the Chinese delegation represents here, I should like, without undue acrimony, to say a few brief words in reply.

30.3 Once again, I should like to point out that the Chinese Government is a legal government - in fact, the only legal government issuing from the constitution which was freely adopted by all Chinese citizens. I would add that the Chinese people does not want the rulers who have been imposed upon it on the continent; they are puppet rulers, set up at Peking thanks to the action of a foreign power. The General Assembly of the United Nations has formally established this fact. According to incomplete statistics taken from the publications of the Peking puppet régime, 20 million of our compatriots have fallen victims to this régime, and another 25 million are in concentration camps. Our delegation has already reminded you that 80% of the former prisoners of war in Korea were adamant in their decision to return to free China, and that several million refugees have poured into Hong Kong and across every frontier of the iron curtain.

30.4 The delegation of the Soviet Union alluded to the Chinese people's desire for peace. It is a fact that the Chinese people are peace-loving. But with reference to the threats of world war mentioned by the Soviet delegation, I should merely like to point out that the half-million or so shells which have so far fallen on Quemoy are of Soviet origin.

30.5 Furthermore, I have repeatedly heard my Government referred to as the "Chiang Kai-shek clique". The Chinese delegation is none the less proud to represent the legal government of China in which the Kuomintang takes part, with President Chiang Kai-shek as our revered head. I should like to think of the Soviet delegation's being called the "Krushchev clique"; has it not represented the Stalin, Beria, Bulganin or some other clique? I will not refer to the speeches made by other delegations. I know full well - and you will agree - that they were obliged to perform the duty allotted to them.

31. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Babichuk, of the Ukrainian delegation.

32.1 Mr. BABICHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic voted against the proposal of the Administrative Commission to grant the Chiang Kai-shek group the right to vote, because it is firmly convinced that they have not represented and do not represent the great Chinese people, but represent only themselves; this fact is as clear as daylight. We voted against the Chiang Kai-shek group because their presence here and our granting them the right to vote are an insult to our Conference and greatly to the detriment of Unesco.

32.2 As for the statement just made by the Chiang Kai-shek representative to the effect that the head of the Soviet delegation, Mr. Kuznetsov, insulted the Chinese people in his speech, this is a gross misstatement, such as is common with the Chiang Kai-shek group ....

33. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Allow me to interrupt you. Gentlemen, I think you will all agree with me that our discussions should always be conducted in the greatest calm, without any delegation whatsoever uttering any word which might offend the sense of dignity of any one of us.

34. Mr. BABICHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

.... For those reasons, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic voted against granting the Chiang Kai-shek group the right to vote in the General Conference.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

35. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The general discussion will now be resumed, and I have the honour to call upon Mr. Calcagno, Head of the Argentine delegation.

36.1 Mr. CALCAGNO (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President, fellow delegates, after 45 years - many of them very long and hard - I have at last returned with feelings of deep emotion to dear France, this glorious country which I knew as a student and have loved ever since with unfailing devotion. Honoured by the Government of my country, I have returned to take part in this great Conference, held in these striking and indeed startling premises and attended by distinguished persons from all over the world. I bring you the message of Argentina, a zealous supporter of the ideals which Unesco must gradually achieve through the co-operation of all peoples and the concourse of all cultures.

36.2 Argentina, which six months ago returned to constitutional normality, wishes to make up for lost time by energetically and effectively taking its due share in the common task and collaborating resolutely in the great educational, scientific and cultural movement; and it is anxious that its aspirations in this respect should be matched by its achievements. Now that the exercise and benefits of freedom and democracy have been ensured for all its people, it is eager to assist in eliminating the differences between nations, the misunderstanding and the distrust, with a view to establishing peaceful and fruitful coexistence, so that men can get to know and learn to love each other.

36.3 Education, science and culture, conscientiously developed and loyally applied to the advancement of man and the promotion of human dignity, should be mighty agents in bringing about the new world for which mankind is laboriously striving.

36.4 It is fitting that I should dwell for a few minutes on our work in connexion with Unesco's programmes so as to supplement my Government's report contained in the volume of Reports of Member States, a copy of which has been distributed to the delegates present.

36.5 In the first place, it gives me particular pleasure to record an auspicious event which opens a new stage in Argentina's relations with Unesco: a National Commission for Unesco was set up on 16 October last. It includes the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Public Worship, the Ministers of Education and Justice, and leading members of their staffs; the Rectors of the eight national universities; the Presidents of the Academies; the heads of the country's most important scientific institutes and educational and technical bodies; and representatives of non-governmental institutions covering the main aspects of our educational, scientific and cultural life. Argentina has thus complied with the provisions of Article VII of Unesco's Constitution; and now that this fundamental step has been taken, the manifest desire in our country to co-operate in Unesco's work will be matched, in the new National Commission, with a national agency possessing the prestige and status necessary to satisfy that desire with authority and efficiency. In constructing the framework of the National Commission, account has been taken of the structure of Unesco itself, and its operations will thus be carried out by a General Assembly, an Executive Committee and a permanent Secretariat.

36.6 Also in this connexion, our Government duly appreciates the honour paid it at the Second Conference of National Commissions in the Western Hemisphere, held this year at San José de Costa Rica, in the recommendation that the Third Conference be held in Buenos Aires. We enthusiastically endorse this proposal, and remain at the disposal of Unesco's Regional Office in Havana, and the National Commissions of the Western Hemisphere, for the organization of the conference.

36.7 While I do not propose to overwhelm delegates with details of what has been done in Argentina to implement Unesco's programme during the two-year period 1957-1958, some of the achievements are worth placing in relief.

36.8 We have joined in the Associated Schools project designed to develop an insight into world problems and promote international understanding.

36.9 A First Meeting on Cultural Exchanges was held in Buenos Aires in September 1957, and a Round Table on Handicrafts, on the initiative of the Havana Office, in December of that year.

36.10 Three exhibitions of works of art supplied by Unesco were organized, and an Argentine Bibliographical Group was formed.

36.11 Apart from the fellowships for various Unesco programmes, we have received experts in vocational training, fundamental education in rural schools, mathematics and nuclear physics.

36.12 As regards international agreements, the ratification by Argentina of the Universal Copyright Convention, and the favourable findings of the ad hoc commission which is studying the question of our country's accession to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, deserve particular mention.

36.13 The International Documentation Centre in Buenos Aires, which was set up in accordance with the decision of the ninth session of the General Conference, met with difficulties in its organizational stage but was finally able to sign the agreement with Unesco on 17 June last - that is, after the change of Government in my country. Immediately after the creation of the National Commission, when it had barely begun work, a series of events occurred in connexion with the Centre which will enable the latter to engage in its tasks in the very near future. The Executive laid down the rules for its organization and allotted to it the share of 980,000 pesos stipulated in the agreement with Unesco as the Argentine contribution, contracts having been made with the auxiliary technical staff for its immediate entry into operation. Argentina and the neighbouring countries will find the Centre a valuable institution for the consultation of documents and publications, including those of Unesco, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, and the international non-governmental organizations.

36.14 Lastly, I think it is worth noting that Argentina is represented on the following committees set

up by Unesco: Intergovernmental Copyright Committee, Intergovernmental Advisory Committee on the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, Headquarters Committee, Advisory Committee on the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, and Advisory Committee for Arid Zone Research.

36.15 Argentina, in its desire to bring discussion to bear on the problems which Unesco is trying to solve, offers the freedom of its territory for the holding of congresses, seminars and symposia; and the above-mentioned Conference of National Commissions in the Western Hemisphere is a case in point. It also hopes to organize the next Latin-American Seminar on the Educational Function of Museums and, in collaboration with the Organization of American States, the Latin-American Educational Planning Seminar.

36.16 It is also our country's intention - turning to another field - to propose that a big inter-American theatre festival, featuring Latin-America companies and plays, be held in Argentina under the auspices of the International Theatre Institute and Unesco.

36.17 Among the activities deserving of the most cordial reception by the Argentine authorities are the Unesco youth projects, including that for the training of youth leaders, to which our country will give its fullest support in the form of special activities.

36.18 In addition, there are projects which are smaller in scale, on a par with the small folk who have to play a part in them, but which make an impressive contribution towards instilling, in the child mind, the concept of the brotherhood of man. In that connexion, Argentina proposes to promote the organization, in the extreme south of Latin America, of a schoolchildren's drawing competition and exhibition similar to that organized in Central America.

36.19 Fellow delegates, whenever Argentina is mentioned, many people in Europe and a number of countries elsewhere immediately think of our herds of cattle and our wheatlands, of the vast pampas and the dashing, freedom-loving gauchos in their traditional garb. But in addition to succulent steaks and fine wheat bread, to fertile lands and industrious men, it is necessary to note that Argentina occupies a prominent place as far as education, science and culture are concerned.

36.20 In the first-mentioned field, we had the great good fortune, in the Nineteenth century, to be gifted with a man of genius, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who devoted his life to promoting popular education. Since it is the people, in a democracy, that is sovereign, it was his principle that "We must educate the sovereign". It was he, in particular, who gave the impetus to the drive for popular education whose intensity and dynamism Argentina has maintained, through all vicissitudes, over the length and breadth of its vast territory and of that of its sister countries.

36.21 I shall give you a few statistical data concerning our educational position, in round figures: Totalling up our schools and colleges, whether national, provincial, municipal or private, we have, for a population of 20,000,000: 18,700 kindergartens and primary schools, with 2,800,000 children; 5,600 secondary, vocational, technical and special schools, with 278,000 pupils; 61,000 certificated primary school teachers; 66,000 secondary and special school teachers; and 8 universities with 79 faculties, 138,000 students and 4,700 professors and lecturers.

36.22 All this explains why Argentina has taken action, most keenly, in furtherance of the Major Project on Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. In March and April of this year, indeed, I had the opportunity, as representative of the Argentine Government, of participating in the Second Meeting of the Intergovernmental Advisory Committee which met in Panama City to advise the Director-General on the action to be taken with a view to implementing that project in 1959 and 1960. In fact, I served as rapporteur in presenting the Committee's conclusions. Naturally, therefore, I am a wholehearted supporter of this entire section of the programme.

36.23 This effort needs to be pursued until illiteracy and semi-illiteracy are eliminated in every single country of America and the ideal of educational equality - one of the noblest objectives of the universal campaign for human rights - is achieved. This ideal, which will become ever more firmly grounded, has as its aim the provision of equal educational facilities for all children, with no limitations other than those imposed by personal capacity - so that each one of them can follow its true vocation and develop its abilities without let or hindrance.

36.24 It is our hope that a large-scale, well-organized and well-equipped National Institute of Vocational Guidance will be established in our country, in addition to the existing centres.

36.25 So far, ladies and gentlemen, we have dealt with education and culture, leaving science to the concluding part of our statement. Why? Because, we consider, it is precisely in the field of science that Unesco can and should do superlative work in Latin America. Science has ceased to be a luxury article, and has become a prime necessity - which explains why the most advanced countries in the world are feverishly revising their directives, targets, plans and study programmes with a view to training more and better scientists as soon as possible.

36.26 I must therefore begin by referring to the project, in Unesco's programme of activities for 1959-1960, for the establishment of a Latin-American Regional Centre for Mathematics at the University of Buenos Aires, under Unesco's auspices. We are advocating the inclusion, among the Centre's permanent instructors, of Latin America's most distinguished mathematicians and of leading mathematicians from abroad. The Centre will receive Latin-American fellowship-holders; its task will be to perfect their knowledge of modern mathematics and teaching methods, and to guide these young people towards original research.

36.27 We consider, Mr. President, that assistance to science in Latin America must not, as hitherto, be given in a limited and piecemeal fashion. It is not my intention to analyse the entire Programme; I will merely say that this year, for example, only $2,000 was allotted for the symposium on Humid Tropical Research Problems at Quibdo, Colombia; $2,500 for a mathematics and physics teachers' refresher course at La Plata, Argentina, which I had the honour to attend; $1,500 for the mathematics course at Bogota; $1,500 for cosmic ray research,

at Bariloche; $500 for the meeting attended by Argentina, Uruguay and Chile to study the installation of an inter-American observatory; and $2,000 for the course which is to be given in Mexico on marine sciences, or for the course on pharmacology in El Salvador, which was not given. This is no way of solving the problem. Many of these activities are highly interesting, and in this connexion I would like to make special mention of the success scored by the recent three-months' monographical course on mathematics and quantum physics given by the great French mathematician Laurent Schwartz at the University of Buenos Aires. Nevertheless, we consider that this fragmentary and elementary aid lacks real significance and scope.

36.28 The scientists of our young America, including some of my own countrymen, have earned the distinction of becoming Nobel Prizewinners through selfless and fruitful work of universal benefit; like so many of our writers and artists, many of our men of science have now won world renown. Some of our research centres have attained so high a degree of maturity that their further development is imperative, while the men who serve them have acquired a level of skill which similarly calls for the perfecting of their instruments of work and an increase in their resources, so that both the men and the centres can function really effectively. Unesco assistance must accordingly assume a different form. It must help to give a definite impetus to scientific research.

36.29 While not belittling the benefits which part of the population of Latin America has received from Unesco, there is no denying that insufficient attention has been paid to major problems in our countries which, if not remedied, will get worse as time goes on.

36.30 It is impossible to present as an immediate maximum programme to Latin America, with its vast territory marked by a wide variety of geographical and ethnical characteristics, the solution of the problem of illiteracy through scrappy courses or the services of transient and not always effective experts, at a time when the advanced countries are recasting scientific research and coming forward with more and more inventions and discoveries to raise living standards to undreamed-of heights and resolve problems affecting the very destiny of man.

36.31 Serious thought will have to be given to the establishment of Permanent Centres for Pure and Applied Scientific Research, such as have been set up in Europe, so that our countries can obtain from Unesco the same effective and continued co-operation as has been vouchsafed to European scientists and governments for the achievement of their results.

36.32 At a time when all the great powers are offering the worthy spectacle of thousands and thousands of scientists and technicians working might and main to take off from the planet and conquer other worlds, the bulk of Latin America's population lives chained to the elementary tasks of sowing grain, raising cattle, growing coffee, sugar cane, cocoa or bananas, or mining copper and tin so as to provide raw materials - receiving, in exchange, help towards a slight reduction in its rate of illiteracy.

36.33 There can be no toleration of the policy of those who wish to see the countries producing primary products reduced to this state of subordination to the consumer countries, instead of asserting their independence through progressive industrialization and the training of individuals capable of organizing and directing the economic and social transformation of the countries of the New World.

36.34 Mr. President and fellow delegates, it irks us to hear the pejorative term "underdeveloped countries". It is our desire that all the peoples of America, like all the peoples of the world, should be included, by loyal and effective co-operation, in the comity of civilized nations. We men and women of America are eager to play, so far as we can an effective part in the mighty scientific and cultural work of the modern world - care being taken, at the same time, to ensure for our peoples, as for all others, the advancement of democratic institutions and respect for human dignity.

36.35 Unesco is the great international organization which can and should do most to help translate these ideals into reality.

37. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of Argentina, and I now call upon Mr. Beeby, the delegate of New Zealand.

38.1 Mr. BEEBY (New Zealand):

Mr. President and colleagues, it is impossible to make a speech on this occasion without some reference, however brief, to this austere and lovely building in which we meet. Others have spoken more eloquently than I can of its beauties and of the generosity and vision of the Government of France that made it possible, and, as one who has been privileged to work with Unesco for twelve years, I must admit personally to some sentimental regrets for the old Hotel Majestic with its shabby grandeur and its quite absurd bathrooms converted into offices. But for those of us who have known the Organization from the beginning, the real significance of this new building is as a concrete symbol of our faith in an idea, an idea that some of you dreamed up in the dark days of war and that we embodied in the Constitution, here in Paris, in 1946.

38.2 In all our countries, I think, some people have in the past scoffed at Unesco because it dealt only with ideas. The other Specialized Agencies could offer the world health or food or money; but in the early days, before the growth of technical assistance and its programmes, we had only ideas to give and to exchange, and ideas were regarded by many people as not worth the money we spent on them. I have a feeling that the climate of public opinion throughout the world is changing. We can, I suppose, still dispute whether wars do or do not begin in the minds of men, but it has become abundantly clear that the threat of war now comes not so much from territorial ambitions or the search for markets as from deep cleavages in the world of ideas. Even the man-in-the-street in all our countries is becoming aware that ideas can separate people more completely than can mountains and that ideas can link them though the oceans lie between. Unesco is becoming increasingly important just because it does deal in ideas. Men may dislike Unesco, some may even consider it a menace, a potential medium for sectional propaganda, but no one can ever again afford to ignore Unesco. This building is the sign and symbol of the change that has occurred; it stands as a

permanent evidence of our faith in the supremacy of ideas.

38.3 At this Conference we shall, quite properly, be devoting some of our time and energies to the evaluation of Unesco's work. We shall be considering in the Programme Commission that excellent little document, 10 C/10, with its appraisal of Unesco's achievements and, I am glad to say, its honest inclusion of some of Unesco's failures. That in itself is a sign of maturity; at this stage of the Organization's growth, frank acknowledgement of failures is nearly as significant as the achievement of successes. We shall doubtless discuss at length the results of Unesco's work in technical assistance, of its programme of Participation in Member States's activities, of its meetings of scholars and scientists and artists. These are obvious fields in which Unesco has had effects that we must evaluate. But I miss in this little document any reference to a deeper and more subtle achievement of Unesco - its effects upon those of us who have served the Organization through the years, as delegates, as members of the Secretariat, as critics and advisers. Whatever little we have been able to do for Unesco it has repaid a hundredfold.

38.4 The ones, I suppose, who have gained most are those of us who come from small and distant countries, whose lives, thirteen or fourteen years ago, were very largely bounded by our national borders. To us Unesco has opened up new windows on the world, has given a new vision of the unity of mankind at the same time that it has revealed man's abounding and vigorous diversity. For that we can never adequately express our personal gratitude. When we are weighing Unesco's successes and failures we must throw onto the scales its achievements in educating the world's educators. I recall, for instance, that 25 years ago I used to lecture at the University on comparative education, and indeed considered myself something of an authority on it. Yet never once in my lectures did I mention the one overwhelming fact in comparative education: that more than half the world's population was utterly without education. It had just not sunk into my consciousness, but Unesco has changed all that. The fact that the world's ignorance now lies heavily on the conscience of the nations is due to Unesco, and almost to Unesco alone.

38.5 In assessing the achievements of our first twelve years, we should remember too the skills developed by the Secretariat in facilitating the meeting of minds across the barriers of language and custom; in running, for example, a Conference such as this. I have the most vivid memories of the friendly confusion of some of our earliest conferences, where only passionate belief and good humour saved us from our own ignorance of how such a conference should be run. The skills that have been learnt in the techniques of international co-operation should not be forgotten in our appraisals. At the risk of causing them grave embarrassment, I would mention as an example the skill of our interpreters in conveying ideas from mind to mind.

38.6 Mr. President, since you have been generous enough to appoint me Chairman of the Programme Commission, it would be wise for me to refrain from comment on the programme here. There are one or two things, however, that the New Zealand Government and the New Zealand National Commission would expect me to say on their behalf. The first is to express our appreciation of the great improvement over the past few years in both the form and content of the programme. On one part of that programme I can speak with more authority than most of you. Nine years ago, as a member of the Secretariat, I was responsible for the Programme of the Education Department, and I can assure you - even with some little regret - that it is infinitely better now than it was when I was responsible for it. The same thing can be said, in greater or lesser degree, of all the programmes of Unesco, and my National Commission has charged me with the pleasant task of congratulating the Director-General and the Executive Board on the great improvement to the programme over the past years.

38.7 The other thing that my Government and my National Commission would wish me to do, is to express their very deep interest in the East-West Major Project. We in New Zealand are, with our colleagues in Australia, in a unique position. We are an offshoot of the West that is, geographically, to the East of the East. To come here to the West, we New Zealanders have travelled through the East. What is to you Europeans the Far East is to us the Near North. So for us it is more important than for almost anyone else to understand the East, and to be understood by the East. We have, and always shall have, ties of blood and affection with Europe and particularly with the United Kingdom; and until the Second World War our relations and our interests were determined very largely by our history and relatively little by our geographical position. We now realize as never before that, without loosening our ties with our European homeland, we must know more of our neighbours in South and South East Asia and in the Pacific.

38.8 We realize too that the relations between us and the countries of Asia must be built on something warmer and more personal than just trade, on something more reciprocal than just technical assistance. It is not enough that, under the Colombo Plan, we can give some assistance to our economically less fortunate neighbours, though we are, of course, happy to give it. We have not only something to give; we have a great deal to learn from Asia. On my way to Paris I was privileged to spend a week in Indonesia as the guest of the Government, and I came away not only deeply impressed by their contribution to world culture but profoundly humble at my own ignorance of it. Many of us had the same experience two years ago in India and in Burma and in other countries, and we of the New Zealand delegation are determined that our children shall know more of the cultural riches of the lands to our North than we have done.

38.9 I do not wish to champion here, Mr. President, my delegation's draft resolutions that are better discussed in the working parties, but, merely as an example of New Zealand's anxiety to know more of its neighbours in South and South East Asia and in the Pacific, I would mention our desire to hold in our country a Unesco seminar on the use of school texts and school publications generally, to increase our children's understanding of the cultures of the East.

38.10 Mr. President, in sheer point of time,

New Zealand was the second country in the world to ratify the Constitution of Unesco - the United Kingdom, I think, beat us to the post - and I trust it is no longer necessary for us to affirm in words our abiding faith in the purposes for which the Organization was created.

But I should like to tell you that we see in Unesco, now, possibilities that we never dreamed of when we signed that Constitution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

10 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Atanase JOJA (Rumania)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of France, Mexico, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, Uruguay, Brazil, Austria and Panama 167

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, we shall continue our discussion of the general report. I call upon Mr. Roger Seydoux, delegate of France.

2.1 Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (Translation from the French):

The programme of this General Conference is well under way - the work of the Commissions is going ahead rapidly and the number of plans and suggestions increases. There is no lack of ideas; and we all hope, I am sure, that the bold and shapely lines of our new home will inspire us with the enthusiasm and clearness of vision which have characterized the interesting speeches of the last few days. In a moment I shall turn to some of the ideas which have been expressed, but first I wish to say now how much the French delegation appreciates your tributes to the material and spiritual welcome which Paris and France have been so happy to extend to Unesco. In the name of the French Government, I beg you to accept my heartfelt thanks. At the same time, I should like to pay a tribute to the Director-General and his colleagues, whose preparations for this Conference, at a time when they faced the difficulties of moving, have put the crowning touch upon the valuable work they do for us - that of helping our Organization to flourish and expand.

2.2 When I, for my part, contemplate the problems that confront the Organization, I look at the situation in relation both to Unesco's general orientation and to the concrete activities it promotes. I shall take as my starting point two facts: this General Conference is the tenth since that which met in Paris in 1946; Unesco has now been in active existence for twelve years; this period of twelve years has coincided with an extraordinary development in science and technology throughout the world. After the age of the great discoveries of theoretical science, we have now entered the period of their application in every field of human activity. In the same period, the world has seen political changes, as the result of which many new countries have joined the family of nations; and Unesco, as was fitting, has welcomed them. In these twelve years, unfortunately, the world's political difficulties have grown more acute, and countries whose true fulfilment lies in co-operation have moved further away from each other. The movement towards unity, the way of science and technology and, to a great extent, of culture, is obstructed by these cleavages - one might almost say by these political ruptures.

2.3 It therefore seems a suitable moment at which to draw up a balance-sheet of our activities, or rather to ask ourselves a number of questions, which I will here reduce to one: has Unesco been faithful to its mission, both in its own activities and in those of its members?

2.4 To begin with, we can all agree that our Organization has constantly endeavoured to follow and in some cases to promote this development of science and technology, to adapt itself to political change and to try to reduce the causes of tension. As proof I need only mention some of Unesco's big tasks - firstly, the assistance given to scientific research for the improvement of living conditions, and the international training of specialists; secondly, the free flow of information, the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, and the study and reduction of racial, social and international tensions.

2.5 At the same time, Unesco has persevered in its basic, permanent task - to extend and improve education, to fight against illiteracy and to carry out a Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America.

2.6 It would be untrue to say that Unesco's work has been equally successful in all these fields. Unfortunately, its means are limited - temporarily, we hope - and its tasks too various. It often obtains good results of which little is known, probably because it does not make sufficient use of the great media of mass communication. What emerges from the remarkable work done in appraising the Unesco programmes for the Economic and Social Council -

and this is also the view of the French delegation - is that Unesco's action is most effective in the field of exchange of persons (international meetings and missions of experts) and in the training of these experts, who in their turn are qualified to communicate to others the teaching they have received. The work done in documentation, especially through surveys of world-wide scope, has also had remarkable results, which Unesco alone could achieve. On the other hand, it is our opinion that, with brilliant exceptions we all know of, the original studies in various fields which Unesco has sponsored are not always so valuable. Research follows its own course in each country, according to the methods and the mental habits peculiar to that country; and it may invite failure to open up fields of study where the ground has not been prepared - or has been ill-prepared - by the intellectual conditions of the country.

2.7 To sum up, Unesco now has the advantage of a certain stock of experience, and should, as other delegations have suggested, reconsider and redefine its programme of work, and plan it more systematically and for a longer period ahead.

2.8 Our Organization ought, I think to try to develop its activities essentially along three lines; it should strive to remove more and more of the obstacles to the free flow of ideas, international understanding and intellectual advancement - a humble task, indeed a thankless one, yet one which Unesco alone can perform and which must be tenaciously pursued; it should be an example and a forerunner in great educational, cultural or scientific experiments, such as studies relating to arid zones or the Conference on radio-isotopes, and every activity which promotes the development of research in all the sciences; it should, as the Head of the delegation of the United States of America so aptly remarked, play the part of a catalyser of new projects which, once conceived, could be put into action independently of Unesco and to some extent exist of themselves. Examples are the International Centre for Higher Education in Journalism, which will soon have a parallel body in Latin America, the European Organization for Nuclear Research, the establishment of which is due to Unesco, and the International Computation Centre in Rome.

2.9 Such are Unesco's tasks, and they are big ones. Unfortunately they are not the only ones - there are many others equally necessary, with which our Organization might be entrusted.

2.10 But how are these to be carried out? It can be done if we admit that Unesco is not the only Organization that can accomplish Unesco's tasks.

2.11 It has often been pointed out that our Organization is not merely a Secretariat in Paris. Its life and growth are only possible if its own work is carried on by the Member States, which should draw constant inspiration from its principles and example, either through the activities of their National Commissions or through their bilateral and multilateral relations with other Member States.

2.12 The National Commissions, which are amongst Unesco's most original innovations, have made increasing efforts in many countries to make the spirit of the Organization part of the intellectual life of our Member States. Taking the one I know best - the French Commission - I shall call your attention to the results obtained by the technical seminars and regional conferences it has organized, in particular the two regional conferences to examine school curricula and the relation between television and national culture. Unesco has informed us of the remarkable success of the seminars held in Rio de Janeiro on art teaching and in Warsaw on public opinion. During the past year the French Commission has been showing throughout France the travelling exhibition of Indian frescoes, which has had a marked success and attracted large numbers of people.

2.13 This activity, moreover, does not take place only within each State - direct links have been forged between the National Commissions of two or more countries, apart from the relations maintained by governments. In a few days, for example, the Pierre and Marie Curie travelling exhibition will be opened in Paris and Warsaw simultaneously. In the field of fundamental education, the Moroccan and French Commissions have worked together. Our Commission maintains close contact with those of neighbouring countries, especially the United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany.

2.14 I should also like to say how much we value the work of the non-governmental organizations which, like the National Commissions, always show great efficiency in extending and furthering the work of Unesco, although their activities are more specialized and have world scope, or cover large groups of countries.

2.15 It can, however, be affirmed with certainty that the States themselves, in their multilateral or bilateral relations, have the greatest responsibility for the implementation of Unesco's principles. On this point there will be questions and objections. Are the States doing their utmost to harmonize these activities, especially when they are bilateral ones, with Unesco's principles, with the international spirit and with respect for equality between countries and cultures? Does the constant increase in technical co-operation ensure the pre-eminence of spiritual values? And do the States realize that their cultural policy must aim at diminishing real inequalities between countries, and so ensuring peace, rather than merely making possible an increase of influence?

2.16 We are bound, indeed, to ask ourselves these questions and to try to answer them in the spirit of Unesco itself, without complacency and with enmity towards none.

2.17 It is evident that in cultural and technical matters as in the political and economic sphere, bilateral contacts are often the first stage towards wider relationships - first, both chronologically and logically speaking. They form a network of contacts which grows ever more dense and which, after some time, inevitably results in the conclusion of more widely-based agreements and the creation of many and varied forms of mutual exchange. Scientific specialization, which can only advance in one branch by reliance upon results obtained in some other branch, necessitates these multiple relations. It is surely unnecessary for me to add that an agreement for the organization of an exhibition of paintings, for example, between even two States is unthinkable except against an international background. Is not the Ecole de Paris as it were a more highly-coloured, and beautified Unesco?

2.18 However, the question whether bilateral policies preserve equality between countries and cultures, whether, in the people's interest, they encourage their

intellectual and moral advancement, must be answered with care and discrimination. It is true that such relations between governments cannot be completely disinterested; that is the truth, and it is of no use concealing it. I do not think, however, that this is the essential point. In the last analysis cultural or technical agreements are useful and fulfil Unesco's aims, providing that the advantage is two-sided and mutual, and that the countries which are receiving assistance by the supply of teaching materials or by the training of experts asked for such assistance in the first place. It is essential that the only - or the main - object of these undertakings should not be propaganda or political exploitation.

2.19 Yet the governments themselves must be aware that if the ground is not prepared for technical development or scientific progress, social or moral imbalances may result which will militate against the desired result. In this sphere, Unesco's advice and documentation should be able to help governments to avoid many mistakes.

2.20 The question of the reconciliation of culture and technical co-operation is one which is of immediate interest to us, since there is in France a service which deals with these two types of activity. Is it not true that Unesco itself was founded on the idea that there is a direct link between education, cultural development and the standard of living? That was its most original feature in 1945, and today it is still almost the reason for its existence. Both Marxist and liberal writers could be quoted in support of this... And is not science itself closely linked with applied science - with technology? This was the subject chosen by the Round Table of Nobel Prize winners, organized in Paris for a few days ahead by the French National Commission.

2.21 It therefore seems to me to be the duty of Unesco to lay the foundations of what we must call a new, technological humanism, which can only come into being when all mankind has attained and assimilated a certain degree of technological progress; for in our day civilization, which Saint-Exupéry called "le patrimoine des grandes patries humaines", is inconceivable apart from technical progress. In working to bring this progress within the reach of all, the States are, I think, in line with Unesco. And I may add that technical co-operation between France and many other countries, especially those that have just taken their place at France's side and those that have now gained their independence, is directed towards making real improvements in the standard of living, which are bound up very closely with cultural development. That co-operation, too, is politically disinterested, to a degree that sometimes reflects credit on both parties.

2.22 We may therefore conclude that exchanges between States are not opposed to the spirit of Unesco. This brings us to another question, a practical one - how is a lasting bond to be established between the two?

2.23 Would it not be possible, for example, to make Unesco a Study Bureau for countries which wish to obtain advice as to their bilateral relations? This would not require the creation of new posts or new budget appropriations. All that need be done is to ask the Director-General and his chief colleagues, who are now well informed about the state of world cultural and technical relations, to take advantage of their travels and their everyday contacts to create the psychological and diplomatic climate for this new and, it seems to me, very important activity. It goes without saying that this assistance could not in any way be forced upon States which had not requested it. But it would be generously and freely granted to those which did. So, little by little, the bilateral relations between States in the cultural and technical fields would tend more and more not only to embody Unesco's ideal - which is often the case - but to include in their programme of activities resolutions which, though generous, have been hitherto limited in their scope because they have not been part of the positive activity of States themselves.

2.24 So, without further expense or structural change, by giving advice when needed and by using its vast store of all too unfamiliar documents, Unesco could not only facilitate the conclusion of bilateral agreements but also, by inspiring them, could introduce into inter-State relations the fundamental principles on which its Constitution rests.

2.25 In the last analysis, whatever method is used, whatever the system of liaison or co-ordination between Unesco and the Member States, measures for increasing cultural contacts and technical co-operation have but one aim - to preserve peace, which, as the President of this Conference said the other day, would be "indestructible" when it was "prepared for in the heart of each of us". The practical object of all this activity is, in fact, to reduce existing inequalities between the different countries and regions of the world - inequalities which are the deep-seated cause of all tensions. This is the bounden duty of those countries which have the means at their disposal; and those which, for one reason or another, are behind on the road to progress might justly reproach them if they did not profit by such efforts.

2.26 This is all the more true because, in a world which is perhaps more divided than it has ever been, such inequalities, if continued, are a daily growing threat to peace. The existence of our Organization, with the neutral ground it offers for meetings and exchange of ideas, provides the world with an opportunity which we cannot allow it to miss. Some of the speeches we have heard at this session might suggest that Unesco is less and less remote from the political tensions which divide the world. It is unhappily true that our Organization cannot ignore these differences; and we must admit that their repercussions can be felt to some extent in its functioning and even in its activities. But the mandate entrusted to us by so many nations is so compelling that we should be failing seriously in our mission if we did not take all possible steps to preserve in this building an atmosphere of mutual agreement and understanding.

2.27 As the delegate of France, but also as one of those who were present at the foundation of Unesco, I wish to make an urgent appeal to all those here who are representing their country. We know that there are problems which it is especially difficult to solve here, and that there are others of profound importance to the existence and future of our Organization, about which we have in the long run to reach agreement. This is a matter which calls for goodwill, patience and method. Some questions can be answered quite quickly. Others can be settled in turn, as circumstances permit.

2.28 The experience of recent years shows that it is possible for cultural relations to persist or to be established between countries with serious political differences. Would it not be a paradox if these relations could not continue and develop in an institution which was created for the very purpose of encouraging exchanges between peoples, however different their economic and social conditions may be? Institutions, like human beings, must above and before all strive to fulfil the mission entrusted to them. Our mission is of the most lofty nature - to contribute to the maintenance of world peace through education, science and culture. Let us try to respect the will of our founders who, in 1945, in London, battered centre of all hopes, voiced their faith so clearly and, by making a determined and tireless effort to bring all cultures together, let us promote understanding between men.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank Mr. Seydoux and now I call upon the delegate of Mexico, Mr. de Alba.

4.1 Mr. de ALBA (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I am delighted and honoured to speak after the eloquent address you have just heard from the representative of France. I feel under a certain obligation, and at the same time I am flattered, perhaps because some of the points which I shall make are of the very stuff of his most brilliant discourse.

4.2 We may say that in this magnificent Palace of Unesco we are in the Temple of Knowledge, and by that term we pay homage to various Eastern countries which speak of learning in a way that is both mystical and realistic. The representatives of the East are very much at home in Unesco, and receive the Organization's message as a gesture of hope for their future. This was made clear in President Radhakrishnan's inaugural speech. In it I perceived clearly both the feeling of his people and the essence of the Unesco programme, which aims at the union of East and West under the banner of peace and mutual understanding. The flags of the Member States which float in the breeze beneath the sky of Paris, in the grounds of the building are, as it were, symbols of the brotherhood of man and are regarded with respect because of what every country has contributed to the cause of world culture.

4.3 Here large States meet without arrogance and small ones without resentment; each one has carried out with goodwill the task that has fallen to it, and it sometimes happens that the achievement of some small State has shed its light across the centuries. This is true of the Far and Middle East, Egypt and Greece, where creeds were born and intellectual questionings have fed the streams of history and philosophy until our own day. This phenomenon can also be observed in Latin America, where the first victories of knowledge and the thirst for learning began with the Toltec Indians and the Mayas in the North and the Incas and Aymaras in the South.

4.4 Unesco's essential work - to emphasize the permanent values of culture - is the noblest task confronting a member of the great United Nations family. Unesco's be-all and end-all is to secure peace through learning and education; its programme and its aims imply the setting aside of political considerations, the defeat of all attempts to sow discord. In this Organization the main ideals are those of international collaboration, voiced in the cry for the brotherhood of man and the improvement of economic and social conditions. This was evidenced in the Philadelphia Declaration of 1944, the work of the International Labour Organisation, and in the Charter of Bogota, which re-established the Organization of American States on new and clearly defined lines.

4.5 The Philadelphia Declaration enshrines social and economic rights; it proclaims that poverty anywhere is a danger to the well-being of the whole world. The Charter of Bogota accepts these ideas and gives them the status of a binding international instrument. It also contains a section dealing with cultural rights, stating that it is the duty of the Member Governments of the Organization of American States to provide free and compulsory primary education and to make available facilities permitting all their citizens, without discrimination as to sex, race, religion or economic status, to have access to higher and vocational education.

4.6 Mexico has done all in its power to carry out these mandates punctiliously. In our country the primary education budget is constantly increasing, and our Ministry of Education is providing free secondary and technical education on an ever-wider scale. Higher education and vocational training, are provided and promoted in our universities, virtually without payment, for the fees are nominal and impose no burden upon the poorer classes.

4.7 In Mexico, fundamental and specialized education has been fostered among the native inhabitants and the peasants. In this department we collaborate with Unesco and the Organization of American States. We acknowledge with gratitude the opportunity we have had to co-operate in the work of CREFAL, a model institution of its type, and one which has brought great benefits to the whole of America. In our country there are also large-scale cultural missions for the peasants. We consider these to be one of the triumphs of the Mexican Revolution, through the great benefits they have brought to the rural population.

4.8 Art education occupies a prominent place in Mexico. Its characteristics derive from both the indigenous culture and Spanish culture; and we have seen new generations of painters, sculptors and architects arise who have earned respect throughout the world, as well as poets and musicians who have made their mark in world art.

4.9 We in Mexico have proved that cultural rights cannot be separated from economic rights, and that literacy campaigns would be useless without social reforms which made for improved standards of living, especially as regards health, housing and food.

4.10 In the Philadelphia Declaration of the International Labour Organisation it is stated that poverty in any part of the world is a threat to the prosperity of the whole world. Similarly, the Charter of Bogota declares that wealth and poverty should not exist side by side in our day. This is a concept which derives from the dictum of one of the founders of our independence, who, a century and a half ago, said that laws should be passed modifying both wealth and

poverty, increasing the poor man's wage, just as they should abolish ignorance and vice.

4.11 These lofty demands imply the establishment of a new social justice which shall be far-sighted and rational, and in which knowledge, wealth and culture shall be equitably distributed, both within each nation separately and in the international community, so that we may see the fulfilment of the aspirations of the post-war years, which are embodied so bravely in the Philadelphia Declaration, the Charter of Bogota and Unesco's Constitution.

4.12 This year, 1958, we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Charter of Bogota, which was the forerunner of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ratified in Paris at the end of 1948. The civil, political and cultural rights embodied in these instruments should inspire Unesco's work. Much remains to be done, for these rights are often violated; that is why we ask Unesco for sustained and untiring action. This Organization should, where possible, on its own initiative, boldly persevere in attacking the innumerable problems of our day, so that the beneficial results should accrue to Member States as the Unesco Constitution requires, thus doing honour to the trust that all the nations of the earth have placed in it.

4.13 Unesco's programme for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values is very well conceived. May we, in this Conference, find ways to understanding among all the nations of the earth, without distinction of religious belief, race or political creed. In Unesco Conferences we are under an obligation to encourage trust and goodwill, as aids to the reduction of international tension. If this is an Organization for peace and culture, there is no place in it for controversies, which should be aired and settled in the General Assembly or the Political Committee of the United Nations.

4.14 In various Assemblies of the United Nations, Mexico has made a strong appeal to the great powers to come to an understanding and settle their differences within the terms of the San Francisco Charter.

4.15 One of the great Unesco plans is the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. Mexico needs help in this field, and at the same time it can throw light on certain aspects as a result of its own experience.

4.16 We warmly applaud the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, which is also part of the Unesco programme, and we shall make every effort to collaborate in it.

4.17 Honour is due to the great thinkers, philosophers, statesmen, politicians and men of affairs of Latin America who dedicated their lives to education, writing classic works on public education and the economic and intellectual betterment of our peoples. In this field too, we receive much and we have much to give. In this list of the heroes of Latin American thought, Unesco will find material which could be used in compiling a memorial and a working programme for use throughout the world.

4.18 Thus, starting with Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Victorino Lastarria, José Enrique Rodó y Joaquín Nabuco in the south, and proceeding to Andrés Bello y Cecilio Acosta, Dr. Unanue y Rufino José Cuervo, Dr. Espejo, los Diaz de Medina in Bolivia, José Cecilio del Valle and Alberto Masferrer in Central America, José Martí, Enrique José Varona and Eugenio María de Ostos in the Caribbean Islands, we come to Mexico, where José María Luis Mora, Gabino Barreda, Justo Sierra and Antonio Caso bestowed upon their people the gifts of their intellect and the example of their lives. All this is a gold mine of wisdom from Latin America, which should be disseminated and recognized as a contribution made by our part of America to the culture and education of the world. We think it right and fitting that the names of these heroes and leaders of American thought should be heard in this hall where the tenth session of Unesco's General Conference is being held, and we hope that the ideals for which they fought in the universities, in books and newspapers will gain power and strength so that they may be known and put into practice everywhere.

4.19 Mexico has always kept in contact with international cultural organizations; it was represented on the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at the Palais Royal in Paris, which was the predecessor of Unesco; we took part in the Preparatory Commission of this Organization in London, and our country was the sixth Member State and the first Latin American country to join it; and we have always followed its development with the closest interest, appointing our best intellects to its service, whether as Director-General or as Permanent Delegates.

4.20 It pleases us to cite this record of the past because Unesco's ideal of peace and culture is deeply rooted in the hearts of our people. We share those ideals with all the members of this Assembly, and we are proud to pay homage to the glorious country of France which is our host, and which both provides us with inspiration and welcomes us as its guests. If culture is a form of universal fellow-feeling, it should thrive on mutual understanding with our fellows. With this thought in our minds we close, paraphrasing a famous remark of the great novelist, teacher and writer, Georges Duhamel, who years ago said that culture is to be found nowhere if it is not engendered in the hearts of men.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank Mr. de Alba, and I call upon the delegate of Sudan, Mr. Arbab.

6.1 Mr. ARBAB (Sudan):

Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join the other delegates who have preceded me to the floor, in expressing our gratitude for the charming hospitality and warm reception with which the French Government and the people of France have overwhelmed us. Moreover, I wish to say how delighted we are to be in this most pleasant building, so well situated in the heart of the beautiful French capital. I offer my Government's hearty congratulations to Unesco on being established here; I am sure this will mark the beginning of a new era in the progress of the Organization towards the attainment of its noble mission, and the realization of its ideals. I also seize this opportunity to give our welcome to the new Member States of Ghana and Malaya which have taken their seats as full Members of the Organization. The same welcome is also extended to Kuwait, Somaliland and the Federation of West Indies on their admission as Associate Members.

6.2 Mr. President, I speak on behalf of the Government of the Sudan and its people, who are looking forward to co-operation and help in all the fields of development which are the concern of Unesco. The Sudan, which lies in the heart of Africa, is one of the underdeveloped countries to which Unesco means the hope of raising their standards in education, science, and culture, in an attempt to catch up with the more advanced nations in these fields.

6.3 The relations of my country with Unesco date back a few years before its admission as a full Member State in 1956. It was in the field of fundamental education that we made our first contacts. The Sudan's need for fundamental education was felt long ago and, in 1944, it started experiments in this field on a small scale, relying on its own limited resources. In 1954, it approached Unesco for guidance and advice. In spite of the fact that it was not then a Member State, the Organization extended its assistance by sending an expert to help in establishing a visual aids production unit in the Ministry of Education.

6.4 Since 1956, a new phase in the history of our relations has begun. Our co-operation with Unesco has become closer and closer, and its field much wider. One of the main preoccupations of our Government was to give meaning to our newly-acquired independence by the development of education and culture. Schemes were launched for expansion in every field and Unesco's aid was sought. In the last year alone, assistance was obtained in connexion with fundamental education, audio-visual aids, workers' education, home economics for girls' schools, school statistics, educational planning and museums. Fellowships and study grants for training Sudanese have been obtained in all these fields and in arid zone research. The country participated in eleven conferences and seminars, and useful staff visits have been exchanged between our country and the Organization. The visit paid by the Director-General and the President of the Executive Board to Khartoum, early this year, was very much appreciated.

6.5 Referring to the valuable documents produced by the Director-General on the activities of the Organization, it is satisfying to note the great accomplishments in the various fields. The honourable speakers who took the floor before me seem to differ in opinion about the Major Projects. It is the opinion of my delegation that the Major Projects were well thought out and carefully planned and we would have liked them to be extended. In this connexion, I would like to refer to the 1959-1960 programme and budget, and to note with great satisfaction the proposal for a new Major Project for Secondary and Technical Education in Africa - a vast continent which had hitherto received comparatively little attention in spite of the great importance and urgency of its problems.

6.6 Moreover, I was particularly concerned with the section of the Director-General's report dealing with the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. My country, a million square miles in area, more than half of which is either arid or semi-arid, provides a great field for research in this line. Investigations conducted by the experts of the Sudan Government show that the gradual encroachment of the desert is threatening productive stretches of land. Archaeological excavations on sites adjacent to the Nile have revealed that a layer of sand 50 centimetres thick has gradually buried areas which were formerly cultivable. To combat the invasion of the desert seems to present a challenge for us and for Unesco. We have every hope that, with the full support of Unesco and other international organizations, we shall be successful in our fight against this danger.

6.7 Mr. President, I have already mentioned that I represent an underdeveloped country. I feel it is my duty, therefore, to bring the attention of the Conference to the fact that the priorities assigned to the Projects of the programme do not meet the needs of the group of countries to which I belong. This group will be gradually increasing in number in the next few years, since every prospective Member of this Organization will be related to it. So far, the main emphasis in Unesco's programme has been on the co-operation between nations in education, science and culture; technical assistance has assumed a secondary position. This may be acceptable from the point of view of the highly developed countries; but the purposes of countries like mine would be better served by greater stress on technical assistance. Moreover, it should not be assumed that such countries will be less willing to play their rôle in co-operation between the nations of the world for the promotion of science, education and culture. If I may repeat the very wise words of the distinguished delegate of the Federation of the West Indies "those Member States will come forward as proud nations, ready to give as well as to take". Nevertheless, they will expect the programme to be more and more adapted to their needs.

6.8 The second point on which I look forward to a change of emphasis is the place of mass communication in the programme. It is the honest belief of the Sudan delegation that the most important mission of the programme is to advance the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples. In a sense, this signifies the contribution of such nations as ours in the East-West Project. We feel that it is the mission of this Organization to show to the world at large that, although the underdeveloped countries are lagging behind in the technical and economic fields, they may not necessarily do so in the field of culture.

6.9 We expect Unesco to give greater attention, time and funds to the production of materials to promote the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples. More books and periodicals should be published giving true accounts with sympathetic understanding of the peoples of different countries, so as to counteract the influence of travel books written by people who have taken a subjective point of view. This I feel will be the new mission of the Mass Communication programme, in which the underdeveloped countries will actively co-operate.

6.10 I have already enumerated the fields in which co-operation has been achieved between my country and the Organization in the short period which has followed our admission to membership. It now remains to examine the near future to see what will be the most important needs in the few years to come.

6.11 First, fundamental education continues to be a primary need for the Sudan and, I believe, for many other similar countries. Efforts in this field have a fairly long history, but the service has not expanded as we should have wished; for, among other handicaps,

the lack of trained workers has been a very real one. We therefore propose to establish a national training centre for workers in the fields of education, health, agriculture, social welfare, co-operatives, child and women's welfare. My country also avails itself of the facilities provided at the Arab States Fundamental Education Centre. It is now felt that the increasing needs for such services in African countries has reached a stage where a regional centre for Africa, on the lines of ASFEC and CREFAL, would be justified.

6.12 Secondly, the country has already obtained Unesco support for the establishment of a Culture Hall and Public Library in Khartoum and a consultative architect has been sent to help in designing the buildings. The purpose of this project is to provide, at a point where Africa and the Middle East meet, an institution which would help to promote the interchange of culture from Africa in the South, the Middle East and Asia in the North, and from Europe in the West. We feel that such an establishment may, in the near future, make a valuable contribution to the East-West Major Project by bringing African culture into the picture. The cost of this Project will be enormous. The Sudan Government will do all it can towards its financing, but it hopes to receive help from interested international organizations.

6.13 Thirdly, the Sudan has a rich historical heritage and it has started to pay great attention to archaeological research and excavations. In an effort to preserve its antiquities, the Sudan Ministry of Education has already prepared a modern plan for a new museum, in which an architect supplied by Unesco took part. The buildings and accessories will cost about 200,000 Sudanese pounds. It is hoped that Unesco will contribute to the extent permitted under its regulations.

6.14 Lastly, library services have assumed increasing importance. The country plans to extend these; although lack of trained staff has thus far made it impossible. Recently the University of Khartoum Library has begun to train librarians, but it has been found that local efforts are not enough, and Unesco has been approached for assistance.

6.15 Having outlined the problems facing us as a young nation, I feel it is my duty to express my thanks to the Director-General, the Secretariat, and the Executive Board for the noble services they have rendered to the Member States. I should like, in conclusion, to assure you that we will do our best to co-operate with Unesco to help achieve its objectives and ideals.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of Sudan for his speech and call upon Dr. Messadi, representative of Tunisia.

8.1 Mr. MESSADI (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, two years ago Tunisia, which had but shortly before become independent, had the satisfaction of taking its place for the first time as a Member of the Organization, at the ninth session of the Unesco General Conference. We knew that the honour we had sought and the dignity accorded us were not a gift, and had neither meaning nor value unless they were, with equal ardour, made part of our conscience and our lives.

8.2 For this reason my country has in the last two years striven to participate as fully as possible in Unesco's common task, although it was then emerging from a hard struggle for political freedom - a struggle nevertheless well calculated to develop the national character.

8.3 The very reason why we are met together today is to draw up a balance-sheet of what has so far been done and what remains to do, and to make a critical examination of the projects proposed, the resources deployed and the methods adopted.

8.4 Before my delegation states its position in regard to these various matters, I hope we may be allowed to give the main points on which our attitude is based.

8.5 Many peoples which, like mine, have but recently won their independence and are now reborn, view Unesco, not as some international benevolent institution but as a fireside of human fellowship, whose power to radiate spiritual warmth and light is perhaps its primal function.

8.6 It is true that the work of promoting education, science and culture, which is being patiently performed throughout the world, owes much to Unesco's help. Yet it is primarily by the efforts of each Member State that the universal fabric is rising, stone by stone.

8.7 My delegation wishes to illustrate its conception of this aspect of Unesco's work by a brief description of the work done by Tunisia in the fields of education and scholastic development since it gained its independence.

8.8 In the last two years my country has constantly intensified its efforts to promote education and culture, although it has had to face the many tremendous problems which the acquisition of liberty brings to underdeveloped countries. Heavy calls have been made upon our budget by the urgent need for investment and economic equipment; yet the amount set aside for education and teaching has been increased: this year it is nearly 17% - or about one-sixth - of the national budget.

8.9 Our achievements in the extension of primary education may be judged from the following figures: in October 1955, out of a total of approximately 800,000 children of school age, only about 250,000 attended primary schools; when the schools resumed work this year, according to provisional statistics, the figure was about 350,000. According to our plans, in less than ten years we shall have complete school attendance throughout the country.

8.10 On the secondary level, the network of schools and colleges is developing steadily, and is being extended to reach small provincial towns where in the past there were no such establishments. Here again, the school population is growing steadily.

8.11 The same can be said of technical and vocational training institutions. Further, in the last two years three higher educational training institutions have been opened: an advanced teachers' training school, to train teachers for secondary schools; a Centre of Economic Studies; and an advanced Law School.

8.12 The Institut des Hautes Etudes is an older institution which, under the patronage of the University of Paris, gives instruction in various branches of advanced science. These new institutions, together

with the Institut des Hautes Etudes, provide the nucleus of a Tunisian University, plans for which are already well advanced.

8.13 These, however, are not the only ways in which my Government is working in harmony with the principles and aims of Unesco. A recent educational reform has just been carried through, and came into force on 1 October of this year. Its main purpose is to adapt education and teaching to the demands of the nation's evolution and the needs of the modern world and to remodel curricula so as to make them more effective, by judiciously reducing inessential work and building up the essential subjects - especially mathematics and sciences. One result of this radical change in the curricula has been to permit of a certain reduction in the length of school courses and of time spent in class, and this of itself has made it possible to extend the system to admit more children, while using the same school premises and the same amount of staff. But the most noteworthy result has been that our education is scientific and has a definite technical bias, so that it is at one with the modern world tendency towards an attitude increasingly governed by science and technology.

8.14 Finally - and this is the main point - it is because this reform expresses our determination to lift education out of the narrow limits of an oversensitive cultural nationalism that it has given Tunisian education a broad view of the rest of the world, of other civilizations and other cultures.

8.15 Through intensive teaching of foreign languages and literature and by broadening the scope of history and geography study, it is aiming at giving a direct comprehension, as part of education itself, of the close relationship between cultures, of the sense of historical continuity and of the evolution of the great facts of human civilization, as well as of the interdependence of economic and social phenomena in a world that is drawing ever closer together.

8.16 These are the efforts of a small country. You will, I hope, give them their due value as an example, and realize that they are representative of the efforts of many other peoples of goodwill, in Africa and Asia - people who live in the new countries commonly called "underdeveloped".

8.17 How could it be said that Unesco is not necessary to all these peoples who have set out on a wonderful adventure, and have cast in their lot unreservedly for mankind and culture? It is an instrument of stimulation and co-ordination, a meeting place for the discussion of experiences and ideas. Yet is it not first of all a certain refuge from egoism, isolation, discouragement and doubt?

8.18 In its ten years of existence, in spite of scepticism and criticism, Unesco has measured up to its great ideal, through its general and specialized activities, its technical assistance programmes and its Major Projects.

8.19 The aims of the Organization are of course many, and the work it undertakes immense. It must, however, be judged by its faithfulness to its ideal.

8.20 If we admit, as the Preamble to the Constitution states, that "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern", many of our Organization's activities are at once seen to be justified.

8.21 There, too, is justification for the technical assistance programme, which gives so many countries which are lacking in trained teachers the choice of invaluable assistance in the most varied departments of culture: fundamental education and the struggle against illiteracy, technical training, which is of great importance in countries which urgently need specialists, teacher training, university problems and the development of higher education. It is true that improvements could be made in the application of the technical assistance programme; but this is not the place to speak of them; my delegation will bring them to the attention of the competent commission. Is not the best evidence of the favour with which technical assistance is received to be found in the marked disproportion, which the Director-General stressed in his Report, between the requests received for programme activities and the credits voted by the Conference in its last session?

8.22 My delegation would like to make the following comments on the three Major Projects at present included in the programme:

8.23 In our opinion, the Project on primary education in Latin America should be, on the one hand, an initial experiment, the results of which should be made available to other Member States so that they may profit by them in working out their own programmes for the extension of primary education. It should also be the first of a series of activities which should be extended to take in other regions of the world in turn, especially Africa and Asia. No better illustration could be given of the universality of Unesco's ideal and activity.

8.24 We think it regrettable that under the proposed budget before us the credits allocated to the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands are, in our opinion, inadequate. We think this Major Project of paramount importance, for two reasons in particular: on the one hand, it is of obvious importance as pure research; on the other hand, it provides evidence that Unesco, like science itself, which it exists to serve, does not intend to settle down into academic abstraction or even an attitude of lofty detachment, which people would very justly take to be indifference towards their fate and towards the material conditions of their lives. Of what use would it be - indeed, would it even be possible - to try to satisfy the spiritual hunger of millions if science failed to lend its assistance to find ways of satisfying physical hunger also, in those parts of the world that are impoverished? Because of its care for learning as well as from its sense of human fellowship, Unesco would be all the greater for devoting more of its efforts to such work.

8.25 My country intends to make a large contribution to the execution of this Project. It will be the task of the Tunisian delegation to give a detailed report on this subject to the Programme Commission, stating what has been achieved in Tunisia in research and investigation directed towards the use of arid zones in desert regions and especially in the semi-desert regions or steppes which occur extensively in North Africa as in many other countries. All that I need say now is that the Tunisian Government has been glad to suggest to Unesco that the seminar planned for 1959 within the framework of this Project should take place in Tunisia.

8.26 I should also point out that the Tunisian National Commission for Unesco has already set up a special sub-committee to consider questions relating to the Major Project on Arid Lands, and that various technical organizations, in particular the Tunis Higher School of Agriculture, will assist in carrying out the Project.

8.27 We hope that the information we give will make it clear how desirable it is that the plan of setting up in Tunisia a special institute for research on arid zones and especially steppes, as was planned at the New Delhi session, should be carried out quickly.

8.28 I shall now turn to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. The Preamble to the Unesco Constitution states that "ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind" of suspicion, disagreement and war between the nations, that "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", that peace must be "founded ... upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind", and that to that end the nations must attain better mutual understanding and gain more accurate knowledge of each other's cultures. The Project in question is so manifestly in harmony with these principles and aims that my delegation is, to say the least, surprised that there have been differences of opinion expressed about it at this Conference. The terms "East" and "West" may be somewhat ambiguous; but that is because we have as yet paid insufficient attention, not to defining the a priori content of the terms - which would be wasted effort - but to exploring the very rich complexity of the different cultures grouped together under those terms, which are only used for convenience and do not refer to specific geographical areas. In any case, this is a dispute over words, and everybody will agree that the heart of the matter lies deeper.

8.29 My country wishes to express its agreement with the speakers who have referred to the need for projects such as this in order to promote the growth of "international consciousness" and "world civilization", which are still in gestation, and which are essential to the peace of the world.

8.30 Both geographically and historically, Tunisia conceives it to be its duty and privilege to further this great undertaking, since its position in the middle of the Mediterranean basin makes it a bridge between East and West, and throughout the centuries the intellectual currents of both East and West have passed through it. This is the basis of its culture and its policy today, as the events of everyday show. This subject, however, is dealt with in a report which our delegation recently presented to the last meeting of the Directors of National Cultural Relations Services. Conjointly with the National Commissions of the Arabic-speaking countries, who met to discuss this subject for the first time some months ago, at Fez, we are determined to continue to assist in the execution of this Project, and to do all in our power to ensure that the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values should go beyond arid literary studies, academic comparisons and learned research, and should become a passionate, untiring search for those elements of every authentic culture which can attune mankind to itself and to its destiny.

8.31 I now wish to define in a few words my delegation's views on another subject under discussion - the general orientation of Unesco's activities.

8.32 The criticism has been made that our Organization sometimes seems to put other activities before the assistance it is its duty to give to the promotion and dissemination of knowledge. No doubt it would be a mistake, even a fault, if Unesco lost sight of this objective, which is one of the highest and noblest aims of the United Nations. But there is another mistake, another fault, that must be avoided at all costs. At a time when the tempo of life is increasing so rapidly, as science progresses, the gap between the new, underdeveloped countries and the older countries is becoming wider. Unless we take care, there is a risk that in time it will accentuate those harmful inequalities which cause tension between nations.

8.33 It is, moreover, questionable whether man should consider it a reason for unqualified pride that by his knowledge he can reach heights greater than those attained by a Sputnik, while there are millions of human beings in the world who are illiterate and uncultured, denied the chance of fulfilling their human potentialities, which culture alone can give. If we believe that man, as a being with his own inherent dignity, is not an unfinished product of nature and life but the result of patient fashioning, an unending creation of himself by himself through culture, then we must admit that, if Unesco is not to fail in its essential mission, it must strive first of all to overcome illiteracy throughout the world and to spread culture amongst the largest groups of uneducated adults.

8.34 Assistance in maintaining and promoting knowledge is therefore one of Unesco's missions. The eradication of illiteracy and the provision of fundamental education for those who are uneducated are no doubt important aims, but by their nature, of limited duration. Only the strength and reality of international solidarity embodied in Unesco will determine how quickly these goals are attained and how soon Unesco can devote its efforts exclusively to the service of knowledge.

8.35 May I, in conclusion, express my gratitude to the Secretariat, the Director-General and the Executive Board for the remarkable work they have done since the last session of the Conference. If they also improve some of their working methods and, in conformity with the Executive Board's pertinent comments, cut down some of their operational expenses, which are certainly too heavy, they will have a still greater claim to the gratitude of all the United Nations.

8.36 Mr. President, there are the different aspects of the homage which the representatives of a country like mine owe to Unesco. What a happy symbol it is that for the performance of this work, for world-wide understanding and intellectual brotherhood, Unesco should have its Headquarters in Paris, where so many memories, so many products of art and imagination - even the very stones - proclaim the eternal value of the intellect. This cultural capital has provided for culture a palace worthy of its traditions and its genius, and our gratitude is unbounded.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French)

I thank the delegate of Tunisia and call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom, Sir Edward Boyle.

10.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I should like to say, first of all, how much I have valued the privilege of leading the British delegation to the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco. We in Britain are proud to have been associated with the work of Unesco from the beginning; and I bring you greetings from the British Minister of Education, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, who is sorry that his duties as a member of the Cabinet have prevented him from leading this delegation himself. There is just one other personal word that I should like to add, at the outset of my remarks. Those of you who have followed recent events in Britain will realize that it is a considerable relief to a member of the British Government to be able to speak on an international platform, without fear that he will be interrupted by the League of Empire Loyalists.

10.2 Unesco covers a wider field than any of the other Specialized Agencies, and I believe that, during the twelve years of its life, it has made greater progress than many would have thought possible, thanks in no small measure in recent years to the efforts of the present Director-General. The aims of Unesco are closely linked to one or two of the prime aims of all civilized communities. Man alone, of all living organisms, is able to know, to reason, and to understand; and it must always be an affront to the conscience of civilized people that the faculties and opportunities of so large a proportion of the human race should be stunted by poverty, by ignorance, and by disease. Now, Mr. Chairman, Britain has constantly been concerned in the endeavours which Unesco has made to concentrate its programme, and to devote its resources to a limited number of well-chosen projects. We are particularly glad to be associated with the three Major Projects, and also with the programme of Technical Assistance. I believe that our special knowledge and experience has been an asset to the Latin American campaign against illiteracy; British scientists have co-operated whole-heartedly in the Arid Zone Project; later in my remarks I shall be making special reference to the East-West Project. But precisely because Unesco covers so wide a field, there will always be a danger of its programme becoming too diffuse; and the Organization is surely acting wisely in not adding to its commitments on Major Projects at the present time.

10.3 A Conference of this kind forces us to take notice of some fundamental and highly disturbing facts concerning the contemporary world. Today, some 45 per cent of all persons over fifteen in the world are illiterate, and about half the world's population of children receive no formal schooling. What is more, I always feel that those of us who live in relatively prosperous countries can all too easily forget just how narrow and circumscribed are the lives of countless millions alive today. It was just the same in my own country, Great Britain, only a century or two ago. British people have always taken pride, and I think with some justice, in the peaceful Revolution of 1688; but our school history books do not always mention that at that time half the British population was living at the level of bare subsistence, or even a little below, and it was only in the following century that we in Britain learned how to feed a rising population. I might add that I believe a number of tragic mistakes, made since 1945 in centrally planned economies, might have been avoided, had the planners paid more attention to the fact that Britain went through an Agricultural Revolution before she embarked on an Industrial Revolution. Again, it is considerably less than a century since Britain first achieved compulsory primary education. This did not happen until 1876 - that is to say, within the lifetime of such distinguished living Englishmen as Lord Samuel, Bertrand Russell, and Sir Winston Churchill. No wonder Britain wants to play its full part in forwarding such Projects as the Arid Zone Project and the Latin American campaign against illiteracy. Because we know from our own history just how much scientific and educational progress can mean, over a relatively short span of history, in terms of greater happiness and opportunity for the ordinary man and woman.

10.4 There is another point which often occurs to me when I consider the history of scientific and educational progress in my own country. In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, scientific progress depended entirely on the inspired work of individuals. We all know, for instance, the story of Newton watching the fall of the apple and working out his theory of universal gravitation. Again, whether it was Newton or Leibniz who first discovered the differential calculus - and I am not going to embark on that controversy this afternoon - no one, I think doubts that it was one or the other. But even sixty years ago scientific progress had begun to depend on collaboration. I have always been interested in the elaborate experiment, carried out in the 1890's, whereby Michelson and Morley disproved the existence of an "ether". This experiment was carried out by means of a highly complicated and ingenious contrivance, which neither Michelson nor Morley could have achieved without the assistance of the other. But let us pass on to the present, and to the really stunning achievement of Zero Energy Thermo-Nuclear Assembly - what is often known as "Zeta". If one looks at the list of "the men who made Zeta", one finds that the two principal research teams - at Harwell and Aldermaston - numbered altogether twenty-six. In other words, scientific and technological progress has now come a matter of collaboration and team work at the highest level of human thought and ingenuity, where no man lives to himself.

10.5 The same is true, though at a lower level, of progress in education. One hundred years ago, in Britain, there was very little public expenditure on education, and progress depended almost entirely on the zeal and public spirit of a few individuals. But today, public authorities are spending in Britain more than 600 millions a year on education; and the credit for what I believe to be a rapid rate of educational progress, in Britain since the war, must be shared by a large number of people. For instance, many visitors from abroad consider that our new schools are among the most successful of our post-war buildings. Many of them are admirably designed for their purpose, and they have in fact been erected at very reasonable cost. This has been entirely the result of constant collaboration and exchange of information between all those who, in one capacity or another, share responsibility for school building.

10.6 Now when one sees what has been achieved in Britain alone through collaboration, one realizes how

essential it is that all unnecessary barriers should be lowered which impede the free interchange of information and ideas between one nation and another. There are of course some scientific secrets, as most of us recognize, which cannot yet be shared internationally. But the more the nations of the world can pool the fruits of their knowledge and of their practical experience, the greater will be the benefit to mankind as a whole.

10.7 There is just one other comment I should like to make regarding education. Surely the purpose of expanding education facilities is not merely to fight illiteracy, but also to enable the educated man or woman to enjoy a fuller life, to make him more capable of choosing and of discriminating in a world of conflicting ideals. I was especially glad to hear what the representative of India had to say in her remarkable speech about the effect of scientific and educational progress on the social position of women. I agreed warmly with her remarks, just as I agree for example with the distinguished West Indian economist, Professor Arthur Lewis, in his view that women tend to gain even more than men from a deliberate policy of economic growth. But do not let us forget than an improvement in the social and economic position of women raises certain other issues which, to say the least are not quite uncontroversial. One of the principal reasons for the increased divorce rate in Britain is the simple fact that more women today can, economically speaking, fend for themselves. And then again - and it really is no good shirking this one - as women become more educated, they will tend not to wish to spend so long a period of their lives bearing children. And I do think we must sooner or later recognize the connexion between some of the aims of Unesco and the highly controversial subject of attitudes to family size. The increasingly serious problem of population pressure in many parts of the world has implications, for social administration and for human well-being which we in Unesco must not dodge. And perhaps I might just add this; no one, either in my country or outside, usually regards the Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican Communion as a dangerously radical body, and surely, where the Lambeth Conference has led, the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations need not be too afraid to follow.

10.8 I pass on now to the cultural aims of Unesco; and here I should like to start, as it were, by eliminating two points of view: both of them, to my mind, mistaken. First, let us always remember that we attend Unesco as representatives of Member States, and that it is no part of our function to attempt to construct a sort of supra-national culture, a new world-wide humanism which is to replace all traditional loyalties. For my part I confess I have never been particularly fond of secular hymns in honour of the brotherhood of man. We must recognize that, however rapidly the world may grow both in wealth and in knowledge, it does not follow that people will necessarily value the same things, nor that, faced with similar problems, they will necessarily take the same decisions. Individuals, and communities too, will sometimes act in a manner that seems quite incomprehensible to others. For example, if I may allude to a topical instance, few of us in Great Britain, or I believe anywhere else in Western Europe, can understand how the intrinsic worth of a novel could be measured by the author's attitude to a particular historical event.

10.9 But secondly, I feel it is equally important to avoid the error of studying questions of culture and institutions too exclusively from the standpoint of the particular community in which we live. Please do not misunderstand me here. I believe that the whole world has reason to be grateful for the national and empirical manner in which we in the West have pursued intellectual and scientific progress ever since the Renaissance. I see no reason to suppose that Western civilization is doomed; and I might add, that in the great dialectical encounter between Professor Toynbee and Professor Geyl of Utrecht, as an Englishman, I am entirely on the side of the Dutch Professor. But the fact does remain that one of the great gulfs of the Twentieth century lies in the divergence between the technologically superior West and the less technically advanced, but historically more ancient, civilizations of Asia. I am delighted that Unesco should have embarked on a project designed, with the co-operation of all its Member States, to increase mutual understanding of the cultural values of the widely differing civilizations of East and West. And I believe that what is called "peaceful coexistence" can only be secure if we do indeed penetrate to those historical and cultural roots from which our differences have their origin. We in Britain intend to play our full part in forwarding this East-West Project. Indeed, we have already made a start; a large proportion of the 900 United Nations fellows and Colombo Plan visitors whom we looked after in the United Kingdom last year came from Asia; and if one adds British Council scholars, fellows and visitors, the total is almost twice as great.

10.10 Before I leave culture, there are just two more topics to which I would like briefly to refer. First, we in Britain are delighted that, largely through the good offices of Unesco, America should have joined the International Copyright Convention. This is a subject which has a special interest to Englishmen, partly because of the somewhat tragic experiences of Charles Dickens in the last century. I am very glad that, on that subject, our two countries are today at one. The second topic, to which I would like merely to allude, is music. We in Britain have every reason to be grateful to Unesco where music is concerned, because it was a contribution from Unesco - along with other contributions - which made it possible for the British National Youth Orchestra to undertake an overseas tour. And I think this remarkable orchestra is one of our greatest national achievements in music, since the war. There has been a world-wide upsurge of enthusiasm for music in recent years: far more people have been able to experience the intense delight of appreciating good music than ever before. For my part, I do not believe that the increased commercialization of music has resulted in any loss of quality, nor that the greatly increased sales of gramophone records have made people less ready to make music for themselves. Certainly that is not true in England where much first-class work is going on in the schools. I believe there is a growing recognition, in Britain today, that such subjects as music and the fine arts cannot be regarded as optional extras to the educational curriculum. From

the educational standpoint, one can get better at artistic subjects, just as one can get better at science or mathematics. In any case, standards of taste and value matter in any society; and it would surely be ungenerous in the extreme to deny to children the opportunities of artistic experience in those societies which are wealthy enough to provide them.

10.11 Mr. President, I hope by now I have made it plain that Britain does indeed intend to play her full part within this Organization. But before I come to my concluding remarks, I think I ought to remind you that Britain also furthers the aims of Unesco by means of all the experience and facilities that she makes available to the peoples of the newer and emergent countries. We have, indeed, a special responsibility to oversea territories still dependent on us, and to the other Member States of the Commonwealth. An important section of the report of the Montreal Conference made it clear that the countries of the Commonwealth are committed to helping one another in the educational field to the limit of their power, but the aid that Britain offers is available to all.

10.12 Now may I give you two or three figures that seem to me particularly striking. Seven years ago there were 10,000 students from overseas under training in the United Kingdom; today there are as many as 38,000. Indeed, between 10 and 12 per cent of all full-time places available at our universities and technical colleges are occupied by overseas students. I feel that these figures alone indicate a substantial contribution by the United Kingdom to the world supply of trained men and women. Then, secondly, since 1950 we have financed altogether 2,000 trainees from the countries of South East Asia, under the technical co-operation scheme of the Colombo Plan. During the same period, also under the Colombo Plan, 300 British experts have been made available in South East Asia; and in 1957 alone, 515 experts were employed by the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. I quote these figures, Mr. President, so that the Conference is left in no doubt about the contribution which the United Kingdom is making, in increasing measure, both to education and social development throughout the world. Incidentally, one thing that has greatly delighted me during the whole of this Conference has been the free association between the Members of the Commonwealth. Each Member of the Commonwealth has brought its own contribution to our discussions, in the light of their own cultures and their particular practical experience in so many parts of the world. I recall that a former United States Ambassador in London, Mr. Lewis Douglas, once described the Commonwealth as the most significant political association developed during the Twentieth century; I really do not believe this was an exaggerated view.

10.13 There are just two points I should like to make in conclusion. First, do not let us ever forget the importance to Unesco of National Commissions. It is impossible for Unesco as an Organization to become effective, unless every Member State which has accepted the Constitution proceeds to live up to those obligations which the Constitution imposes. And all of us who genuinely believe in the principles of that Constitution must, therefore, want to see National Commissions becoming a reality in every one of our Member States. You cannot give that fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture for which Article I calls, unless each Member State takes up the task; you certainly cannot do it from Paris alone, nor could you do it with ten times this present Secretariat, nor with ten new buildings each as large as this one.

10.14 My last point of all is this. It is natural that our thoughts today should be affected by the grim threat of nuclear warfare. But let us not take too gloomy a view of man's achievements. History is not just the story of war and suffering and pestilence and disease. It is also the story of what man has created out of his own imagination, and what he has discovered for himself through free inquiry and unrelenting application. And do not let us underrate his moral achievements, either. There is no more inspiring chapter of history than that which describes how, in the first half of the Nineteenth century, a small group of men patiently and determinedly worked for the abolition of the slave trade. Anyone who thinks that international conferences must always prove useless really ought to read that story. And whatever may happen to mankind in the future, it will always remain true that, for a period at least, slavery was virtually abolished from the earth. I believe too, that in many parts of the world today, not least in my own country, there is more kindness and more genuine concern for the needs of the unfortunate than ever before. And I would commend to you as my final words in whatever part of the world you live, the remark by a distinguished author of my own country, Miss Kathleen Nott: "We shall not learn to love our neighbour better by hating ourselves".

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of the United Kingdom, and I call upon the delegate of Uruguay, Mr. Secco Ellauri.

12.1 Mr. SECCO ELLAURI (Uruguay) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and delegates, at the inauguration of this General Conference, one incident deeply touched the members of the delegation of Uruguay. It was when the Director-General of Unesco placed in the hands of Shri Radhakrishnan of India, the President at the opening of this session, the book published by Unesco containing Radhakrishnan's own version of Gandhi's imperishable thoughts. This small volume, we are happy to state, is the fruit of seed sown by our delegation in New Delhi. The suggestion we then made, with the general approval of delegates and to some extent in violation of the usual budgetary methods, has today become a reality.

12.2 We believe that in thus honouring Gandhi Unesco has increased its own stature, in that it has paid its tribute to a spirit of rare austerity and to a mind of a power almost unrivalled in the history of mankind. Mr. President, this reference to Gandhi recalls immediately to my memory the time we spent in Delhi at the last session of the Conference, when it was granted to us to enjoy the artistic and spiritual treasures of India and to make the acquaintance of a most warm-hearted people, full of enthusiasm for Unesco's ideals, its mind receptive to the mystic meaning of life, and at the same time politically and socially active, striving to build, from the ruins of the old India, a new, united, powerful nation.

12.3 The Unesco General Conference at New Delhi marked a step forward, a stage of fresh victories - perhaps I should say fresh but modest victories, for the tempo of Unesco's progress is slow, though firm and sure. Our Conference, however, began under the imminent threat of an outbreak of war - which, I am glad to say, is not the case today. On that occasion we heard the everlasting chorus of the pessimists, who asked whether Unesco ought to begin its meetings at a time when political events in the world seemed to show that we had failed in our task and that there was a basic flaw in our very existence. We have always believed - and on that occasion we had an opportunity to state our belief from a tribune similar to the one from which we are speaking today - that there was no justification for such pessimism, that it was ill-timed and implied complete disregard for the specific mission which is Unesco's. It is not, it could not be Unesco's task - indeed, it would have neither the resources nor the tools required - to channel the forces unleashed by our economic, social, political and ideological antagonisms. As the Constitution says, in lapidary terms, our only task is to work patiently to root out from the minds of men the seed of hatred, which is one, though not the only, cause of war.

12.4 Therefore our task is, by definition, not confined to the immediate future. We cannot say that we are working for our own generation and the next - we are working for the generations which will come after us. That is why, as I said a moment ago, our policy is to advance "slowly, but surely". The Chinese proverb says, "the wind does not respect the flowers because the wind cannot read the notices which protect them - or are intended to protect them - against men". In the same way we might say that hate cannot read, and that to teach man to root out of his soul something that is almost a natural element in it, in spite of its evil origin, is a task which time alone will enable us to complete.

12.5 That is why Unesco's task is extremely difficult. It is difficult because we are working for the world, because at first we were unknown or mistrusted or because there was much concealed misgiving. It is difficult, too, because for the great task entrusted to us with warm enthusiasm by those who brought our Organization into being, and in spite of whose wishes we argue about a million dollars more or less, the capital at our disposal is extremely small, insignificant, almost ridiculous by comparison with the cost of other collective efforts of man, although their aims are not as high as ours.

12.6 It is therefore our duty to be optimistic and to bring our little quota of optimism to these meetings of almost all the nations of the world. We have, therefore, every reason to believe in Unesco, in man's power to carry out his purpose, and not to agree to be straws swept along by the stream, or a lifeless object directed, in its forward course, by elements which it can neither govern nor control.

12.7 Moreover, how long have we lived, compared with mankind, whose past has for centuries been one of war, violence and enmity? We have known but ten years of life, have barely scratched the surface of time. Yet we have achieved much, and the building in which we are met is one of the material results - Unesco now has its own quarters. I must, however, add that I have always thought that Unesco should sometimes sit still and at other times travel, and I hope that the comfortable conditions we enjoy in Paris today will not destroy for ever the possibility that at some time in the future, even the distant future, Unesco may travel, as it did to Montevideo and New Delhi, and earlier to Mexico, Florence or Beirut, and that it may go out as a visitor to meet the peoples of the earth - which is, after all, one of its important functions.

12.8 In every department of our activity we have made striking advances - at congresses, in the work of experts, in contracts for specific services concluded with Specialized Agencies more suited than we are to perform certain tasks; and in our publications, such as our art publications, which no purely private enterprise would have undertaken. There have been improvements, too, in the structure of the Secretariat, which - and this is said with no lack of respect for its origin - was originally recruited, as we know, partly on recommendations and partly by chance. Yet we now have a Secretariat with a team spirit, one conscious of the importance and responsibility which every one of its members should feel in the performance of work of universal significance.

12.9 If I may be allowed a few more minutes, I should like to emphasize something which has been said or inferred here concerning geographical representation. We are agreed that it is a guarantee, but there is no justification for making it a myth. When seven or eight seats on the Executive Board are to be filled, the principle of fair geographical distribution demands that there shall be no exclusions. Yet it is unthinkable that a mathematical proportion of eight to eighty should be preserved in every election, so as to satisfy everybody on every occasion. And it is equally unthinkable that, when the Director-General is to be elected, we should try to set up a mythological being divided into regions. What is needed for our purpose, in pursuance of a policy of a fair, and sensible geographical representation, is that a system of rotation shall prevent unnecessary injustice or imbalance.

12.10 On the other hand, in the case of the Unesco Secretariat, which, in numbers and in origin, has to be subject to geographical representation, as are the executive bodies of the Organization, this is perfectly feasible, absolutely necessary and in accordance with the Constitution, and is indeed the Organization's plain duty. On this point, Mr. President and fellow delegates, I must repeat - though the fact needs no stressing - that the part of the world to which my country belongs is notoriously under-represented in the Unesco Secretariat. It would be petty to complain of being rejected for a P-4 post or because we have not obtained four posts within what we might call the humble middle class of the Unesco Secretariat. My point is that amongst the administrative posts which give their occupants a real share in the management of Unesco, the consciousness of contributing ideas and the right to exercise imagination, without which the administration remains too pedestrian - in these posts, gentlemen, there is not a single representative of Latin America.

12.11 In saying this I intend no allusion to other parts of the world; I only wish to defend a right which we are all ready to fight for until we get it - and in saying this I speak for all the countries of Latin America.

12.12 I do not propose to analyse either the programme or the budget in detail. This has been done by other delegates, and we have no time to waste, especially if the time we spend is at the cost of other speakers. If the delegate of Sweden had not already done so more eloquently, I should have reminded you, in particular, that we want to stress the exceptional importance of out-of-school and adult education, and to insist that the principle of the free flow of ideas should be vigorously applied - a principle we shall emphasize in the separate commissions. We also want intensified education for international understanding, and further revision of textbooks, since hatred must be attacked at its first defences - in the schools. We shall support enthusiastically, as we have done hitherto, the publication of the History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind, which is to provide a conscientious, reliable and objective account of the world evolution. It may contain inaccuracies, possibly many, but they will be unintentional.

12.13 We shall also urge that it is fundamental to Unesco's work to be loyal to the Declaration of Human Rights, which it helped so much to frame. Having regard to the pluralist conception that should be ours, within a diversified Unesco which includes every shade of ideological and social thought, our leitmotiv, giving unity to that diversity - the fundamental, unifying element in which we all can and shall come together - should be the affirmation of human rights in the Twentieth century context.

12.14 There is no reason to be afraid of what the future has in store, or of the time that it will take to make these rights a reality. For more than a century, mankind has been seeking to do this, yet we still cannot say that we have reached what was once the goal of the restless fighters for freedom - the North American Declaration of Rights and the French Declaration of Rights of 1789; time then is on our side.

12.15 Mr. President, I must not further try the patience of those who are obliged to listen to me, but I should like once more to affirm our optimism and our confidence in Unesco, this Organization which is ours, and which has gradually taken shape in our hands. When our distinguished friend, Shri Radhakrishnan concluded his fine speech at the opening meeting, he referred to a work to which those who have been brought up in the tradition of Greek thought can never be indifferent - the Antigone of Sophocles, one of the greatest of human messages transmitted to us by history, from the man who, more than anyone else, was able to marshal the rights of the human spirit and natural law against the forces of formal authority. This reference to Sophocles at once reminded me of Antigone's beautiful words: "I was not born to hate, but to love". That phrase could define and embrace Unesco's whole spirit and work.

12.16 Unesco was born of the feeling of deep disillusionment which clouded the spirit of man in the post-war period, after he had seen his most sacred values prostituted. Now, however, after ten years, Unesco is no longer only an ideal, it has become a necessity. Modern science threatens to make barbarians of us, and, if applied to war, may well annihilate us. Today we must establish peace - and not merely, as an ancient writer said, "so that we shall not break the natural law, the fathers burying their sons, instead of the sons burying their fathers" - we must establish peace and abominate war, because if nations do not succeed in abolishing war, war will abolish nations.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of Uruguay and I call upon the delegate of Brazil, Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

14.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, the beautiful wonderful dream we have so long cherished has at last become a reality - the palace we have often thought to be a castle in the air now stands, to welcome all, from the four corners of the earth, who come together beneath the banner of Unesco to create a new world. This palace is of our century and reflects the science, technology and art of our day. Need I, Mr. President, remind this gathering that it should also be a home for the spirit of past ages, a dwelling place for collective man, who, since time began, has moved forward as one who is ever learning, ever renewing himself - mankind, with all its gentleness, all its wealth, kindness and grace. The nations gathered here have chosen Paris for their Headquarters. And Paris is a sacred city, sacred because of all it has contributed to scientific and philosophical thought, to art and letters, to human liberty. The words of Auguste Comte are as true today as in the past: "Paris is France, Paris is the West, Paris is the Earth". However, the beauty of our new Headquarters and the renown of the city in which it stands must not cause us to forget the insecurity and the shortcomings of Unesco, and that it is increasingly unable to fulfil its great tasks. The mission it accepted in 1945 is, unfortunately, far from fulfilled.

14.2 May I recall the austere and lofty atmosphere attending the birth of Unesco in London, at the end of the Great War? Every gash in that city seemed to reveal a hope, every shell-hole a protest, yet an appeal to the future. Those were wonderful days, when men who had fought together for peace and freedom stood side by side and shared the task of construction - the London winter, for once, being neither dark nor overcast, the dawns magnificent. Perhaps those who meet here again are a little sad because for all the dignity of this new building we cannot recapture that heart-warming confidence, that close solidarity which made us all, in the words of Saint Paul, "members one of another, one man".

14.3 I wish to mention one name, that of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the President of our Preparatory Commission, to remind us of those who were our companions then, but are no longer with us. Yet they are in our thoughts, and are surely watching over us in this hall, for though they have gone before us they have entrusted to us a mission to which they were dedicated body and soul. To execute Unesco's programme, with its immense size, its lofty, daring aims, great resources were needed, which were only available if a genuine peace reigned between the nations. When the cold war set in and the armaments race began again, Unesco received a mortal wound. The impulse to create a new world was destroyed. Only unimaginative minds can be satisfied with

Unesco's limitations and resign themselves to the inactivity which now consumes it. Let us, in this assembly, examine our consciences. It is true that we have an excellent Secretariat, a programme that embraces all regions of the world, excellent working quarters at Unesco House, and a world-wide network of co-operation offices and institutes. All this machinery, however, which has been carefully perfected during the twelve years that have passed, is hardly being used at all.

14.4 Documents have been submitted to you, gentlemen, which contain an appraisal of Unesco's work since its inception until the present day. On what is this appraisal based? If it is to be useful, we should take as terms of reference the real needs of the modern world, and ascertain how far this Institution meets those needs. Alas! we must admit, without speaking against anyone, that our failure is obvious. This is true in the first place of our obligations towards peace. I must ask you to read once more the Preamble to our Constitution, which speaks of this supreme task. Since then, since the winter of 1946, what have we really done to improve conditions leading to peace? To what extent has international tension decreased? In this very hall there has been evidence of the aggressiveness which in the past we often perceived from far off; all around us are echoes of the cold war. Peace, which we were called to serve, has not yet had from us the support that we are pledged to give it.

14.5 Turning for a moment to the numerous resolutions of the League of Nations, within the Disarmament Committee, we find that an appeal is often made to public opinion and to the need for mobilizing goodwill and intelligence. Should this not be the special sphere in which Unesco takes its place beside the United Nations, to serve what is its most sacred cause? Yet how often have we broached this problem of disarmament in our meetings? Are there not still inequalities of every kind, which Unesco was called upon to eliminate? Perhaps they have even increased in the last twelve years.

14.6 Let me take two or three examples: first, our announcement to the world, with much advertisement, of a campaign against illiteracy. Are there fewer illiterates today than in 1946? Statistics say no. Perhaps there has been a fall in illiteracy here and there, but if we take into account the tremendous rise in population, the number of illiterates has increased steadily. In many of our countries, their number today is as large as in 1930, for the few improvements here and there have been more than offset by the very growth in population. Today it is estimated that there are seven hundred million illiterates. Gentlemen, consider for one minute this dead weight that is borne by the world today, the weight of those who are economically inefficient, politically vulnerable, morally weak, and perhaps you will agree with me that we have no grounds for rejoicing, when we view this tragic problem of our age.

14.7 We have also attempted, among other things, to make arid lands fertile. It is estimated that of all land surfaces one-fourth is arid, with an insufficient rainfall to sustain vegetable and animal life. Is this proportion decreasing through Unesco's efforts? Alas, no! Every year erosion increases the proportion of arid lands in the world, often by an irreversible process of lateritization.

14.8 Relations between East and West are one of the big problems we have taken up. Have we yet built a bridge between these two worlds, ignorant and often distrustful one of the other? At best, it is but a precarious bridge which no one dares to cross.

14.9 Then again, there is a growing need for the training of scientists and technicians - the dearth is widespread. Whatever the university concerned, in a large country or a small one, a rich country or a poor one, the danger is the same. We are in danger of suffocation tomorrow for lack of scientists and technicians, in a world which needs more of them every day. Have we succeeded in meeting this great need, from which the world may perish tomorrow? No.

14.10 Yet we have been forced to admit that it is impossible to increase our budget to the level of our needs, because the financial burdens it imposes would in the end weigh heavily on those countries which most need help.

14.11 In such an impasse, the only hope for Unesco is to do all in our power to create in the world that atmosphere of international co-operation and understanding which is essential to real disarmament under the supervision of the United Nations. As long as the great powers engage in an unrestricted race in armaments which grow more and more destructive, more and more costly - but the value of which becomes more and more ephemeral precisely because of the constant advances in this sphere - as long as military expenditure rises to the giddy heights of some 100 billion dollars wasted every year, we shall never be able to provide Unesco with the funds it must have if it is to carry out its work for the intellectual and moral recovery of mankind.

14.12 It seems to me that the most urgent task of our Organization is to co-operate as closely as possible with the United Nations in working for progressive disarmament and in using for peaceful purposes the almost fabulous amounts which would then become available. With a peace budget of 10 billion dollars - one-tenth of the war budget today - we could raise the standard of living in underdeveloped countries by 2% every year. These amounts would make it possible for us to give them the means of making their soil fertile, developing their industries, raising their cultural level and increasing their purchasing power. The sums spent today on the various international and regional technical assistance plans - whether monies set aside for this purpose by the United Nations or under the Colombo Plan or under Point 4 - are less and less adequate. After several years' experience, we are precisely where we started - a considerable proportion of human beings are still ignorant and a prey to hunger.

14.13 Do you remember the promises made by the President of the United States of America, General Eisenhower, in a famous speech delivered on 16 April 1953, in which he spoke of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The famous General declared war on war, and promised the world that all the money that could be taken from military budgets would be transferred to university budgets, scientific research budgets, hospital budgets and road-making. Should we not constantly recall this speech to all who have responsibilities towards our Organization?

14.14 The delegation of Brazil is conscious of the gravity of the international situation and of the dangers

that threaten civilization, in which there are still zones of ignorance, conscious, too, of the need to safeguard international peace, which is threatened by the existence of neglected regions. Accordingly, at the General Conference's session in Montevideo in 1954 it proposed that an International Fund for education, science and culture be established, from non-budgetary sources. Such a fund was not to weigh on the contributions of the poorer States, and would be fed entirely from voluntary contributions and contributions drawn mainly from funds made available as a result of a rational plan for disarmament. This proposal was approved at Montevideo by 30 votes to 10. At the New Delhi session, the Brazilian delegation again submitted it to the Conference, and for the second time it was approved by a majority of 28 votes to 9. Which countries supported it? The poorer ones. Which opposed it? Regrettably, the richer countries, in which the problems I have spoken of were felt less acutely.

14.15 The time has come when the question must be reviewed. You have been given copies of a document, 10 C/24, which contains a report by the Secretariat on the establishment of an International Fund for education, science and culture. Let me make an appeal to you, gentlemen. I appeal first to the rich. Let us not increase the gap between those States whose national income is around 1,800 dollars a year per head and those whose income is only 120 or 150 dollars per head, between the prosperous countries and those that are underdeveloped. Remember that you are not being asked for an outright gift, but for a contribution from which you will benefit most in the long run, because by making it possible for these abandoned, forgotten areas to be developed you will be laying the foundations not only of international security but also of large markets which will bring you increased prosperity. ...And I appeal also to the countries which are economically underdeveloped.

14.16 You will be told - indeed, it is stated in the document before you - that there is no reason for this project to be taken up because it serves the same purpose as a Fund which the United Nations is creating. Look at the problem in detail and you will see that it is not so. The Fund that the United Nations is setting up for economic purposes will be barely enough to cover the purposes for which it is intended. There is no possibility whatever that it will be sufficient to cover what is needed to build schools and laboratories, establish scholarships, and provide for scientific and technical missions. Let us keep hold of what is ours, and support this project as we did in Montevideo and New Delhi.

14.17 My country has undertaken a campaign for solidarity on a continental scale - the Pan American movement, which is calling more and more into action all the vital forces of the New World. The twenty-one republics in this continent have promised to help each other to improve their material and spiritual standard of living. My country believes that the international organizations will contribute as much as possible to this collective drive.

14.18 If the world of tomorrow is to solve its great and complex problems, the scientific and technical assistance of all mankind is needed now. Neither Europe nor the United States of America nor the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics alone could meet the increasing needs of the race. When we remember that the population of the earth, which is at present 2,700,000,000 millions will have doubled by the end of the century and that the earth will then have to support 5 or 6 thousand million people - clothe them, house them, feed them, educate them, transport them, care for them when sick - then we may ask whether mankind tomorrow will not pay very dearly for our divisions of today. Faced with such facts, we cannot think of political questions in terms of East and West, America and Russia, or the supremacy or decline of Europe. In a very few years, mankind will be caught in the whirlwind of its own growth, and the conflicts by which it is rent today will seem as meaningless and sterile as the quarrels between duchies and counties in the Middle Ages or the religious struggles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. The people will probably have material security, because of the tremendous increase in power which will be available to all, either through fusion, by raising the number of the nucleons of the helium nucleus, or by direct conversion of the solar rays into electric current by means of thermo-elements. But what will have become of man in his moral aspect, submerged in the chaos of numbers, if we do not preserve the spiritual values of mankind?

14.19 Such, then, is Unesco's task. That is the mission, Mr. President, which I hope we shall more and more embrace. Countries, like men, should not judge themselves blameless individuals or groups, but should strive to improve each other, in accordance with the example and precepts to be found in that excellent Fifteenth-century book, the Imitation of Christ, in which the holy monk, Thomas à Kempis, wrote:

"No man is faultless, every one has his own weakness,
No man's wisdom is wise enough.
So we should help each other, succour each other,
Assist each other to grow strong."

That, gentlemen, is Unesco's mission.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank Mr. da Berredo Carneiro for his speech, and I call upon the delegate of Austria, Mr. Zeissl.

16.1 Mr. ZEISSL (Austria): Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is a difficult and thankless task to take the floor after an orator of the calibre of our colleague, Professor Carneiro, whose performance we all admire. I have, therefore, to apologize for the perhaps pedestrian character of my performance, and to ask your leniency.

16.2 Mr. President, fellow delegates, if I may quote an old Greek proverb, it would be "carrying owls to Athens", or, translated into English, "carrying coals to Newcastle", were I, as I should like, to express the thoughts and feelings which move one's heart, when again the opportunity is given one to tread the soil of France, and in particular of her brilliant capital - this soil and this capital from which so much of our common human heritage has sprung. What an experience to breathe again that atmosphere of spiritual, of intellectual and artistic achievement so characteristic of France and of Paris.

16.3 Before I turn, however, to the more or less burning problems of the daily life of our Organization, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to express

our congratulations. Congratulations to all of us - if this does not sound a little queer - and to France in particular. To France because, as many other good things, this our new building has its roots - if modern buildings have roots at all - in French earth which has been presented to us; and congratulations for us all, because being able to build one's own house and to live with dignity in it is proof of having reached the age of maturity and of achievement. Our Director-General put it very aptly in one of his reports, that our new house has not been constructed to be a museum but a place of work, that its functional purposes are decisive, and that the quality and quantity of the output of the Secretariat should benefit from the solutions which our distinguished architects have found.

16.4 I think we, ourselves have already felt grateful for the advantages brought to our work by this new building. May I, however, confess that I was a little bit frightened when I read the words of the Director-General that even the quantity of the output of the Secretariat is to be increased. I wonder whether our eminent architects are aware that, by the perfection of their plans, they have let loose, should I say a cold or a hot war, of the Secretariat against the poor National Commissions. I believe, however, that full justice is not done to the new building if only its structural and functional purposes are emphasized. I think most of us will agree that it represents a full and happy realization of the best ideas and thought of modern architecture, and architecture which is an exciting adventure in new materials, new forms, new designs and new aesthetic principles.

16.5 There was however, the odious problem of the inner decoration of this house - of the sculpture, of the paintings which should adorn our new home. There were two possible ways before those who had the responsibility of the choice, a very happy responsibility indeed. They could call upon the spirit of the past, of history of the great treasures of tradition, the great human artistic heritage, or they could invite the living artists who stand for the time being in the forefront of the public eye, and give them their chance. Nobody will quarrel with those in office because of their choice. Nobody can deny that what is called somewhat loosely "modern art" is a world-wide movement of the greatest influence, although many among us cannot understand nor even hear the message of these artists. But only later generations will be able to decide whether these works of crisis in our midst are the beginning, or as one would say in German, the "Aufbruch" of a new revolutionary but fertile period of art, or the swan song of a movement which is about to end in a cul-de-sac.

16.6 Before I leave the subject, I would like to express my doubts whether the way in which would-be donors of works of art have been treated, after they had been encouraged to such offers, was opportune or even admissible. It is never wise to create just resentment in reply to gestures which were obviously dictated by goodwill. Permit me a general remark; it has been so often said and said with great emphasis that Unesco is no political forum, nay - to the contrary, that the ideas and the basic thought of Unesco exclude politics from our work. As often as this has been said, as often has this statement been belied by the hard facts, to the detriment of our work and of our prestige. How much time has thus already been lost, how much futile and angry exchange of words has taken place. Does anybody really believe that in this vast family of the United Nations which has, I think, twelve or thirteen children already, the various political problems of our time can be decided upon by each member of this family individually, and possibly differently? Then why not leave them to their proper forum and avoid such loss of time, such squandering of goodwill, and poisoning of an atmosphere which should be kept clear for clear-minded discussion of our [illegible] problems, difficult enough as they are. I apologize for being so outspoken and for saying what is in the mind of many, and perhaps also on their tongues. Perhaps it is a privilege of the representative of a neutral country to say all this without the danger of being misunderstood. One must not, however, dramatize the situation. I had the privilege of attending the ninth General Conference of Unesco, in New Delhi. The initial days of this Conference coincided with the tragic events in Hungary and at Suez; the waves of hatred and malice, and of angry exchanges, went high. Nevertheless, as time passed by the waves smoothed down, and in the end we did our job all right. So let us be sensible again and hope for the best.

16.7 We have been very happy indeed to take it from the reports of the Director-General that much is being done to secure co-operation and co-ordination among the efforts of the various members of the vast family of the United Nations. We should never fail to join hands and unite our efforts with them as often as there is a common object in question. We should equally avoid overlapping of activities of two or more of these special agencies, we should equally avoid indifference and undue reserve. We welcome in particular the Agreement between Unesco and the Atomic Energy Agencyiin Vienna. This is a field of obvious general importance and in which there is obvious necessity for co-operation. The Austrian National Commission would have been very happy to render any service to the representatives of Unesco if the occasion had been given to them.

16.8 A few words on the three Major Projects. The Austrian delegation and the Austrian National Commission for Unesco feel that these three Projects, for the time being I hope not more, have proved to be very much worth while, and as a whole are ably directed and successfully handled. There has been so much talk about concentration of effort; and now it has been put into practice. There is quite a good equilibrium between the three: the Latin American Project drawing mainly on the resources and the assistance of Unesco in the field of education; the other two in the fields of natural science and of cultural activities, respectively. Being a comparatively small country in the heart of central Europe, we should like to ask our Latin American friends to be assured of our sympathy and of our understanding for the great effort which, with the help of Unesco, promises progress and prosperity for their countries. Being in the middle of central Europe and a small country, we cannot support this effort in the same way as others can. We are glad to say, however, that some of our experts are already working for the Arid Zone Project. One is studying the adaptation of

nomad communities to sedentary life in Libya and Somaliland, a problem which is mentioned in the Director-General's Report. There is another studying new agricultural methods in arid zones, and a third, a woman scientist and an expert, whose work is particularly concerned with salt marshes and salty soils. I would like to assure the Secretariat that we shall gladly co-operate with them in order to put our available experts into the service of this Project which is of such great importance, particularly for our Oriental friends. For the first quadrennium, however, we decided to put the main emphasis of our work on the East-West Project and on co-operation with Unesco and with the National Commissions in this field. We have just now held a successful seminar in Salzburg, on "Islam, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", which met with surprising public interest. We plan such a seminar on India, in 1959, and on other Oriental civilizations later on. We hope, with assistance from Unesco, to be able to make these future seminars still more international. We have also started a "Buchreihe", a series of books intended to foster deeper appreciation of Oriental and Occidental cultural values. Two of them - one on Islam, written by a prominent Austrian Orientalist; the other on India, by a Unesco expert who has worked several years in India - have already been published and will be useful in the preparation of working papers for seminars on these two civilizations. The question arose whether it would be useful to have these and others of our publications translated into French or English, or both, with the assistance of Unesco and perhaps of other National Commissions. In this connexion, in accordance with an agreement between the Swiss, the German, and the Austrian National Commissions, and with assistance of Unesco for which we are grateful, we have published translations of the following Unesco books in the German language: "Humanisme et éducation en Orient et en Occident"; "Freedom and Culture" and "Education and Mental Health" by W.D. Wall. "University Teaching and Political Science" by Professor Robson is also about to be published within a few weeks. With our German and Swiss friends we have raised the question of publishing a German edition of the "Courier", a question of great importance for the German-speaking area which will have to be discussed in the Programme Commission.

16.9 To come back to the East-West Project, I should like to raise a question of principle and of considerable importance: would not this and other Projects lend themselves, in one way or another, to a combined effort with the region covered by the Council of Europe? My delegation welcomes most warmly all allusions in the Director-General's Report to Unesco's co-operation with the universities and other institutions of research and learning. The urgent needs of the countries and civilizations in their primary development must not allow us to forget that the progress and well-being of all presupposes the maintenance, indeed the raising, of the level of science and learning and basic research in the countries of the Western world. A watchful eye, therefore, should be directed by Unesco to these needs also.

16.10 Our delegation has received an appeal from the section for mathematics and natural science of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, in which they urge that the level of the estimates for natural sciences be raised; they mention in particular the International Council of Scientific Unions. We have received reports of the same kind from the President of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, particularly concerning the Union Académique Internationale and the Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences. We have received further appeals from the Austrian Institute for Archaeology and the Comité pour les recherches urgentes en anthropologie et ethnologie. All these voices seem to be somewhat symptomatic of a situation which we shall mention in the discussion in the Programme Commission.

16.11 We welcome the continued attention given to the problems of the curricula in primary, secondary, and vocational schools, and we should like to draw the attention of the Secretariat to the suggestion of the Head of the International Youth Library that a seminar be arranged on the possibility of promoting international understanding through books for children and youth.

16.12 As concerns the International Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, to which Austria has become a party a few months ago, I regret to say, that the Agreement does not work in all cases as smoothly as one would have expected. Should the question arise during the Conference, we shall explain our position and the heavy unwarranted damage done to Austrian interests.

16.13 Permit me a few words on the question of personnel. We have certain long-standing grievances which up to date have not been removed; neither geographical distribution nor the somewhat rigid system of so-called points justifies the neglect of our well-founded claims, nor is an appointment to the post of Programme Assistant in a Regional Science Co-operation Office, however welcome it is, the equivalent of a higher post on the staff in Paris.

16.14 I am afraid I have already overstepped my time, but I would not wish to conclude this speech without doing homage to the Director-General and his excellent staff of international civil servants for their zeal, their far-sighted initiative, their indefatigable energy and care in the execution of our Projects, and their unfailing patience and politeness. Still a word of immense gratitude on the part of our delegation to the distinguished President of this Conference, His Excellency, the Minister of Education of France, whose noble speech a few days ago gave us truly an invaluable spiritual uplift. In the grey routine of everyday life one so easily forgets the high and lofty spiritual and intellectual ideals and ideas which we are privileged to serve.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I thank Mr. Zeissl. There is still one more speaker for this meeting, the delegate of Panama. His speech will be very short. I now call upon him.

18.1 Mr. ORTEGA VIETO (Panama) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to convey to you cordial greetings from the delegation of the Republic of Panama.

18.2 Gentlemen, because of the length of time which has passed since we listened to the first speaker and the many eloquent and learned speeches

that it has been our privilege to hear in this hall, I think I should be extremely brief. I have therefore promised to speak for only seven minutes and not a second more.

18.3 I must not, however, fail to congratulate the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, on his excellent report and on the valuable work he has done. I also wish to congratulate the Executive Board and the whole staff of the Secretariat on their good work.

18.4 I wish to deal briefly with four points:

18.5 Firstly, the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. Achievements in this Project up to the present time and plans for the future are intensively and extensively on a scale that justifies high hopes. For this very reason I wish to show that the amount allocated to this Project is, in my opinion, extremely small. It is, in fact, hardly 3% of the total Unesco budget.

18.6 If we remember that this Major Project will not only help the countries of Latin America but will also serve as a basis for similar projects, which should be started as soon as possible in comparable regions in Asia, Africa and Oceania, my colleagues will, I am sure, agree with me that a larger sum should be allocated to it if it is to be carried out in full.

18.7 I am happy to say that the extension of primary education is a problem in which our country takes a keen interest. At the present time, more than 25% of the total budget of the Republic of Panama is devoted to educational purposes, two-thirds of it being set aside for primary education.

18.8 I shall now turn to the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. This Project has particular reference to North Africa and Southern Asia and the Near and Middle East. I trust, however, that all publicity will be given not only to the programme but also to the experience acquired, so that all Member States may benefit from it. There are also arid regions in some countries in Latin America and - more serious still - the accepted methods of cultivation, which still permit the felling and burning of forests, make it even more urgent that we should take steps to prevent a possible increase in the extent of our arid zones.

18.9 As regards mass communication, we believe that all the money spent on this important aspect of Unesco's work is so obviously justified that it needs no defence.

18.10 Lastly, I wish to say something of the National Commissions. These are, so to speak, the antennae of Unesco. They make it possible for us to gain a better understanding of the problems of the Member States. It is through them that the people know of Unesco's great work and plans and take an interest in them. We therefore think it important that their resources should be increased and that they should be enabled to multiply their personal contacts with Headquarters.

18.11 In closing, gentlemen, I should like to express my hope that, just as the French people vowed to maintain an undying flame at the Arc de Triomphe in honour of an unknown soldier who died for his country, so the men and women gathered here will vow to create, within the competent international political organ, a climate that will help to maintain and increase the number of peoples who will be present at the next Conference, united and illumined by the undying flame of education, science and culture.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

TWELFTH PLENARY MEETING

10 November 1958, at 9.15 p.m.

President: Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of Poland, Libya, Viet-Nam, Liberia, Iran, Honduras, Nigeria and Peru 186

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Poland, Mr. Wierblowski.

2.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to begin by thanking the French authorities for their hospitality and the possibility they have afforded us to hold our Conference in Paris, this city with an ancient tradition of culture, progress, humanism and the cult of beauty and the arts. Let us hope that this atmosphere will help us to draw closer to the main objectives of our Organization.
2.2 Within the great United Nations family, Unesco has its own special rôle to play in the field of education, science and culture, and in the light of this rôle it works out its own methods for fulfilling its tasks. In doing so, it must always bear in mind the main purpose for which all United Nations bodies were established - namely, to develop international co-operation and to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security, in a world full of contradictions and conflicting interests.
2.3 Member States can and should help to attain Unesco's objectives, firstly through their foreign policy and their activities on the international level, and secondly by participating in the work of international organizations and, in the matter of education, science and culture, with Unesco.
2.4 I would like to say a few words about the policy of Poland, the country I represent at this Conference, and to show how it is modelled both on the United Nations Charter and on the aims proclaimed in Unesco's Constitution. I do not intend to go into Polish foreign policy as a whole, which is based on close friendship, mutual assistance and solidarity between the socialist countries, combined with the broadest possible co-operation with countries of other political, social and economic systems. Poland's policy is one of coexistence and co-operation, despite the obstacles presented by differences of ideology.
2.5 We therefore favour disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons; it is by radical measures like these, we believe, that mankind can be assured of lasting peace. We know by experience that the road to general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons is a very rough one; and, being realists, we support all projects which represent an advance in this direction. We think that nuclear tests should be stopped and, as we are concerned about the life and health of both future and present generations, we strongly support the Soviet proposals on this subject.
2.6 Last year, we made a proposal with regard to a region in which we are very closely interested; our plan involved the establishment of a de-atomized belt in the centre of Europe, covering Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.
2.7 This plan was favourably received in widely different circles in many countries. In the course of its discussion, various comments and reservations were made. Many governments expressed interest in it. We then endeavoured to amend our proposals with a view to meeting some of the objections voiced when it was discussed. Last February, in answer to criticisms, we defined the principles governing the control measures for enforcement of the commitments imposed by the plan. We have now gone still further, taking into account the criticisms and recommendations made by certain States.
2.8 I do not intend to outline the new proposals contained in the statement of the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rapacki; you will certainly have been able to read them in the papers. I shall simply say that the new version of the plan provides for two stages. At the first stage, the development of nuclear weapons would be halted at the point at present reached in the territory of the four States; at the second, atomic disarmament would proceed together with the reduction of conventional weapons, to a level to be decided after discussion. There would be appropriate control machinery at both stages.
2.9 We are aware that, although important amendments have been made to our project, it will continue to be opposed - particularly by those bent on developing nuclear weapons, on which their policies are

based. We are nevertheless convinced that our proposal will be studied with great interest, not only among wide sections of the public in various countries, but amongst governments and politicians as well. It is our firm belief that measures such as this can help to create an international atmosphere conducive to a reduction in every type of armament.

2.10 I would like to add that our plan is not directed against anyone; it is, in particular, directed neither against Germany nor against German unification on a democratic footing. On the contrary, by helping to reduce tension in Europe, it represents a first step towards German unification, creating an atmosphere favourable to the establishment of a unified, peaceful and democratic Germany.

2.11 To conclude this part of my speech, I would stress that political projects such as this, organized by States in the cause of peace and the lessening of tension, create a situation, a "biosphere" as it were, conducive to the accomplishment of Unesco's mission.

2.12 Mr. President, during the discussions which have taken place in Unesco, speakers have often raised the extremely important question of the Organization's universality. There are, I think, two aspects to it. The first is the problem of bringing as many countries as possible to take part in our Organization's work. The Polish delegation has on many occasions expressed its indignation at the systematic discrimination exercised against the People's Republic of China: the Chinese people are not represented in Unesco, their place being occupied by a band of usurpers installed, under the protection of foreign arms, on an island illegally torn away from Chinese territory. This kind of discrimination is applied to other States as well.

2.13 It must be admitted that no organization such as Unesco is needed in order that there may be collaboration between the United States of America and the United Kingdom or France, or between the countries of Latin America; though it would certainly be useful, but not indispensable, for arranging collaboration between countries with similar economic and political systems. It is however indispensable for the development of co-operation, in the educational, scientific and cultural fields, between countries whose traditions, political systems and economic and cultural conditions differ.

2.14 The second aspect of universality is the problem of bringing international organizations of all political, social and religious complexions to take part in Unesco's work. The criterion here is that the principles of these organizations should be in line with the aims set forth in Unesco's Constitution. But we find that there is prejudice against a number of organizations whose co-operation could be extremely valuable to Unesco and with which the Secretariat has, indeed, for many years maintained relations for practical purposes. We have protested, and shall continue to do so, against the refusal to grant consultative status to such organizations as, for instance, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Federation of Democratic Lawyers, the International Union of Students, the International Broadcasting Organization, etc., and even the refusal to invite these organizations to send observers to the General Conference.

2.15 Another problem closely bound up with these two aspects of universality is that of the geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat. The term "universal" cannot be applied to an organization whose Secretariat reserves a special, privileged position for a certain group of States, to the exclusion of others. This situation undoubtedly narrows the scope of Unesco's activities by preventing it from exercising any real influence in many parts of the world.

2.16 I now propose, Mr. President, to pass on to the Director-General's report on Unesco's activities in 1957-1958, and to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. We have certain comments and criticisms which we shall be able to discuss in greater detail in the Commissions, Committees and Working Parties; we also have certain express reservations to make regarding, firstly, the increase of administrative costs at the expense of the budget for implementing the programme and, secondly, an entrenched bureaucratization which is detrimental to Unesco's work. Otherwise, we regard the proposed programme, on the whole, as a sound working basis, suitable for the Organization's future development.

2.17 The proposed programme and budget suggests, very sensibly, a certain concentration of funds on selected activities. The centering of effort on priority areas seems to us reasonable. It is our view, for instance, that the East-West Major Project, if properly implemented, can make a valuable contribution to international understanding; and we in Poland have, ever since the Project was adopted, done everything in our power to put it into effect. In this connexion, we have followed up the resolution adopted by the Conference of European National Commissions held last year at Dubrovnik, through the organization of a special week for launching the Project. We think that the week we organized largely achieved, in our case, the object which the European National Commissions had in mind. Thanks to the use of press, radio and television, and the arranging of various exhibitions of the art of the Eastern countries, we not only brought the Project to the notice of Orientalists, but succeeded in arousing the interest of the general public as well. On these foundations, it is probable that we shall now be able to spread throughout Poland further knowledge, both general and specialized, about the Eastern countries. One fact is clear, and I must emphasize it again: the main obstacle to carrying through the Project as a whole is the absence of the People's Republic of China, which throws the entire programme out of balance and also distorts it geographically.

2.18 With regard to the social sciences, the Polish delegation particularly commends the activities proposed under the programme of studies on the social implications of industrialization; as also the idea of giving priority to this programme, with the possibility of turning it, eventually, into a Major Project.

2.19 We are following with interest, but also in a critical spirit, the policy and development of the programme for the natural sciences and education, together with the relevant Major Projects and the Technical Assistance contribution to these sections of the programme.

2.20 It gives us pleasure to welcome the arrival in Unesco of countries which have only recently attained their independence; and we consider it is the

Organization's duty to give special help to countries which have cast off, or are in the process of casting off, the colonial yoke. It behoves Unesco to give them every aid in the fields within its competence. These countries must be helped, not merely to safeguard and develop their cultural heritage, but also to train the specialists they need in every sphere so as to be in a position to catch up with the rest of the world as soon as possible.

2.21 To sum up, many items of the Proposed Programme are, in our view, calculated to promote the attainment of Unesco's objectives. It must always, however, be borne in mind that there exist in the world, side by side, countries with different social and economic systems, and different cultural traditions. International co-operation is the essence of all action designed to reduce international tension. We see all around us a great deal of suspicion and misunderstanding, a great many barriers between the peoples, due to preconceived ideas; but States have to exist together in the world, despite their differences, and the only way they can do so is through co-operation - which in turn involves learning to know, appreciate and respect other countries. Science and culture are fields in which this process is both possible and easy. Moreover, science, culture and the arts lend themselves to emulation, which, far from being harmful, is beneficial to all.

2.22 On these grounds, the Polish delegation attaches the utmost importance to every kind of exchange between countries living under different systems. Poland, therefore, after being responsible for proposing the resolution on co-operation between States with different political systems, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session in New Delhi, has taken measures to put it into practice. Thus, on Poland's initiative, an Anglo-Polish seminar was organized in 1957 at Bradford, which enabled social scientists of the two countries to exchange views on various economic and social problems; the Franco-Polish seminar in 1956 likewise yielded good results; and a regional European seminar on adult education brought together, in Warsaw, 40 specialists from 15 countries. Warsaw was also the scene, in July 1957, of the meeting of the International Institute of Philosophy, which dealt with problems of the relationship between thought and action, and was attended by 47 philosophers from 19 countries, representing various philosophical doctrines, as well as by 20 Polish philosophers. Lastly, a Franco-Polish seminar took place in Warsaw in September 1958 regarding the study of public opinion; it concentrated on the techniques of public opinion research and their contribution to sociological theories, and in the course of the proceedings distinguished professors from France, the United States of America and Norway worked together with young French and Polish specialists.

2.23 I would make a point of expressing my satisfaction that all these meetings encountered the fullest measure of welcome and understanding, both from the countries co-operating with us over them and from the Unesco Secretariat, which gave us effective assistance.

2.24 I have dwelt at some length on the resolution adopted at New Delhi concerning peaceful co-operation, because I thought it should be emphasized that its provisions, apart from being theoretically sound, have proved perfectly capable of implementation in practice.

2.25 The Polish delegation is happy in its conviction on the grounds of this experience - which has also, I believe, led the other participating countries, including France, the United Kingdom, Norway and the United States of America, to the same conclusion - that this type of activity is a useful one and should be pursued. It has thus been proved that - in addition to major activities in selected areas - bilateral and regional activities and meetings have a valuable contribution to make to the promotion of international understanding.

2.26 Mr. President, Unesco is an organization composed of governments. The examples I have just quoted demonstrate the importance we attach to the predominant rôle which Member States have to play in carrying out the Organization's programme.

2.27 This does not, however, in any way lessen the responsibility of the Unesco Secretariat in the effective implementation of that programme. The Organization cannot be regarded merely as the sum of its Member States. It behoves the Secretariat and the organs of Unesco to co-ordinate the interests and activities of Member States, and to stimulate and guide them.

2.28 It is our belief that, if on both sides these tasks are properly understood, our Organization will be able to go forward on the lines laid down in its Constitution.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Poland and I now call on the delegate of Libya, Mr. Shinnib.

4.1 Mr. SHINNIB (Libya) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, my dear colleagues, it is an honour for me to transmit, from this rostrum, the greetings and best wishes of my country. These greetings go to the eternal human values we are endeavouring to make prevail, for those values are the very basis of peace and the well-being of the peoples.

4.2 Libya has doubtless been ever present in the world's conscience since the world decided, through the United Nations, in favour of an independent, sovereign Libya. But, going beyond mere words, the United Nations hastened to help this new State, providing it with all feasible means of expediting its cultural and economic growth, so that it should be able to work with the other States of the world in the service of human civilization.

4.3 For this wakeful world conscience and these sincere and invaluable efforts I wish to express, on behalf of Libya, the deep gratitude of my compatriots, during this month when they are celebrating in an outstanding manner the eighth anniversary of the United Nations resolution that proclaimed their independence and freedom.

4.4 Strong in this freedom, Libya has taken up again its torch of civilization and progress. And strong in this independence, the Libyan people is making every endeavour to shoulder, with the other peoples of the world, the responsibilities flowing from it - responsibilities to itself and to the whole of humanity

4.5 But in this tremendous task, Libya is not left to its own resources. The United Nations and the Specialized Agencies - particularly Unesco - are effectively helping it and guiding it along the road of organization and rebirth.

4.6 Anyone visiting Libya now would be astonished at the volume of what has already been achieved, and so speedily achieved, in the fields of education and instruction. This astonishment would be all the greater for the recollection that Libya, for four whole years during the Second World War, was the theatre of fearful battles which devastated towns, largely wrecked the bridges and destroyed nearly all the roads.

4.7 But then came the miracle of the people's will. A people numbering no more than a million and a quarter reconstructed from the ruins which the war had spread throughout the country, and overcame the anguish left in the hearts of its sons.

4.8 On the morrow of the war, there were barely more than six thousand school pupils in Libya; today, they number roughly one hundred thousand. The explanation of this change is very simple; since the war, Libya has consistently devoted the greater part of its budget to the spreading of culture and education.

4.9 After the war, not a single primary school certificate class existed in Libya. We are proud to say that for three years now we have had a Faculty of Letters and Education and a Faculty of Economics and Commerce at Benghazi, and a Faculty of Science at Tripoli, which are prospering before our eyes; while hundreds of our students are continuing their studies in various Eastern and Western universities.

4.10 But this does not enable us to overcome all our difficulties. These are innumerable, yet we have to surmount them. We are therefore in urgent need of Unesco's assistance. This Organization has spared no effort to help us, within the limits of its resources. My Government and people are deeply grateful to it. It has helped us to train our teachers, prepare our educational curricula, establish kindergartens, implement fundamental education projects, and develop the Centre for the production of school textbooks.

4.11 Unesco has thus proved that it is equal to the great tasks incumbent on it. Libya therefore confidently looks towards this Organization, whose help is so necessary to us and upon whose success the better life sought by our people largely depends.

4.12 My Government's chief desire at present is to spread education as widely as possible, with special emphasis on fundamental education and the training of teachers and technicians.

4.13 Despite our small budgetary resources, we have decreed the establishment of free primary, secondary and university education. Libya is perhaps one of the very few States in which education at the university level is free. But at the same time we have to train the necessary staff for technical education; for this purpose we lack the necessary experts; and here again, to remedy this situation, we count on Unesco's help.

4.14 Further, the Libyan Government is endeavouring to eradicate illiteracy. Thanks to Unesco's assistance, adult education is making progress in the southern region of the country. Our illiteracy is a heritage from the colonial period; or rather, it is due to the fact that, during the last thirty years, all our efforts have been concentrated on our struggle against colonialism.

4.15 The Government is increasing the number of evening schools for workers and other adults; but our resources and experience are not sufficient to enable us to carry out this task by ourselves.

4.16 In fact, Unesco began to assist us in 1951 - a long time before Libya's admission to the Organization. Libya's geographical situation, its history and the innumerable marks of culture still existing on its soil warranted such help from an Organization which is devoted to the service of education, science and culture.

4.17 A by no means modest share of the Organization's limited financial resources was granted us under the Participation programme in order to help us establish a national broadcasting service, designed to extend the benefits of knowledge to those who, in the remotest parts of the country, had previously been deprived of this advantage by an unjust combination of circumstances.

4.18 Appreciating the importance of close co-operation with Unesco, we set up, last year, a National Commission for Unesco. Its first act was to establish contact with the representatives of the National Commissions of the other Arab countries, at the Regional Conference of Fez. Today, the Organization is offering hospitality to the Executive Secretary of our Commission, so as to enable him to study its various activities at first hand.

4.19 Might I now venture to address myself directly to this General Conference and draw its kind attention to the resolutions and recommendations voted by the Fez Conference of Arab National Commissions, and adopted by all the Commissions of the countries represented at it, as well as by their respective governments?

4.20 Libya is an integral part of this vast Arab world, with which it has many problems and interests in common. It therefore hopes that you will devote particular attention to the wishes expressed at the Fez Conference, particularly with regard to the Major Projects on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values and on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. It also hopes that a project similar to the one being carried out in Latin America, in the field of primary education, can be studied under the auspices of Unesco and carried out, to a certain extent, in all parts of the Arab world.

4.21 In conclusion, and on behalf of my country, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Secretariat, the Director-General and the Executive Board of Unesco for their unremitting efforts to ensure the complete success of this Conference and of the Organization's enterprises.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Libya and call on Mr. Ngo-Dinh-Luyen, delegate of Viet-Nam.

6.1 Mr. NGO-DINH-LUYEN (Viet-Nam) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion of the inauguration of Unesco's permanent Headquarters the entire world warmly associates itself with our joy.

6.2 It is indeed a happy occurrence that Paris, by admitting into its classical setting this successful combination of modern art and technique, has succeeded in enhancing its predestined harmony with new splendour, and that France, the chosen home of science and letters, has by its generous hospitality re-heated this crucible in which the noblest and most original forms of human culture seek to blend.

6.3 Beyond these happy omens, the peoples of the world, ardently aspiring to free and harmonious co-operation, discern a promise of peace, a peace to be built by essentially peaceful means.

6.4 It is indeed a valuable promise, but how fragile it is, given the all too concrete threats now overhanging the world's future, and the unhappy tendency apparent even in this assembly - to raise highly controversial questions aggressively and pressingly, thus exacerbating an already latent hostility at a time when a spirit of tolerance and patience is so essential to our mutual understanding and the rapid progress of our work!

6.5 Other international organizations are endeavouring, each in its own field, to prepare bases for international understanding. It is indeed a thankless task, if ever there was one, to reconcile interests which, from country to country and by the very nature of things, conflict so violently with one another that mankind is already on the brink of the abyss.

6.6 Unesco is therefore extremely privileged to be able to work in the calm sphere of culture, where national characteristics and peculiarities, far from clashing, complete and enrich each other for the greatest good of mankind.

6.7 But this privilege, like every privilege, entails a servitude. This world of science and culture, where the constant habit of reasoning in terms of the ideal and the absolute does not always lend itself to a proper adaptation of theoretical principles to the complex realities of life, is a world in which the search for truth proceeds by continual trial and error, on the basis of simple and precise working hypotheses. This method demands clear ideas, unchallengeable data and rigorously defined conditions.

6.8 In life, however, there are no absolutely clear and unchallengeable data. Whereas an erroneous working hypothesis can be replaced without any detriment to science, an unhappy initiative is always dearly paid for in life. This fundamental difference between science and life is so obvious that it has been necessary to devise technique in order to cope with it.

6.9 Unesco, also, is endowed with life; and, as a living organism, it is not easily or always reducible to logical formulae. In order to reconcile formal logic with Unesco's work, a technique is necessary: procedure. Otherwise, within these precincts devoted to culture, endless and fruitless discussions would simply offend your reason, exhaust your patience and, what is worse, paralyse our Organization.

6.10 That is why, despite the seemingly attractive logic and the eloquently expressed realism which I have characterized certain earlier, emphatic speeches from this tribune, the Viet-Namese delegation did not approve them.

6.11 This improper association of an immense population and an age-old culture is logical only in appearance. Can the value of a culture be estimated according to the size of the population which lays claim to it? In that case, the present number of Hellenists and Latinists would give a very poor idea of the brilliant Greek and Latin cultures.

6.12 This association of a huge population and an age-old culture is all the more out of place in that those advancing it forget to emphasize that, between this very population and this very culture, a modern Great Wall has been erected by the constitution, laws and minor regulations of a regime which runs exactly counter to that culture.

6.13 As to the realism invoked by these speeches, I will simply point out that the measures proposed in its name are such that the mere discussion of them would, if prolonged, suffice to divide our assembly irremediably; at the present session of the Conference, a clear majority is opposed to the discussion of the measures concerned.

6.14 Mr. President, delegates, in making these few remarks I have merely wished to explain to the Conference my delegation's point of view. It was not my intention to reopen an inopportune discussion, and I shall not do so.

6.15 I shall not do so, because of my respect for and devotion to our Organization, whose prestige would be seriously impaired if such a debate were unduly prolonged.

6.16 I shall not do so, because of my regard for all the honourable delegates here present; for, in the case of questions which have been discussed for so long, the mere thought that a few words would suffice to effect a radical change in the position of a delegate or his country is in itself a grave slur upon the dignity of those concerned.

6.17 I shall not do so, lastly, because the Viet-Namese delegation is convinced that this place of assembly, which is the symbol of our fraternal co-operation, should not serve as a hothouse for the ripening of highly controversial questions. It should be a place where questions which have already matured are given a practical solution.

6.18 It is in this spirit that, in our draft amendments to certain items of the proposed programme for 1959-1960, we suggest, for approval by the Conference, the establishment of centres for regional activities; I say centres for regional activities and not regional centres, for what we mean is not regional centres, for what we mean is national centres which, owing to the facilities they now offer on the regional level and in a particular field (education, science or culture) should be encouraged by Unesco to assume the task of strengthening regional co-operation in that field.

6.19 Without involving an increase in expenditure, our proposal would make it possible to turn to better account the co-operation which already exists, or has been prepared by nature, between neighbouring countries. If approved, this proposal would make the effects of Unesco's beneficent action felt in the region concerned, win for the Organization the good-will of the peoples of that region, and thus obtain for it that enthusiastic support of the masses which it has so far received only on a limited scale.

6.20 In this way, each country, in its own region and according to its potentialities, would be able to make an even more effective contribution to regional and international co-operation.

6.21 The first of our draft amendments, which relates to draft resolution 1.52, asks the General Conference to study the advisability of establishing a centre for regional activities in the field of fundamental education for South East Asia.

6.22 I repeat that it is not proposed to establish a centre similar to CREFAL or ASFEC. The Viet-Namese delegation would like to see one national centre per region authorized to act as a liaison body, in order to enable the various national centres to exchange the results of their experience at regional seminars and symposia, which would be attended by those responsible for fundamental education in each region.

6.23 Our second draft amendment recommends steps to secure the recognition of the regional competence of the Nhatrang Oceanographic Institute. Owing to its favourable geographical situation and the encouraging results it has obtained in organizing, under Unesco's auspices, regional training courses, it is our Institute's ambition simply to offer its headquarters for the regional or international meetings of specialists and experts desirous of co-operating in research which, thanks to a better use of marine resources, is calculated to improve the standard of life of the peoples of South East Asia and of other countries.

6.24 Lastly, our third draft amendment relates to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

6.25 South East Asia, which for a considerable time has witnessed the conflict and then the interpenetration of the various Eastern and Western cultures, comprises different States, most of which have recently gained their independence and are inspired by the common desire to strengthen their cultural links with each other and exchange the results of their experience with regard to a new form of intellectual and spiritual life.

6.26 Thus, in order to obtain better results from the Major Project, it would be advisable to establish a centre for regional cultural activities with a view to the mutual appreciation of cultural values. At this future centre, periodic meetings would be organized, and cultural experts belonging to the region concerned, or to other regions, could be invited to attend them.

6.27 We are firmly convinced that the mutual understanding - which is naturally easier to establish - of the cultural movements of countries belonging to the same geographical region is an important step towards a more accurate and more fruitful appreciation of cultures which are remoter not only in space but in specific characteristics.

6.28 Thus, the sole object of these three draft amendments is to present to the Organization suggestions likely to contribute to the more effective implementation of certain resolutions already approved by the General Conference.

6.29 I sincerely hope that these explanations will enable this assembly to examine favourably the purely methodological measures which the Viet-Namese delegation has submitted to it.

6.30 Mr. President, delegates, I should like, in conclusion, to reaffirm Viet-Nam's unshakeable faith in Unesco and express its sincere thanks to all those who have contributed to the growth of the Organization and the great success of this tenth session of the General Conference. In particular, I wish to thank the Executive Board and the members of the Unesco Secretariat - especially the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, and the Assistant Director-General, Mr. Adiseshiah - not only for their fruitful efforts in the service of the Organization, but also for the deep interest they have taken in my country by visiting it in order to see for themselves Viet-Nam's achievements in the fields of education, science and culture.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Viet-Nam and now have pleasure in calling on the delegate of Liberia, Mr. Massaquoi.

8.1 Mr. MASSAQUOI (Liberia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it has been said: "If I may make a nation's songs, I care little who makes its laws". This expression may be appropriate to simpler civilizations than ours but, mutatis mutandis, it remains true. It is the thinkers, writers, artists, the historians and men of science, who do what is now equivalent to "making the nations' songs". It is they who shape the unconscious background of a people's thought, turn the focus of their attention this way or that way. It is they who, if they perform this duty, protect nations against the besetting temptations of ignorance and prejudice. This strength and unity which in our time dominates and penetrates life in general is not merely a pledge of progress; it reassures us that there is hope that mankind may not go down in ruin.

8.2 All through the ages man has been inspired by man, beginning with Aristotle who, writing above the heads of his contemporaries, was for a thousand years unknown to Europe, then on down the line to Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon and St. Thomas Aquinas, who made it possible for Christian philosophy to absorb the works of Aristotle. Then came a second period with the beginning of modern science, led by Galileo and Descartes, otherwise known as Cartesius, which brought about the first schism in the empire of Aristotle through the discovery that nature is a vast machine, and that, given the initial data of matter and motion, it would be possible to construct the whole of nature by means of mathematical operations. According to this discovery, mind and purpose are not within the realm of natural science and, therefore, the whole material world is not influenced by any intelligence or design. It was this discovery that dethroned Metaphysics and crowned Mathematics as the Queen of Sciences.

8.3 Even before this period, great spiritual leaders, like Confucius in China, Gautama Buddha and Vardhamana Mahavira in India, felt that the world had fallen into decay. Right principles had disappeared, perverse discourses and oppressive deeds had waxed rife, and therefore the time for reform had come. The Buddhist believed that conversion was to be effected by persuasion, not by the sword, and King Asoka of Magadha did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine of Rome did for Christianity. These two great spiritual reformers of the East preached the belief that: "Man can enlarge his principles, but principles do not enlarge Man; that is, Man is greater than any system of thought".

They believed that: "learning undigested by thought is labour lost; thought unassisted by learning is perilous". They considered too, that: "a poor man who does not flatter, and a rich man who is not proud, are passable characters; but they are not equal to the poor who yet are cheerful and the rich who yet love the rules of propriety".

8.4 The two hundred years that followed the discoveries of Galileo and Descartes continued to widen the gap between metaphysics and mathematics until it reached its climax in what is known as "Newton's principia", or the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, published in 1687. Newton, however, whilst agreeing with Descartes that mathematics is the clue to nature, also agreed with Aristotle on the true concept of nature.

8.5 Thus passed away the empire of Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon and St. Thomas Aquinas - that school which applied Aristotelian methods and principles to the story of revealed doctrine and gave to the world the scholastic system which embodies the reconciliation of reason and orthodox faith. Modern science, in attempting to assume the functions which philosophy was destined to perform - that of giving knowledge of the real nature of the material world and even of the universe as a whole - and in seeking to escape from mediaeval tradition and dogma in which Aristotle had been incorporated by men like Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus, left Aristotle aside, and neglected the deep and genuine science of his writings because it had been yoked with what is known as Christian Dogma. But this breach was not to last forever: at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, two physicists, Young and Fresnel, made the first breach with Newtonian physics by the discovery of the wave theory of light. Again in 1895 Röntgen discovered the X-rays. This discovery of radioactivity led to the formation of the Quantum Theory, by Planck. The results of these three inventions or discoveries proved that radiation *is not continuous, but occurs in blocks, or in pockets* - an idea contrary to that of Newton, who maintained that movement was strictly continuous.

8.6 Ten years later, in 1905, the Michelson-Morley experiment exploded the theory of "absolute space and time" of Newtonian science - which led Albert Einstein to suggest that the "absolute space and time" of Newtonian science ought to be abandoned. Thus vanished the fundamental concept that matter is something permanently extended in space and persisting in time, and with it the idea that science is capable of telling us anything of the nature of things, apart from describing phenomena.

8.7 In this struggle for supremacy over the shaping of the "unconcious background" of a man's thoughts, the position of the ordinary man is pitiable. The modern philosopher tells the modern scientist that the faculty of reason which he so brilliantly uses is quite impotent to arrive at the truth about anything, and the scientist listens with great respect and agrees that ultimate reality is quite irrational. The results of modern science are enough to lend colour to the charge that we know not the thing but only our ideas *of the thing. Science now admits frankly that it has* only symbolic knowledge of the reality which it is investigating with such magnificent success. Is it not time for modern philosophers also to stop claiming that the mind has direct and immediate knowledge of reality? Is it not the frank and truthful thing to admit that we do not and cannot know anything of reality as it is in itself, but make our own truth, which has no necessary relation to the truth of reality itself? No, I think it is not. If we do not know reality we know nothing. The frank thing is to admit it. Truth in the mind concerning things outside the mind is entirely meaningless unless there is a correspondence between the idea in the mind and the reality outside the mind; the only reason why a scientific theory can be convenient and fruitful is that it represents at least an approximation to the truth.

8.8 Because of all of the inventions of modern Europe, because of the ascendancy of Europe in the field of science, the Industrial Revolution which followed gave Europe a lead in the mass production of consumer goods. It also gave Europe the lead in the invention of weapons of war; therefore, the pressure of Ghengis Khan, and Suleiman the Turk, soon became an affair of the past, and Europe at last gained supremacy over the Americas, over Asia and Africa. The Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock and founded the United States of America, the conquistadores founded twenty Latin American States, and Africa was partitioned at the Berlin Congress of 1885.

8.9 But one can hardly expect a man not trained to clear thinking to appreciate all this, still less to draw a philosophy from it. In these circumstances, I feel sure that it is but right to lay before the plain man a plain statement; the result of all this controversy between philosophy and modern science is that the spiritual unity which was known to the world under the leadership of Christian Europe is fast vanishing. This disappearance of religious unity inevitably brought about the disappearance of all the other kinds of unity which had been established under it and by means of it; so that we have arrived today at the period of the greatest fragmentation. And it is precisely during this period that the greatest attempt at internationalism has been made. Means of communication have been multiplied, the longest journeys have become easy and accessible to everyone; but in proportion as the physical distances between nations and continents have been shortened, the moral distances - the only ones that count - have grown. Ease of physical communication and difficulty of intellectual communication are the two characteristics of our age.

8.10 Modern civilization had the illusion of having succeeded in forming, once and for all, a certain type of man governed by rational intelligence, in which it had complete confidence. But the violent reactions which occurred in 1914 and 1939 showed that man decides and acts less according to reason, evidence, justice and right, than under the unreasoning impulse of religious emotions. Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism and Judaism had known how to control and direct. Modern civilization sought to substitute for these what we know as lay religions; but they have not lasted, they could not last for all their national façade, because they did not satisfy human nature. It happened then, as was inevitable, that man, detached and weaned from the great religions, returned instinctively to his former paganism and to what was at the root of that paganism - the religion of the tribe, the religion of blood, the religion of the City-State. Man will never be rational, or for long secular, nationalist,

or materialist; hence the irrational or mystical character of the contemporary world. This instinctive and feeling world which needs to love, to feel enthusiasm, to sacrifice itself for causes, and for which individual human life has little value, will follow more and more those forces which come to seize the fashioning forces; it will escape more and more from those who represent intelligence and culture as we have known them up to now. It is a barbarous and even primitive world, like that which grew up on the broken and shattered body of the Roman Empire. Beneath modern appearances, with all our formidable technical methods, in spite of the violent break with the recent past of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, in spite of our new discoveries, we are still in the presence of a movement of retrogression. We of Unesco must realize that it is useless to cry "Peace! Peace!" unless that peace is indivisible and universal. Peace is the quietness of order, and order is that disposition which, according to the likeness or unlikeness of things, assigns to each one its place. Peace, which in human life is created daily at one point to be destroyed at another, is the result and the reward of long patience. It is a matter of conciliations, adjustments, rapprochements, exchanges. It is a long evolution which we must work to make creative. Peace is faith, but faith which knows how to submit to realities. Peace is charity, but the highest and most difficult kind of charity. Peace is not the monopoly of a single institution, or a single department; it is synthesis, in which all those who think and suffer are called upon to co-operate. We must therefore, if we are to "construct the defences of peace, first in the minds of men", do away with all power politics, mean what we say, and say what we mean.

8.11 According to Unesco statistics, 40% or 700 million of the adult population of the world cannot read and write. About half the countries and territories of the world have at least 50% illiteracy, or more, among their adult population. In most of the countries of Africa the percentage of illiteracy is much higher than 75%. What is Unesco doing to solve this problem? Under what we term "Out-of-School Education", Project 1.5 of the present programme and budget, the total appropriation for both Regular programme and Technical Assistance, for the period 1956-1957, was approximately $2,500,000, and the proposed appropriation for the period 1959-1960, now before us for discussion, is $1,960,300, about half a million dollars less than the previous year. Similarly, under Project 1.6, entitled "Out-of-School Education for Young People and Adults", there is a decrease of about $17,000 between the period now under review and the period 1956-1957. In the field of social science, however, the amounts appropriated under both the Regular programme and under Technical Assistance were increased by about 15%, and in the latter case by 100%: from $1,876,100 to $2,035,900, and for Technical Assistance from $75,000 to $1250,700.

8.12 Under Project 4.73, entitled "Production of Reading Material for New Literates and the New Reading Public", an interdepartmental project, only a nominal increase of $20,000, i.e. about 10%, is provided for the period 1959-1960 over the period 1957-1958. Under Project 4.81, Culture and International Understanding, mention is made of arrangements for a discussion to be devoted to the cultures of Equatorial Africa, and for the publication of a first anthology of texts selected from various literatures of Africa South of the Sahara. It is also planned to offer a contract to a specialist on Africa, for the preparation of a first anthology of translations, into French and English, of representative texts from the literary heritage of this region. This is indeed commendable for, as I had occasion to mention recently, African culture must not be represented in Unesco by proxy; if it is to be represented at all, it must be represented freely, and be truly representative of its literary heritage.

8.13 In connexion with the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, it was agreed by most Member States of Unesco that the terms "East" and "West" should not have a primarily geographical acceptation. It was also agreed that, in order to appreciate this principle of mutuality, we all must first know and understand those values. We must, however, realize that the cultures of most of these countries are now in a state of flux, altering daily from the age-old traditions and developing, through social, economic and so political changes, towards a more unified world culture. It is therefore the opinion of the Liberian delegation that the main trend or tour de force of this Major Project is to develop, as a means to an end, a transition which will lead us to appreciate more and more the diversity of cultural values. It is to develop an appreciation, that may be called a rhythm, of diversities which will finally produce harmony for the musician, a poem for the poet, a painting for the artist, truth for the philosopher, the essence of matter for the scientist, and at last peace for all mankind. The delegation of Liberia also believes that it is in this spirit that Unesco must accept the Major Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures, and not as a means of keeping the nations of the world divided through diversity.

8.14 Within the next two years, fellow delegates, there will be admitted into the international family at least five or six more African States, in addition to the eight which are already members of Unesco, namely the United Arab Republic, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana and Liberia. In addition to this group of about thirteen States, there are the States which have by popular consent agreed to associate freely with France. They are Mauretania, Senegal, Sudan, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the States of Equatorial Africa, and Madagascar. There is the vast Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and the territories under the administering powers of Portugal - Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. There are also the British Dependencies of Sierra Leone, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, in East Africa, and the central African Federation, in central Africa. Last but not least, there are the teeming millions now being isolated and discriminated against by a small minority of about 15% of the population in South Africa, under the legal subterfuge of so-called apartheid. What will Unesco do in its programme to help these millions of Africans? Although we appreciate the special items in the programme and

budget under discussion, on vocational training, etc., this is just a beginning, a drop in the bucket. I appeal to all Member States of Unesco, and to the Administering Powers of Africa, to collaborate with the Organization in bringing to the human masses of Africa the true meaning of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

8.15 Many Administering Powers are already doing this, but there is still room for improvement in a continent where the social and economic ebb is the lowest in the world. Fellow delegates, in our struggle for peace we must regard education, science and culture not as the end but as a means to the end. We must all agree to use our educational progress, scientific inventions and cultural attainments only in the quest for peace, not as weapons to destroy and divide humanity.

8.16 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I wish, here, to pay homage to the host government of this Organization, to France. France, in making possible interest-free loans, and in giving us the title to the land upon which this building was constructed, has again made the saying of Victor Hugo come true. It was he who said: "Tout homme a deux patries: la sienne et puis la France".

9. The PRESIDENT:

Thank you, Mr. Massaquoi. I now call on the delegate of Iran, Mr. Raadi.

10.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have already had the honour, in this very place and during the first hours of the present session, of paying a tribute to the French Government and the French people, and of expressing our deep gratitude for the welcome given to us. Allow me to do so once again on behalf of the Iranian delegation.

10.2 Fellow delegates, as you are aware, whoever speaks at the end of a long discussion very often risks repeating what previous speakers have already said, certainly more eloquently and brilliantly than himself. I shall therefore not deal here with questions which we shall have occasion to raise or develop in the Commissions and Committees. Had there been sufficient time, I would have wished to indicate, during this discussion, my delegation's deep interest in all parts of the programme. I find it difficult to choose a few items alone; such a choice is inevitably rash, as may be seen from this rough translation of certain lines by Sadi of Shiraz:

"Like a hungry dervish
Invited to the royal banquet,
I am at loss what to do;
At a single glance, I should like to admire
Every part of your body".

10.3 In any case, the choice I make does not mean that I am not interested in the other questions. I shall begin with a few general remarks and refer, first of all, to Unesco's budget.

10.4 We are convinced that the proposed budget is a very modest one, and that it should go much beyond the figure indicated; but, as contributions are distributed among all Member States, even modest increases in the budget would be a heavy burden for countries with small financial resources. In the words of an old proverb, "the dew causes a flood in the ant-hill".

10.5 How, then, can we reconcile this fact with the need to increase the budget? Like the honourable head of the Brazilian delegation, we think that solutions for the problem exist. Would it not be possible, for instance, to provide for an increased budget by the establishment of one or more special funds which, being of an international nature, would offer all the necessary guarantees?

10.6 In this respect, it is encouraging to note that our Conference has before it a project for Unesco's co-operation with the United Nations Special Fund. It will also study a report on the establishment of an International Fund for Education, Science and Culture. It would suffice to adapt those funds to the need for strengthening Unesco's financial resources.

10.7 We also consider that, within the present limits of Unesco's resources, savings could be made thanks to an even closer study of its administrative management. The resulting surplus would make it possible to strengthen and extend the programme activities.

10.8 Another question I should like to mention here is that of the geographical distribution of posts on the Secretariat. We feel that greater efforts should be made in this direction. We are glad that the principle recommended to the Executive Board by the Iranian Government, that there should be an improvement in this geographical distribution, has been adopted and submitted to the General Conference. But we hope that this principle will be applied scrupulously and as liberally as possible.

10.9 In connexion with this same problem - the recruitment of staff - I venture to recall the fundamental question of common basic training for candidates for the international civil service. Despite certain delays and shortcomings, surveys have been carried out pursuant to a resolution which we proposed at the eighth session of the General Conference, and we feel that it is now time to consider this question with the careful attention it deserves. We shall revert to it in the Administrative Commission, but I venture now to state that the real solution to the problem of reconciling the two principles governing recruitment - namely, professional qualifications and geographical distribution - is, in our view, the one which we had the privilege of recommending at the Montevideo Conference.

10.10 We agree unreservedly with the numerous delegations which have advocated a radical, realistic and vigorous reform in the programme of the Education Department. This reform must ensure that Member States' efforts to eradicate illiteracy, as well as their efforts in other fields such as secondary and higher education and particularly technical and vocational education, shall be backed up and so, to a greater extent than in the past, integrated in Unesco's work.

10.11 After these general remarks, Mr. President, allow me to refer to certain more detailed items of the programme. For the reasons I have already indicated, I shall confine myself to a few projects, particularly the three Major Projects which aim at concentrated action in the fields of education, science and culture.

10.12 Regarding the Major Project on Mutual

Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, while expressing our sincere attachment to its aims, we are, like several other delegations, convinced of the need for its gradual adaptation to realities. The two years given to us for preparing the implementation of this project have now elapsed; but we consider that this preparation should continue, particularly on the psychological and governmental levels. It is necessary to speed up the creation of national committees and ensure that the entire system of international cultural relations shall be gradually harmonized with the aims of this project.

10.13 The peoples are already becoming incensed and restive owing to the continual interference of temporary political factors in the appreciation of the eternal cultural values. It is high time that, thanks to the implementation of the project, the grandeur and strength of human communities be evaluated, no longer according to their power of destruction, but according to their contribution to human culture and mutual understanding.

10.14 With regard to the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands, we have always felt that it could be better conceived and organized: but, in our opinion, it lacks adequate financial resources. Its success, of course, like that of the other Major Projects, depends mainly on the co-operation of all the States concerned. As to my own country, I am glad to say that, during the last two years, we have made a contribution which was even considered, in certain quarters, as being above our means. We have established an Arid Zone Research Centre. Iran has already devoted to this project, on the national level, twelve million rials, i.e. the equivalent of approximately $160,000. A further sum of $300,0000 is envisaged for next year. In October last, we organized in Teheran, and to a large extent defrayed the cost of, an International Symposium on Salinity Problems in Arid Zones. In the opinion of the experts themselves, this meeting, which was attended by scientists from the different regions of the world, was crowned with success. We thank the Secretariat, in the person of its distinguished Director-General, for its valuable assistance in the organization of the Symposium. Further, the Research Centre has been provided with a special building offering all the required facilities.

10.15 All these efforts, Mr. President, show that my country, while remaining firmly attached to its cultural past, does not overlook the indisputable fact that today, more than ever before, scientific progress is the determining factor in an improvement of social conditions, which is the keystone of peace in a just and prosperous world.

10.16 We sincerely hope that the Teheran Research Centre will receive, as a designated institute and on an equal footing with similar centres in this region, the assistance which Unesco already grants to these centres.

10.17 Regarding the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, I can only express once again our deep interest in it, and congratulate our Latin-American colleagues on their attachment to it. We Asian peoples, who, on the educational and social levels, often have similar problems, are impatiently awaiting the successful completion of this project and are closely following its development. We sincerely hope that, when possibilities and circumstances permit, a similar major project will be prepared and implemented for the benefit of the vast Asian regions. We shall then, of course, profit by the experience acquired by the noble Latin American nations.

10.18 Before leaving the Major Projects, allow me to express the hope that another activity, which is now on the interdepartmental level, will shortly be given the status of a Major Project - namely, the production of reading texts for new literates and the new reading public. This activity is already going forward in several Asian countries.

10.19 Numerous cultural links with Asian countries already encourage us to co-operate actively in this project, particularly as the same problem exists, in an acute form, in Iran. Following Unesco's recommendations, we have undertaken a vast campaign against illiteracy, under the aegis of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, who personally supervises the special courses instituted for that purpose.

10.20 For all these multitudes of new literates, whose appetite demands healthy and abundant intellectual nourishment, the first food consists of texts adapted to their needs; for literacy without culture would hardly be likely to serve Unesco's aims.

10.21 Lastly, Mr. President, without wishing to expatiate on the main heads of Unesco's activities, I should like to add a few words about mass communication problems. While warmly acknowledging the Organization's efforts in this field, we feel it should make a greater endeavour to discover the most direct and appropriate means of reaching the masses. Since it is a question of imbuing them with a love of peace and explaining to them, by concrete example, the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, a fundamental rôle in this campaign for mutual understanding falls to press, radio, television and film.

10.22 It is to be hoped that those who control the media of mass communication in the various countries will show greater interest in Unesco's work, responding to its appeal and bringing it to the notice of the public. In this connexion, I cannot pass over in silence a fact which I must describe as regrettable - not to put it more strongly - the fact that most newspapers with a wide circulation devote much more space to trivial news items and sensational crimes than to the social achievements of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

10.23 These are the few remarks which I wished to make during the present debate.

10.24 Mr. President, we all desire peace; we are all agreed on that: we start to disagree only when we come to seek the best and quickest means of reaching that goal. We often come up against a formidable obstacle, the intransigent sectarianism which always thinks it has the monopoly of peace and truth. Truth, however, is necessarily one and universal, and peace is indivisible. Only concerted, calm and fraternal efforts can bring us nearer to the attainment of these ideals.

10.25 In this quest for peace and truth, let us therefore strive, first and foremost, to combat misleading prejudices, the exploitation of poverty and ignorance, all infringements of human freedom and dignity, organized hatred and, particularly, blind fanaticism.

10.26 And, in our efforts, let us take inspiration from these words of another great Persian poet and thinker of the Thirteenth century, Molana Djalaloddin, which I should like to leave with you:

"Just as green fruit, unworthy of the palate,
Remains hanging on the tree which bears it,
But, once ripened and full-flavoured,
Comes to the hand from the drooping branch,
So the sectarian reveals by his intransigence
That his mind is not mature: it is only the embryo
That is nourished with blood".

11. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Iran and now call upon the delegate of Honduras, Mr. Mejia.

12.1 Mr. MEJIA (Honduras) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, allow me, first of all, to convey to the distinguished delegates to this tenth session of Unesco's General Conference the warm greetings of the people and Government of the Republic of Honduras, together with their earnest wishes that the Conference's work will be crowned with success and produce practical results of benefit to all Member States. I should like, also, to give the heartiest congratulations to the Unesco authorities on the building of this imposing Headquarters, which will henceforth be a centre for all those who are endeavouring to raise the educational, scientific and cultural standards of our peoples. We are impressed by the interest and co-operation of the French people and Government, and the French Minister of Education, in Unesco's work; they have made possible the achievement of the Organization's plans.

12.2 The Republic of Honduras has answered all Unesco's requests and Unesco has done all that Honduras required of it. But my country is undergoing a complete transformation; barely ten months ago, a constitutional regime was re-established there, and our people, who now enjoy all the freedoms, are also demanding the reform of their labour systems and the full development of all their resources in order that the benefits of progress may be extended to the remotest parts of the country. These resources, Mr. President and delegates, are not sufficient to enable us to honour all our obligations towards the people. Two hundred and thirty thousand children are without schools, and a considerable proportion of the population of two million inhabitants is illiterate: the shortage of furniture and educational materials, as well as of teachers and schools, is a matter of constant concern to my Government, which is doing all it can to reduce illiteracy and improve the situation in the other respects mentioned, where the shortcomings speak for themselves. The object of these remarks, Mr. President and delegates, is to draw your attention to the situation in Honduras and to induce you to co-operate more widely with my country, which has sent representatives to this Conference in the confident hope that it can count upon you.

12.3 We were deeply moved when this Conference, in agreement with the Executive Board and the Nominations Committee, appointed a representative of my country as one of its Vice-Presidents for the first time in Unesco's history. For this high honour granted to Honduras, I thank you, fellow delegates, and I thank the authorities of Unesco. This is a great triumph for my country, but the delegation of Honduras wishes to win another triumph, namely fuller co-operation.

12.4 We are convinced that Unesco's work in our country will considerably improve in the near future. The technical mission sent there is advising the Government ably and devotedly. At our Higher Teacher-Training School, specialized departments have been established and are already giving good results. Primary education, covering both urban and rural areas, was centralized this year and is now completely under the technical and administrative control of the State. Owing to this centralization, we have had to double the education budget this year, and, although there will be further small increases in the budget during the coming years, they will not be sufficient to enable us to achieve all we would wish. I repeat that my Government is promoting education with an enthusiasm unparallelled in all our history; the following facts may be mentioned in support of this statement: this year we opened 372 more schools than last year; 894 new teachers were appointed; and the total number of children enrolled increased by more than 26,000, i.e. almost twice the number laid down in the Major Project on Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. That, fellow delegates, is why we are asking for greater co-operation.

12.5 Our country, with Unesco's assistance, has already prepared the plans, projects and specifications for the building of the Experimental Teacher-Training School, which is associated with the Major Project, and one of the four teacher-training schools planned for Latin America. Turning to Unesco's programme and budget for 1959-1960, the Honduran delegation considers that they have been drawn up in accordance with the information and programmes provided by Member States and have been carefully considered; they should therefore be approved - subject, of course, to our right to comment appropriately in the commissions, where we have to confirm our previous statements of our needs.

12.6 Mr. President and delegates, the Honduran delegation wishes to affirm its faith in Unesco; it is fully convinced that the Organization will be able to overcome the small obstacles to the realization of the aims and ideals proclaimed in its Constitution, and that peace and justice - for which all the peoples yearn - will come to suffuse its Member States through education, science and culture.

12.7 May Unesco succeed in imbuing all men of goodwill with the spirit of understanding and mutual agreement as the guiding principle of all their actions for the good of mankind.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Honduras and have pleasure now in calling on the delegate of Nigeria, Mr. Esua.

14.1 Mr. ESUA (Nigeria):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is indeed a high honour to me to have this opportunity of addressing the General Conference from this rostrum. My last personal contact with Unesco was at its birth

in London in 1945. The memory of that great occasion and the distinguished personalities connected with it is still fresh in my mind. I can see for myself how considerably Unesco has grown since then, and how it has attracted to its membership many countries which were then outside its fold.

14.2 I bring you the greetings of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and of the 35 million Nigerians who are grateful for the arrangement whereby countries which have not yet attained full independence, but which enjoy a large measure of internal self-government, can become Associate Members of Unesco. I wish to express Nigeria's gratitude to the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which helped to bring this about. That Government sponsored similar applications from Malaya and Ghana, which are now full members of Unesco. I trust that a similar application from Nigeria for full membership of Unesco will be favourably received when she attains her independence in 1960. Great Britain may be justly proud of her splendid achievement which has resulted in so many of her daughter nations, beginning with Canada, becoming full Members of Unesco, and which has placed her in a position to contribute so magnificently to the strength and progress of Unesco. Those who derive some pleasure from harping on what they style "British Imperialism" can see for themselves this magnificent achievement which, as far as I am aware, is without parallel in the history of any other of the leading countries of our world.

14.3 I am not going to inflict on you a long speech which might prejudice Nigeria's easy admission to full membership of Unesco at your next General Conference in 1960, when Nigeria's application will be before you.

14.4 I think we should heed the advice of the Israeli delegate who, in his speech from this rostrum last week, counselled modesty, and suggested that speakers should avoid boasting of their respective country's wonderful achievements in the fields of education, science and culture. I shall therefore not attempt to set out Nigeria's achievements in those fields, although, far from being insignificant, they compare favourably with those of some independent countries which are now full Members of Unesco. Anyone who sincerely wishes to have some idea of Nigeria's achievements in those fields can read again the statement of the Nigerian delegate at the ninth session of the General Conference of Unesco at New Delhi, in 1956, and can supplement that information with up-to-date facts and figures which are readily available.

14.5 Nigeria has been an Associate Member of Unesco since 1956, and has paid its contributions for the maintenance of this Organization. Mr. President, permit me to add, not in any spirit of criticism, that compared with the other Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, such as the ILO, WHO and FAO, Unesco makes the least impact, if any, upon Nigeria. In fact, as far as we in Nigeria are concerned, Unesco has largely remained a "distant rumour". Any average person in Nigeria can point to concrete achievements in that country by ILO, WHO and FAO, and yet the problems confronting Nigeria in the field of education are very pressing, and call for the most urgent attention.

14.6 I do not wish to lay the blame for that unfortunate situation at the door of Unesco. Perhaps it is because Nigeria has not asked that she has not received. Probably Nigeria's request to Unesco for assistance and guidance in the setting up of a National Commission in Nigeria was "lost in transit". I now renew that request, and I wish to couple it with the suggestion that, since our system of education in Nigeria is modelled largely on the British pattern, Unesco might consider sending us for this purpose, at its own expense, someone with much experience in the running of the National Commission of the United Kingdom. I take it that he would also assist in setting up the secretariat of Nigeria's National Commission.

14.7 In his interesting and thought-provoking address to us at the opening of this Conference last week, Dr. Radhakrishnan of India said, "Asia is awake, Africa is on the move". The reports and the proposed budget before us clearly show the attention Unesco is giving to educational problems in certain parts of the world, particularly those of us familiarly described as underdeveloped countries. Unfortunately, Africa receives, on the whole, comparatively little attention from Unesco. In Nigeria, for instance, there is a serious shortage of teachers, especially at the secondary school level, and particularly science teachers. If Unesco has not been able to come to our help during the past few years, I hope that when Nigeria sets up her National Commission, as she must do as soon as possible, and when she formulates proposals for which she will need Unesco's technical assistance, those proposals will receive adequate support from this Organization.

14.8 This brings to my mind the concrete suggestions embodied in the resolutions which emerged from the deliberations of the Conference of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession held in Rome last August, particularly those relating to educational development in the underdeveloped areas of the world, for which assistance is sought from such international bodies as Unesco. I also remember that the WCOTP has selected for its special study in 1959, "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values". I have no doubt that WCOTP can be of much help to Unesco in its study of that subject.

14.9 On reviewing the proposed budget of Unesco for 1959-1960, I find relatively little in it to make me happy. I should like to point out, however, that paragraph 161, on page 23, which relates to a study of ways and means of improving the teachers' status, welfare and salaries, is more important than appears at first sight. According to a news item in the London "Times" of 5 November 1958, ILO has already embarked upon a similar exercise. This question ought to concern Unesco more than any other of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. I therefore hope that Unesco will pursue that question very vigorously in the next few months.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Nigeria, and I now call on the delegate of Peru, Mr. Mac-Lean y Estenos.

16.1 Mr. MAC-LEAN Y ESTENOS (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, a brilliant

array of distinguished statesmen and speakers, gathered from almost all the countries in the world to meet in this concourse of minds amid the wonders of the France that is so dear to us, have preceded me at this rostrum and reaffirmed their faith in the high destiny and universal mission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in vibrant words which it would be superfluous for me to attempt to repeat.

16.2 Thirteen years ago, in a world exhausted by war and distressed by the prospects of a precarious peace, the idea of creating this modern Arepagus was conceived and given shape in London. The road travelled since then has been hard. When, in this public affirmation of our common ideals, virtues, shortcomings, successes and failures, we examine our consciences together, we may, as we look back, be satisfied with the work already done; and, profiting by the rich experience gained - which has much to teach us and also imposes obligations on us - let fly our optimism like a swift arrow towards the future, where so much still remains to be done.

16.3 We are certainly all at one - and this unanimity is most heartening - in endorsing the fundamental objects, to achieve which Unesco was established, in a happy hour, in the midst of one of the world's deepest crises, when it was torn between distress and hope, and when one era was closing while another was being ushered in. This unanimity disappears, however, and discord arises and leads to aggressiveness, when the spume of theory clears away and the hard impact of reality is brought home to us.

16.4 In his speech last Friday, the delegate of the United States of America, measuring the distance which separates Unesco from the peoples, stated frankly and truly, in the light of his own experience, that we had failed in our efforts to make the peoples appreciate what Unesco has set out to do. Many of them do not know what the six letters forming Unesco's name stand for, or are even unaware of the very existence of our Organization, whose programme - in the words of the United States delegate - is formed of a series of separate departments arbitrarily divided by individual pressures and ineffective compromises. This is, to a large extent, the bitter truth; and it is not only the man in the street, the ordinary man or woman, who is of this opinion; even the ruling and intellectual classes wonder what purpose is served by Unesco, what is its practical use, why we are here, how and for what purpose Member States' contributions are employed, and whether it is really worth while to carry on projects costing so much, however fine in themselves. It is urgently necessary to answer these questions with clear, eloquent and concrete facts rather than with words.

16.5 Three high-priority projects, called "Major Projects", form the main subject of our discussions at this tenth session of the General Conference; they concern respectively relations between the Orient and the Occident, primary education in Latin America, and technical assistance for the cultivation of arid zones and the reclamation of deserts. Perhaps I may say a few words about each of them.

16.6 No one certainly, either among ourselves or among those who have preceded us or will succeed us in the pursuit of universal brotherhood, would venture to question the advantages of establishing closer ties and better mutual understanding between the two parts of the world somewhat inappropriately called "Orient" and "Occident", both of which have given birth to cultures that have been admired throughout the centuries. Everywhere, more and more voices are being raised in favour of this union of minds. Small groups of scholars, intellectuals and men of goodwill are holding discussions and exchanging their views at round-table meetings. We are very rightly being reminded of cultural contacts during bygone periods, the Occident's debt to the Orient, and the Orient's debt to the Occident. Bibliographical, documentary and art exhibitions are being organized. At Western universities, students are studying the civilization of Asia in other centuries, its linguistics and its archaeology. "Major Projects" are being worked out backed with funds, as in the case of the one we are discussing, to the amount of nearly $800,000. Despite all these good intentions, however, despite all these praiseworthy projects and this considerable expenditure - and, every two years, at the beginning of each session of the General Conference, we are given proof of this - the Orient and the Occident continue to misunderstand one another and to disagree to such an extent that, so far at least, they give the impression that they can never be reconciled, as though they were not two parts of the same world but belonged, rather, to two different planets. Unesco has not succeeded in accomplishing its lofty enterprise of promoting world-wide union, so often proclaimed in optimistic terms in its official documents, but just as often denied - and how eloquently! - by the hard and bitter realities of life.

16.7 The world is divided into two parts. That is a fact and it would be foolish to ignore it. One part cannot expand without detriment to the other. That, also, is a fact, and it would be dangerous to overlook it. All of us who are concerned in this East-West adventure must therefore do everything we can to diminish as far as possible the extent of this division and the militancy of this disagreement, so that both parties, mutually respecting their irreducible differences, may peacefully coexist, maintaining the present balance for the good of the whole world.

16.8 Would Unesco be able to assume the tremendous historical responsibility of such a mission? Would not the magnitude of the task be out of all proportion to the very limited resources available for performing it? Would it not perhaps be inordinate presumption on Unesco's part, beyond the limits of the Organization's competence?

16.9 The second Major Project concerns the extension of primary education in Latin America. From the theoretical standpoint, it cannot fail to win approval, but its practical implementation calls for very serious reflection.

16.10 The project has overlooked that more than thirty million Indians, the original stock of the native, traditional inhabitants, accustomed for generations to suffer and hope in vain, dwell in our American continent from Alaska to Patagonia; they constitute the national majority in certain countries and exercise a strong demographic pressure in others; for four hundred years, they have been living in the most deplorable conditions, quite unworthy of human beings; they have been plundered of their lands; in

certain regions, they work like serfs, under the oppressions of a feudal regime, vegetating, having motion but having forgotten even how to think, starving and destitute. Before thinking of teaching these thirty million outcasts how to read and write, it is urgently necessary, fellow delegates, to rehabilitate them as human beings, to restore the lands which were wrested from them and to give them back their dignity as individuals, of which they have been deprived for many centuries, so that the Indian will cease to be what he is still today - a farm animal. In Latin America, it is impossible to leave out of account either the land or the Indians, for that would be tantamount to the absurdity of trying to abolish our past history, our present and our future.

16.11 The various States which are tackling this problem are endeavouring, so far as their limited financial resources allow, to improve the Indians' living conditions. We are also aware of Unesco's small-scale projects in certain Latin American countries. It seems, however, that the extraordinary magnitude of this fundamental problem is not properly appreciated. It is as though efforts were being made to irrigate a vast expanse of thirsty desert with a few drops of water.

16.12 Technical assistance to certain countries in which arid lands are found is the third so-called "Major" Project, which, as the United States delegate also pointed out so rightly in one of his speeches, is rather vague in content and uncertain in policy. This fault should be rectified and there is still time for this to be done.

16.13 It is indeed a marvellous thing to transform the desert into a green paradise, but it should be asked whether this wonderful work rightly falls to our Organization, which was set up to foster education, science and culture, or whether it should not rather be the concern of other equally important international agencies, which, unlike our own, were established for the express purpose of studying and solving the problems of agricultural production, agrarian economy and the world's food. It should also be considered whether the substantial sums which have been allocated to this project in Unesco's Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, totalling more than $700,000, are not an unnecessary drain on our very limited budgetary resources, seeing that there are other technical international organizations qualified to perform this excellent work.

16.14 Certain related observations, which need to be emphasized on this great occasion, must also be made with regard to Unesco's internal organization, which suffers from quite a number of shortcomings, some of them serious - mistaken, inadequate or wrongly directed activities - that have been justifiably criticized by other speakers at previous meetings.

16.15 Authoritative spokesmen have already observed from this rostrum that the geographical distribution among the Organization's administrative staff and its governing bodies still leaves much to be desired. Others have taken a stand on the volume and nature of the budgetary expenditure, some of which is considered to be excessive or unnecessary. The delegate of the United States of America rightly pointed out the disadvantages of such dissipation of resources, the imperfect co-ordination of the various projects, and the too often trivial and insufficiently concentrated methods adopted for carrying out the work.

16.16 Unesco's bureaucratic inflation, if I may use such a term, is already an open secret and should be checked with strict regard to equity. The Secretariat machinery alone absorbs more than half the contributions made by Member States, the rest - in fact still further reduced - being used for the decentralized execution of the various programmes and projects.

16.17 Nor would it serve any purpose to conceal the general lack of confidence in the competitive recruitment of administrative staff, which detracts from the Organization's prestige.

16.18 A less liberal policy should be adopted with regard to what might be called "official visits" on the trips which certain staff members and employees of the Organization all too frequently make, at Unesco's expense, to different countries and continents, without real advantage to the Organization. These are all the more unnecessary as, in each of the countries concerned, there is a National Commission for Unesco or permanent officials of the Organization providing liaison between the latter's Headquarters and the bodies directly responsible for the implementation of the technical projects in each region.

16.19 I willingly admit that Unesco's administrative staff deserves encouragement; its work, however, will be more fruitful if each of the staff members concerned thinks less of his own learning and personal merits - real in some cases, imaginary in others - than of the nature of the mission entrusted to him, the position in which he is, serving rather than to be served, and of the obligations and responsibilities which both impose upon him.

16.20 Any steps which the Director-General may take to remedy these internal shortcomings, which, I repeat, are matters of public knowledge, will certainly be appreciated and applauded.

16.21 Unesco, ladies and gentlemen, is an association of nations, an international beacon, a mobilization of spiritual forces for the promotion of better understanding and the improvement of cultural and living standards. It is the focus of our highest hopes and an historic opportunity in the great adventure of the mind. Let us not miss this opportunity nor disappoint the hopes placed in our Organization by all the peoples. Do not let Unesco be a rigid monolith, indissociable from traditional systems; let it, like a sensitive antenna, catch the rhythm of the new ideas and the new achievements demanded by the peoples. Let not this great hope for mankind be thwarted. Above the political disagreements, which are natural and understandable in the course of the world's evolution, let the essence of the noble ideals we share be preserved and reaffirmed through the honouring of man, the revitalization of human rights and the creative power of the individual.

16.22 Fellow delegates, it lies with us to accomplish this task for the good of all the peoples of the world. This is our historic mission, and also our responsibility.

The meeting rose at 11.30 p.m.

XIII

THIRTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

12 November 1958, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Dr. Moshe AVIDOR (Israel)

CONTENTS

Report of the General Committee 200
Second Report of the Administrative Commission: Financing of the Budget and the Provisional Budget Ceiling 201

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

The meeting will come to order.

1.2 Before proceeding to the items on the agenda, I wish to present to you, for your information and approval, a report on the meeting of the General Committee held this morning: "The General Committee recommends to the General Conference, in accordance with Rule 108 of the Rules of Procedure, the suspension of Rule 78, paragraph 2, in order to admit until tomorrow, Thursday, 13 November, at 10 a.m., draft resolutions containing new programme resolutions or amendments to the draft programme involving new activities or increasing substantially the budget estimates, provided the Member States presenting these resolutions prove that, owing to exceptional circumstances, they were unable to present such draft resolutions six weeks before the opening of the tenth session. The suspension of Article 78, paragraph 2, requires a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting."

1.3 I wish first to submit this item to your approval, so that anyone wishing to speak on this point may have your attention. I call upon the delegate of the Netherlands.

2. Mr. REININK (Netherlands):

Mr. President, we did not like to speak on this item before, but now that you ask us, we are very glad to say that your proposal was quite unexpected; we had several proposals we should have liked to make, but which we did not put forward before because the period of six weeks had already passed. Now, I think, given the experience of New Delhi, we know what kinds of proposals can come before us in quite unexpected ways. I think it would be preferable, for the whole proceeding of this meeting, to work on papers we have already had before us for some time. For this reason, Mr. President, we would like to enforce the Rule and not suspend it.

3. The PRESIDENT:

The General Committee was also of the opinion that Rule 78 should be adhered to as far as possible, but it heard requests from three Member States that, owing to exceptional circumstances, the Rule be suspended; actually, only one of the three Members has presented such draft resolutions. The General Committee was of the opinion that the suspension should be valid only if there were unusual circumstances; each draft resolution would then be considered on its merits. In other words, the General Committee does not wish to invite draft resolutions, we simply want to give the opportunity to those who, under extraordinary circumstances could not present them, to do so now, until tomorrow at 10 a.m. Is there anyone else who wishes to speak on the point? I call upon the delegate of Sweden.

4. Mr. LUND (Sweden):

Mr. President, I do not know what those exceptional circumstances are which lead us to take a new attitude now, and which so far have not been presented. The rules to which we adhere had been known to all of us since the New Delhi Conference, that means two years, and if those persons or those delegations wished to present new proposals, they had good time to do so. I can see no reasons for suspending this rule now, and I must say that, had there been possibilities of presenting proposals for the reduction of the budget, my delegation has instructions to do so. But now, since the Rules of Procedure forbid us to do so, I think we must adhere to the Rules of Procedure already accepted.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:

I wish to correct, first of all, one statement by the delegate of Sweden. Draft resolutions to decrease the budget can be presented at any time, there is no time-limit to that. As concerns the exceptional circumstances of some Member States wishing to present new draft resolutions, I mention the three cases that were cited this morning in the General Committee. Our host country, France, for instance, whose delegation was so busy in preparing our Conference, begs the right to present two draft resolutions. The General Committee appreciated their reason for this. The delegation of the USSR requested the right to wait until tomorrow to present its draft resolution - also for a sound reason in the view of the General Committee - because documents were

translated into Russian later than into other languages, so that they had less time to consider them than the other States. The delegation of Japan also mentions that the documents arrived in their country at a time when it was difficult to convene the National Commission. They have not presented any draft resolution, they merely requested that time be given to them to do so, should they find it necessary, by tomorrow morning.

5.2 Since no one else wishes to speak, I shall put this recommendation of the General Committee to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

5.3 The recommendation is adopted by 41 votes in favour, 11 against, and 1 abstention.

5.4 Now we come to point 2 in the report of the General Committee. The General Committee has received a communication from the head of the delegation of Bolivia, document 10 C/55, requesting that the delegation be granted the right to vote at the tenth session of the General Conference. The General Committee agreed to transmit this request directly to the plenary meeting, without previous consideration by the Administrative Commission. Does anyone wish to speak on this point? Do I take it that it is approved? Any objection? It is approved.

5.5 Point 3 - The General Committee has received a communication from the International Union of Students requesting admission as observers to the tenth session of the General Conference. It was agreed to transmit this request to the Executive Board which, at the earliest possible moment, will study this question and make a recommendation to the General Conference.

5.6 Point 4 - The General Committee recommends that the general discussion on the report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization and on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 be continued at the plenary meeting today, after discussion of the report of the Administrative Commission on the draft resolution on methods of financing the budget, maximum assessment level, provisional gross budget level and provisional spending level.

5.7 We come now to point 13.1 on our Agenda, and I call on Mr. Hla of Burma, Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission, to submit to us the report of the Administrative Commission on the budget (document 10 C/56).

SECOND REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION: FINANCING OF THE BUDGET AND THE PROVISIONAL BUDGET CEILING

6. Mr. HLA (Burma), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, I submit to you document 10 C/56, the second report of the Administrative Commission. (Mr. Hla read the report of the Administrative Commission on the financing of the budget and the provisional budget ceiling - cf. 10 C/Resolutions, Annex III.)

7. The PRESIDENT:

Thank you. We will now hear the Director-General's comments on this proposal.

8.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL:

Mr. President, the discussion of the budget ceiling and the assessment level, and the methods of financing the budget, always present a serious problem to the General Conference. But it does not this time present a serious problem for the Secretariat, for the reason that over the past two years the Secretariat has been trying its level best, and the Executive Board has been trying its level best, to find out what your wishes are in the matter of the programme you want and the amount of money you are willing to pay for that programme. Our task has been that of judging what your wishes are. We showed, at New Delhi, that we were not perfect in arriving at that judgement, and that might turn out to be the case this time also, although I think there is now more general agreement that we have found a budget level which secures your general approval.

8.2 Mr. President, one of my objectives has been to develop a democratic system of consultation in this Organization. We have developed a long and complicated system of consulting Member States and consulting the Board at various stages in the development of the programme and the budget. You will recall that, at Montevideo, the Conference resolved to have more extensive consultation of Member States, and we have gone even further on the basis of the resolutions adopted at New Delhi. The attitude of the Secretariat has been to make this a genuine consultation, and it has tried to respond as much as possible to wishes expressed in one Conference which could not be fulfilled, when preparing for the work to be placed before the following Conference.

8.3 The way we proceed in the development of this programme and budget is to prepare, in the first year of each budget period, a preliminary paper for the consideration of the Executive Board; that paper is sent to Member States for comments, or they may utilize it in instructing their members of the Board - in the case of some of the countries - as to how they should vote on the proposed programme and budget. After a general discussion in which we also take account of ideas emanating from other international organizations, governmental and non-governmental, and views we pick up from various sources, the Secretariat gets to work seriously to prepare a draft programme and budget. This last time, we did so as of 1 November of the first year after the Conference. This is rather fast work and it requires that, in making the programme and budget, we operate without having had a great deal of experience with the one in the course of execution. This makes us feel that a suggestion made by one of the delegations, that perhaps we ought to have a three-year rhythm instead of a two-year rhythm, is really worthy of serious consideration.

8.4 Mr. President, through the thoughtful work of the Economic and Social Council in asking the Agencies to make an appraisal of their programmes, we are in the position this time to give you some ideas regarding the future that go beyond the next biennium, and in 10 C/10 you will find some of our thinking as to the future, which we hope will be given careful consideration in this Conference. We recognize that our present proposals do not take full account of a great many ideas for Unesco's work. We think that in the future we must make some changes of

emphasis. As I said in my address when I took office in this Organization, I think the programme of Unesco is best planned and best understood in long-range terms. Therefore, in order to maintain stability and continuity, we are proposing in this programme and budget to carry on with some activities which, perhaps, ought in the long range to be displaced by certain others. We have indicated in 10 C/10 that we need to readjust the emphasis somewhat, for instance, as regards subventions to non-governmental organizations. I give that merely as an example; many others will be discussed in the Programme Commission and in its special working parties. In short, Mr. President, this budget does not reflect entirely what the Secretariat regards as desirable. We think that Unesco is in a position now to utilize effectively, and for the achievement of the peace of the world, a considerably increased budget. We are not proposing it, because we are trying to behave as good servants of the General Conference.

8.5 There is one thing that bothers me a great deal: these budget proposals do not take into account, to any very great extent, the draft resolutions which have been submitted by Member States. We have been able to make a preliminary examination of most of these, and we feel that it is for the Conference to discuss them in relation to the proposals placed before you by the Director-General and the Board, and perhaps to give some of them priority over proposals we have made. If you could do so, it would help to have this sum of something over $60,000 added to the spending budget by accepting alternative (b) of the resolution given in paragraph 5. We in the Secretariat also have other things we would very much like to do that are not based on draft resolutions submitted by Member States, such as two projects in 10 C/5 Rev. Add. 4 and there is the Australian resolution on science, for which we would like to have some money. We were concerned, too, that there is no provision in the budget for the payment of rental of the non-governmental organizations housed with us now, but which will have to move out of Unesco quarters at the end of 1959. We have also been pressed by the Comptroller to make provision for some more posts, which will be discussed in the Administrative Commission.

8.6 In the document dealing with the draft resolutions we have not given you any figures of cost; we think a reasonable pricing, in accord with our comments in that document, might be in the neighbourhood of half a million dollars. The programme directors would like something close to eight or nine hundred thousand dollars for the purpose, but we decided not to bring you as amended budget proposal so as to make way for these draft resolutions.

8.7 Mr. President, as regards the first paragraph of the Administrative Commission's second report, concerning the elimination of the undistributed appropriation, I must point out to you that unless you accepted the majority opinion, as expressed in the Administrative Commission, you would cause a great deal of havoc in the carrying out of the programme that is before you.

8.8 I must say one word about administrative costs, and here I will address myself merely to the question of whether we have a swollen bureaucracy in the Organization. When this Conference met six years ago at its seventh session, there were in the Organization at Headquarters, in the New York Office, the Havana Office and the Science Offices, 447 professional posts, not including certain local staff - I will also exclude these in my comparative figures; there are now 412, if we exclude from our present count two groups of staff that did not exist in 1952, namely fourteen persons working in connexion with the Arab refugee school programme, based in Beirut, and four professional staff members in connexion with the construction of the new Headquarters. Thus, there has been a reduction in professional posts as compared with six years ago from 447 to 412 now, in November 1958. Mr. President, if we break this down by grades, but include here the 14 Beirut posts and the 4 for the Headquarters office, we find that D-1's and above have been reduced from 23 to 21, P-5's from 39 to 37, P-4's from 125 to 115, P-3's from 114 to 112; on the other hand P-2's have increased from 71 to 87, and P-1's have been reduced from 75 to 54. As regards the General Service posts, there were 515 in 1952, as against 566 at the present time. A good many of these posts, however, are for language services; we had no such services for Russian in 1952, while the Spanish services have been considerably expanded. Mr. President, I think it is clear that if we have a swollen bureaucracy, we have a much less swollen one than we had in 1952. My own judgement, after studying this very carefully and over a period of years, is that we have a streamlined Secretariat and not a swollen bureaucracy. There are many programme areas in which, if you cut a post, you might as well abolish a section of our programme.

8.9 There has been some discussion of concentration of the programme on bigger ideas. We are in your hands in that matter; we think we are responding to your wishes in the proposals that we have made. As to the administrative costs, the Conference in New Delhi was concerned about the administrative management of the Secretariat, and I supported a Canadian resolution on this subject which, after I consulted with the Board, resulted in my setting up a management survey committee of three eminent people in this kind of work. They dealt with this administrative cost question and could not come to a firm conclusion. They did not find however, that administrative costs were excessive and they asked the Board and the Director-General to continue to study the subject. This has been discussed in the Administrative Commission and I believe it has agreed that, this phase having been accomplished, it is now for the Director-General and the Board to continue their examination, to try to obtain further statistics of work load in various areas, and to see whether we can make additional economies in this field. We have made economies over the years in regard to administrative costs. We have considerably reduced travel costs, we have proposals before the Conference regarding the reduction of documents; the Board has already reduced the documentation of the Executive Board, and has placed proposals before you to reduce somewhat the documentation of the Conference.

8.10 Mr. President, there has been mention of the Special Fund. All I wish to say now is that our present budget pressures cannot conceivably be relieved to any substantial extent by the operation of

the Special Fund. In fact, the Special Fund will cause us additional administrative work load, which we will have to take on in many cases without any increases in the budget. We think it is so important for our Member States, however, that we are ready to give the development and the administration of projects under the Special Fund a priority sufficient to enable the Secretariat to do the work. Mr. President, we of the Secretariat want more money from you, that is obvious. We would like to use every device possible to have more money but, as I said again, wholly within the framework of trying to do things as you wish them to be done. We have tried to respond as fully as possible to the demands of a democratic method of consultation which we have established.

9. The PRESIDENT:
I wish to thank the Director-General. The first speaker is Mr. Iordan of the delegation of Rumania.

10.1 Mr. IORDAN (Rumania) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Rumanian delegation's views with regard to Unesco's proposed budget for 1959-1960 were made known by the head of our delegation in his speech at the plenary meeting on 7 November.
10.2 We think that several arguments and sound reasons can be advanced in favour of maintaining the spending budget for 1959-1960 at the level for the previous financial period, that is to say, at the figure of $23,400,000.
10.3 Consideration of the way in which the budget for 1957-1958 was applied confirms this point of view and shows clearly, in regard to receipts, that appreciable sums have not been collected. Payments actually made total only $20,400,000, representing approximately 87% of the estimates. It is therefore wiser for us to keep to a more reasonable figure, which would be entirely paid, and not to allow of any artificial inflation of Unesco's budget for 1959-1960.
10.4 In this connexion, we cannot approve the fact that, for years past, the China of Chiang Kai-shek has failed to fulfil the elementary obligation of paying its contribution. For instance, for the period 1948 to 1956, the arrears of contributions due from Chiang Kai-shek's China amount to over $4,600,000, representing more than 20% of the total cash contributions during the financial period 1957-1958.
10.5 The Rumanian delegation wishes to state categorically that it has no intention of upholding the presence of Chiang Kai-shek's China in Unesco. The financial aspect of the question serves merely to strengthen our conviction that the presence of Chiang Kai-shek's China in Unesco is likewise unjustified from the legal, moral and political standpoints.
10.6 Nor can we agree to the inclusion, in the proposed budget before us, of a large sum of more than a million dollars under the heading of "undistributed appropriation"; this seems indeed to be a disguised way of perpetuating the non-payment of the aforesaid contributions.
10.7 Regarding expenditure, we feel that there are internal resources and real possibilities of saving. For instance, the administrative costs seem to us too heavy; they represent too large a proportion of the total costs, and we should make every endeavour to reduce them. In this connexion, the proposal to create a new post of Director of Administration seems to us quite unacceptable. We should bear in mind that the experience gained by the Unesco staff over a period of years makes for an increasingly effective working of the administrative machinery and a steady rise in output.
10.8 In addition, the experience gained by the National Commissions for Unesco, and the establishment of closer co-operation between those Commissions, will enable them to play an ever greater and more effective part in the implementation of the Organization's programme. Unesco's work must be concentrated still further, in the future, on fundamental problems of general interest, directly related to the lofty aims proclaimed in the Organization's Constitution.
10.9 In our view, large sums should not be allocated for purely secondary tasks, which are not justified and are sometimes quite inexplicable. How is it possible to explain the allocation of a sum of more than $42,000 to a Research Institute at Cologne, for the investigation of minor questions of no scientific interest?
10.10 In conclusion, the delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic proposes that Unesco's spending budget be maintained at the level of the estimates for the period 1957-1958 and that the Executive Board proceed to a new distribution and a new adjustment of the expenditure by chapters, with due regard to that level.

11. The PRESIDENT:
The next speaker is Mr. de Berredo Carneiro of Brazil.

12.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, I ask the Conference to approve the report presented by the Administrative Commission and to give it full support. With regard to the budget ceiling, I do not ask for an increase in the total assessments but merely for the maintenance of the total assessments at the level fixed by the Director-General and the Executive Board. The provisional total assessment on Member States would thus be $25,771,797. In maintaining this level, we should have to proceed to an adjustment of the spending budget, following a more precise estimate of the contributions unlikely to be received, which would be reduced from 5% to 4.75%. Without any increase in the assessments on Member States, we would have a little sum of about $63,000 to add to the total spending budget. The spending budget resulting from this operation, which I therefore ask you to approve, would be $25,970,463.
12.2 I should like, gentlemen, to express to the Director-General our deep admiration for the work he has done in preparing this proposed programme and budget. He is the first to recognize that the sums proposed by him, with the Board's approval, do not meet all, or even a fraction of, our needs; but he was obliged to keep within limits which neither he nor the Board could exceed without the express authorization of this Conference. It was therefore within the bounds of his possibilities that he fixed the proposed spending level and assessment level. Emphasis

is too often - and, I fear, mistakenly - placed on somewhat heavy operational, staff and administrative costs in Unesco.

12.3 Allow me to point out first of all that, if we compare the proportion of administrative costs to total expenditure in Unesco with that in other international organizations, we see that Unesco's situation in this respect is very good. Also, if we made a detailed study of Unesco's proportion of administrative costs and compared it with the expenditure of most of the government services in our own countries, I am much afraid that we would be found to spend relatively more for administrative purposes at the national level than Unesco does at the international level.

12.4 Gentlemen, the proposal presented to you by the Administrative Commission should not, in my opinion, lead you to reopen a discussion of a political nature. We have discussed this matter from morning till night, with all the attention that should be given to the views expressed by whatsoever Member State. We resumed the discussion in the Administrative Commission. I feel that the time has now come to consider the budget from a purely financial standpoint, in the light of Unesco's needs and possibilities.

13. The PRESIDENT:

Thank you, Mr. de Berredo Carneiro. I now call on Mr. Zimin of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

14.1 Mr. ZIMIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in the Organization's proposed budget for 1959-1960, submitted to us for our consideration, provision is made for an increase in the Organization's expenditure of $3,226,890 over 1957-1958 with a corresponding increase of $2,377,000 in Member States' contributions.

14.2 The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that such an increase in the Organization's budget is not justified. It is mainly due to excessively high administrative and service costs, and to the unlawful distribution among Member States of the Chiang Kai-shek group's arrears of contributions. The remarks made here by the Director-General and the Brazilian delegate with regard to the amount of administrative costs are not, in our opinion, sufficiently well-founded.

14.3 The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will make proposals, in due time, in the appropriate commissions and working parties, for the reduction - without prejudice to the implementation of the 1959-1960 programme - of those items of expenditure which we consider excessive and unnecessary. At present, we shall simply say that the USSR delegation is categorically opposed to the inclusion of the sum of $1,278,000 as "undistributed appropriation" in the draft Appropriation Resolution. The USSR delegation has already had occasion to state that the inclusion of this item in the Appropriation Resolution is intended to disguise the constant non-payment of the Chiang Kai-shek group's contributions. In the draft resolution we are now considering (document 10 C/56), it is proposed that the percentage of contributions unlikely to be received be fixed at 4.75 per cent. If you compare this with the fact that the Chiang Kai-shek group's contribution represents 4.71 per cent, you will see that, under pretext of creating a reserve fund, it is proposed that we plan ahead and, in fact, sanction the non-payment of the Chiang Kai-shek group's contributions, shifting to other Member States, which honestly perform their own obligations towards Unesco, the duty of paying what this group fails to pay. The undistributed reserve fund is a disguised increase in the budget, designed to cover the deficiency of funds that regularly occurs owing to the fact that the Chiang Kai-shek representatives still have a place in Unesco.

14.4 Mr. President, during the discussion of the Credentials Committee's report, the USSR delegation, like the delegations of many other countries, drew attention to the harmful moral and political consequences entailed for Unesco by the anomalous and quite unlawful fact that the Chiang Kai-shek group still occupies a place in the Organization. During the discussion of the budget, we are again confronted with this problem, which must now be considered from the financial standpoint. If, for each financial period, our contributions are to be increased by $1,279,000, it is only natural that none of us can or should remain indifferent.

14.5 During the general discussion, the Soviet delegation stated that, henceforth, the Soviet Government would not pay for the Chiang Kai-shek group's continued presence in Unesco at the expense of the Soviet people. It is one thing to pay one's regular contribution for the financing of Unesco's work, and another thing to maintain in Unesco, at the expense of Member States, a group of political bankrupts. The Soviet State spends considerable sums on assisting many other countries at their request, and, unlike the imperialistic States, it does so quite disinterestedly, without imposing any political or economic conditions. It is not a question of the money, but of the purposes for which it is used.

14.6 The Soviet delegation is of the opinion that no country, no Member State of Unesco, can be compelled to pay the arrears of the Chiang Kai-shek group. We therefore propose that the item "Undistributed Appropriation" be deleted from the draft Appropriation Resolution, and that the Organization's budget be thereby reduced by $1,278,000. This reserve fund is completely unnecessary, if it is intended to cover any temporary delay in the payment of a Member State's contributions. Such cases may occur, but they can be met by the Working Capital Fund; the latter offers the possibility of making up a Member State's temporary failure to pay its contributions, for Member States, as experience shows - the present session of the General Conference has convinced us of this - take all necessary steps to cover their arrears, if the latter occur, and always do cover them.

14.7 In addition to the deletion of the item "Undistributed Appropriation", it is possible, in our opinion, to make several other reductions, particularly by cutting administrative costs, staff travel and unduly high service costs. We feel that, if all these unnecessary expenses are stopped, it will be possible to keep Member States' contributions at their present level and to carry out successfully all the projects contained in the proposed programme for 1959-1960.

14.8 The Soviet delegation is submitting a draft resolution on this matter for the Conference's consideration. We are confident that, if the Director-General and the Executive Board study all the existing possibilities of reducing certain unwarranted

expenses, it will no longer be necessary to increase Member States' contributions and there will be no lessening in the efficiency of Unesco's work, but a proper balance will be established between administrative and programme costs.

14.9 Grant me leave, Mr. President, to read out this draft resolution, presented by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

"The General Conference,

Having examined document 10 C/5 Rev. and Corrigenda I and III thereto,

Considering that the proposed increase of $3,226,890 in the Organization's budget is not justified by the needs of the implementation of the Organization's programme, set out in document 10 C/5 Rev., but is due mainly to the increase in administrative and service costs, and to the unlawful distribution among Member States of the Chiang Kai-shek group's arrears of contributions,

Decides to delete from the draft Appropriation Resolution Part V - 'Undistributed Appropriation',

Decides further to fix the Organization's spending level for 1959-1960 at $23,908,676, and the total assessments on Member States at $23,394,355, i.e. at the level of the contributions for 1957-1958,

Recommends the Director-General of Unesco to revise document 10 C/5 Rev., with a view to reducing the Organization's expenditure to the amount mentioned above, but without prejudice to any of the main projects mentioned in the said document, and to submit his proposals to the Executive Board,

Instructs the Executive Board, at its session immediately following the close of the tenth session of the General Conference, to consider and approve the Director-General's proposals for the reduction of the administrative and service costs and certain other expenses of the Organization not directly relating to the implementation of the Organization's programme as set out in document 10 C/5 Rev. and in the Addenda and Corrigenda to that document, with a view to ensuring that the Organization's spending level for 1959-1960 shall be $23,908,676."

15. The PRESIDENT:

I thank the speaker, and I call now on Mr. Mackenzie of Canada.

16.1 Mr. MACKENZIE (Canada):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before a vote is taken on the report of the Administrative Commission, I should like to place on the record certain views of the Canadian delegation. In doing so, I wish to emphasize that the Government of Canada is fully in accord with the objectives of Unesco; but sympathy with the aims of Unesco should not allow us to ignore the financial and administrative statutes and the facts of life. Unesco competes for contributions with many other international organizations, and it must satisfy governments and public opinion that it spends money wisely and well. My delegation is glad to note that some progress has been made in simplifying the budget estimates, but we think there is room for further progress. The programme and budget document still presents a rather confused picture, and is difficult to analyse. For example, in our view, the budget is inadequate in its explanations of the way in which projects are adopted and expenditures made under the Participation programme. Moreover it is less than satisfactory in its method of establishing priorities. The Canadian delegation wishes to voice its concern at Unesco's tendency to increase its programme and budget at every General Conference. In the past we have taken decisions, in principle to concentrate the activities of the Organization in a relatively small number of projects of high priority, but in fact we have proceeded to expand the Major Projects without reducing the number or variety of minor projects. The Canadian Government is doubtful of the value of some of these minor projects, it suspects that in some cases part of the money allocated to such projects is devoted to the proliferation of paper. We would like to see the Secretariat and the Executive Board make a determined attempt to accomplish more without increasing staff, and without increasing the number and the size of Unesco documents. Until there is evidence that the work of Unesco is more effective in respect of the results achieved, we think that Unesco budgets should be stabilized at approximately the present level, with such increases as may be necessary to cover increased costs arising out of increased prices for goods and services.

16.2 In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to say that in spite of the reservations that I have mentioned, the Canadian delegation is prepared to vote in favour of the spending level proposed by the Director-General in document 10 C/5 Rev. corrected. At the same time we express the hope that in the next two years every effort will be made to improve efficiency, and that the budget to be presented in 1960 will envisage a programme that concentrates on the major issues that Unesco was created to serve.

17. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Mackenzie and I now call on Mr. Malychev, of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

18.1 Mr. MALYCHEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supports the proposal, presented by the Rumanian and USSR delegations, that the budget ceiling for 1959-1960 should not exceed that for 1957-1958. Our delegation supports this proposal on the ground that a more economic and rational distribution of expenditure would permit of full implementation of the projects included in the proposed programme for 1959-1960 without any increase in the budget.

18.2 As was pointed out, during the general discussion, by the head of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Unesco's administrative costs are unjustifiably high. It is therefore urgently necessary to make a considerable reduction in administrative and staff costs. If work is properly organized, this reduction in costs should not be detrimental to the implementation of the main projects in the programme. Recommending that the budget ceiling for 1959-1960 should be the same as that for 1957-1958, our delegation considers that the General Conference should instruct the Executive Board and the Director-General carefully to review the expenditure relating to all sections of the programme and Unesco's activity for the coming period.

18.3 We also consider that the General Conference

should delete from the draft Appropriation Resolution Part V - "Undistributed Appropriation", i.e. the part relating to the unlawful distribution among Member States of the Chiang Kai-shek group's arrears of contributions. Our delegation will vote for a spending level of the same order as in 1957-1958, and for the deletion from the draft Appropriation Resolution of Part V - "Undistributed Appropriation".

19. The PRESIDENT:
I thank the speaker. I call now on Mr. Pataki, of Hungary.

20.1 Mr. PATAKI (Hungary) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to make a few brief general observations concerning Unesco's proposed budget for 1959-1960. I shall speak of only one aspect of the budget, namely the administrative costs.
20.2 In document 10 C/5 Rev., it is said very discreetly that for 1959-1960 general administration will represent 12.27% of the total proposed spending level. As regards "General Administration", these figures are correct, but, in reality, the situation is by no means so satisfactory. Statistics, Mr. President, are an interesting science, and their answer to any particular question always depends on the way in which that question is asked. In the present instance, we must ask what is meant by the term "administrative costs". It is difficult to deny that this term designates not only costs relating to general administration, but all other costs relating to the work of the Unesco programme departments in the fields of education, science and culture. On that basis, Mr. President, the situation is unfortunately seen to be much more sombre. Annex VI to document 10 C/5 Rev., for instance, shows that the Secretariat's base salaries and common staff costs for 1959 and 1960 amount to more than $12,500,000. We must add to this figure expenses relating to travel, the publication of official documents, representation, temporary staff, etc. All these expenses are part of Unesco's administrative costs. It can be maintained, of course, that some or even the whole of this expenditure is an organic part of the implementation of Unesco's programme, but this signifies that the implementation of Unesco's programme and the Organization's staff are extremely costly. On the basis of Annex VI, it can be said that, of the entire budget proposed for 1959-1960, only eight or nine million dollars are directly allocated for the execution of the programme; in other words, the distribution and utilization of the $25,000,000 provided will cost approximately fourteen or fifteen million dollars. This cannot be called cheap; it is a good thing that Unesco is not obliged to work under competitive conditions, or it would not last long with such overheads.
20.3 That, Mr. President, is how the situation stands. It must be admitted that this state of affairs does not contribute to Unesco's popularity or its influence in connexion with education, science and culture. World public opinion is already watching this situation with increasing disapproval and anxiety, which have been expressed by several speakers in plenary meeting.
20.4 The Hungarian delegation earnestly recommends that the greatest possible part of the budget be directly used for the implementation of the programme in the interests of Unesco's Member States; for small countries like Hungary, this is very important. We therefore cannot approve the budget in its present form, nor the proposal that it be increased for the 1959-1960 period. We thus support the Rumanian delegate's proposal.
20.5 Nor are we prepared to pay for Chiang Kai-shek's illegal political group, which is unlawfully occupying the seat in Unesco belonging to the People's Republic of China. For this reason, we support the Soviet Union delegation's proposal.

21. The PRESIDENT:
I thank the speaker and I now call on Mr. Demtchenko, of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

22.1 Mr. DEMTCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the General Conference has been asked to consider two draft resolutions presented by the Administrative Commission in document 10 C/56, relating to the budget ceiling for 1959-1960. A draft resolution has now also been submitted by the USSR delegation. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to explain its attitude towards these draft resolutions.
22.2 So far as the draft resolution on the financing of the budget is concerned, we have no objections to make. But we are unable to approve the draft resolution relating to the provisional budget ceilings. According to this draft resolution and the Director-General's explanations, it is proposed to increase the spending budget by $3,226,890, as compared with that for 1957-1958, which calls for a corresponding increase in Member States' contributions. A careful analysis of the programme and budget for 1959-1960 shows that the budget increase and the consequent increase in Member States' contributions are due not to any new and useful programme activities, but to excessive administrative and service costs. The increase in Member States' contributions is also due to the unlawful distribution among Member States of the Chiang Kai-shek group's contribution. We therefore support the proposal for the deletion from the draft Appropriation Resolution of Part V - the so-called "Undistributed Appropriation" - and reiterate that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will not pay the portion of its contribution corresponding to this distributed deficit.
22.3 In our opinion, the ratio of programme costs to staff costs is all wrong. For 1959-1960, it is proposed to allocate approximately $9,000,000, i.e. more than one-third of the Organization's total budget, for the base salaries of members of the Unesco Secretariat alone. If we take into account all other staff and service costs, we arrive at a sum of $12,500,000, i.e. nearly half Unesco's total budget. It is obvious that such an expenditure of the Organization's resources cannot be accepted as expedient. It must be added that the experience acquired by the Unesco Secretariat during the twelve years of its existence and the use of modern technical equipment, should lead to a reduction in staff and expenditure rather than to an increase in staff and staff costs.

22.4 For the foregoing reasons, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that Unesco's spending budget for 1959-1960 should be maintained at the 1957-1958 level. In our opinion, the Executive Board should be instructed, after the close of the tenth session of the General Conference, to consider the question of reducing administrative and service costs and certain other costs not relating to the execution of the Organization's essential projects, with a view to keeping the budget ceiling at the 1957-1958 level. This proposal is contained in the draft resolution which has been presented by the delegation of the Soviet Union, and our delegation will vote for it.

22.5 If this proposal is not adopted, we shall be obliged to vote against the Administrative Commission's draft resolution and the proposals put forward by the Executive Board and the Director-General with regard to the provisional budget ceiling.

23. The PRESIDENT:

I call on Mr. Hanes of the delegation of the United States of America.

24.1 Mr. HANES (United States of America):

Mr. President, the delegation of the United States supports the second report of the Administrative Commission to the General Conference as presented in document 10 C/56, and certainly supports the wise comments made on it by the delegate of Brazil.

24.2 Comment has been made this morning concerning a relatively minor point in that document to which I would like to refer, the item involving the percentage of contributions unlikely to be received for 1959-1960. This results, as has been noted by the delegate of Brazil and by the Director-General, in the alternative of either reducing the total assessments on Member States by approximately $67,000 or maintaining the assessments unchanged and increasing the spending level by approximately $64,000. In our opinion, Sir, President, the latter alternative, as recommended by the Director-General, namely that the spending level should be increased by $64,000, leaving the assessment level unchanged, is the more reasonable procedure. While the sum involved is relatively small, it will add a certain amount of flexibility to our programme, which we believe to be wise.

24.3 I would like to address myself particularly to certain comments which have been made here this morning by the delegate of the USSR, and seconded of course by a number of speakers from Eastern Europe. The USSR delegate, Sir, has made several comments and suggestions. As well as I can understand them, he suggests first that the procedure which we are being asked to follow, the procedure recommended by the second report of the Administrative Commission, conceals something or other concerning the financial operations of the Organization. He also suggests in a resolution which he put forward and which, I wish to say, we oppose most strongly for reasons which will be made clear in my comments - that the item entitled "Undistributed Appropriations" be dropped from the budget. And, presumably corresponding to this, he suggests that the part of the Administrative Committee's report and suggested resolution dealing with establishing the 4.75% figure for contributions unlikely to be received be also eliminated from the Administrative Commission's report. He further suggests that the USSR, and therefore presumably all of the other Soviet bloc countries, will not pay some part of their assessment. It is unclear to me exactly what part this is; I assume that he means by this that they do not plan to pay 4.75% of their assessment or some similar figure. Finally, Sir, he has recommended that everything in the Director-General's programme be approved and carried out and implemented, but that this be done at the level of assessments which obtained during the last biennium.

24.4 The USSR delegation is entitled to any opinions and recommendations and suggestions that it desires, but I would like to make very clear the real implications and meanings of these suggestions and proposals, which I consider to be totally irresponsible and purposely misleading.

24.5 In the first place, as to the suggestion that our procedure conceals something; if it conceals something, it conceals it only from the delegate of the USSR, because in the Administrative Commission and during the proceedings of the Executive Board, the meaning of our budgetary procedure has been debated very fully, and I believe it is fair to say that there is no delegate on the Administrative Commission or on any of the financial bodies of this Organization who is unaware of the reasons why these procedures are put into the budget. In the event, however, that there is any misunderstanding, I would like to make quite clear my understanding of this item of Undistributed Appropriations and of contributions unlikely to be received. It has been recognized that there are certain contributions unlikely to be received by this Organization in any given year. In the coming biennium, the contributions unlikely to be received are those of the Republic of China. The case has, however, not always been exactly the same. There have been occasions in the past, there may be occasions in the future, when the delegations of other countries have for one reason or another been in the category of States unlikely to make contributions during the coming biennium. I particularly recall to the delegate of the USSR the situation that obtained in the early part of the nineteen fifties, when there were other countries that were also in the column of contributions unlikely to be received. Now, Sir, this being the case, a procedure has been devised which it seems to us makes extremely good sense. Rather than building a programme and budget on a figure that is not to be received, and then when that figure is not received as anticipated, cutting down on a programme and budget that is a desirable one, the procedure has been followed of taking such a situation into account before starting, and of setting aside a figure unlikely to be received, and then of building a programme and budget on the figure which is likely to be received, the figure that will result from the contribution of Members which are expected to pay their assessment. This procedure, Sir, has been followed regularly. As far as I am aware, it does not conceal anything. In the present case, the percentage of 4.75% has been arrived at because that is almost exactly the percentage that is unlikely to be received in the forthcoming biennium account for by the Chinese contribution. The delegate of the USSR has suggested that we drop this item. This suggestion is one that he is at perfect liberty to make, but if it

comes to a question of concealing anything, let us not conceal what it means to drop this 4.75%. If the Soviet Union wishes the budget to be reduced by 4.75%, and that means the Director-General's programme as suggested in his document, then the Soviet Union should say so. But if the 4.75% is dropped, this means that the Director-General is then told to carry out his programme, but with 4.75% less money to do so. Therefore he is obliged to cut his programme - his world-wide programme - not in relation to any specific part, but he must find some place in his total programme, enough saving, in order to make up that 4.75%. If, by the way, this figure is maintained, but the Soviet Union or any other country fails to pay its full assessment by 4.75% or any other percentage, then such shortages also have to be made up by the Director-General by cutting some part of his programme, because he will not have received sufficient money to carry it out.

24.6 I do not know what more irresponsible proposal could be made, than that a country should not pay some part of its assessment simply because it does not like an item in the budget or in the programme, or does not like the method by which that item is arrived at. Any country, Sir, is perfectly at liberty to come up here and argue during our debate, to speak in the Administrative Commission, to speak in every other body of this Organization, during the time that the programme and budget is being formulated. It can debate any matter on which it disagrees, it can present its argument, and it can seek support.

24.7 Once, however, the matter has been settled, and the programme and budget decided upon by a majority vote, and assessments made, then it seems to me that there is no alternative for any country, Member of this Organization, as long as it is in a position to pay its assessments, than to do so. This is absolutely basic to any type of orderly operation of this or any other Organization. If contributions by each Member State were decided only on the basis of projects that it likes or indeed only on the basis of other countries, Members of this Organization, that it likes or does not like, then I strongly fear that we would rapidly reach a state of anarchy which would make it impossible to carry out any type of operation whatsoever.

24.8 The last point mentioned by the delegate of the Soviet Union, was that we should carry out the full programme of the Director-General, a programme properly expanded to take account of changed circumstances in the development of the Organization, but that we should carry it out at exactly the same cost as the smaller programme we carried out during the preceding biennium when, incidentally, costs were lower. I do not really think it is necessary to point out the basic inconsistencies, and again, the misleading character, of such a proposal. I can only surmise for what reasons it was made.

24.9 As for the question of the growth of the budget, the Soviet Union has proposed that the budget should be set at a lower level. Leaving aside the question of programmes, perhaps there is some validity to the argument that budgets should be lower; let us examine this. Let us assume that the proposal is merely that the whole budget, and therefore presumably the programme, should be at the level of the past biennium. The budget of Unesco, Mr. President, like the budgets of the United Nations itself, and of the other Specialized Agencies, has grown very greatly over the years since 1946. This growth is quite apparent if one considers only the regular budgets of the Organization, but it is even more dramatic if one considers all sources of income available to Unesco to carry out its work, including funds from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The new United Nations Special Project Fund will also undoubtedly further extend Unesco's ability to serve, in some way and in some degree not yet determined. Growth is a healthy thing, and indeed it is one of the characteristic attributes of a living organism which distinguishes it from a defunct one. My Government supports the principle that Unesco should grow year by year, so long as it exists in a world in which the need for its services exceeds the supply. The fields of science and education have one of the most rapidly expanding frontiers of any fields of human knowledge. The Director-General's report itself demonstrates the need for work by Unesco in new fields, some of them undreamed of only a few years ago. At the same time the Organization must continue and expand the useful endeavours in which it has already been engaged for many years. All of this means growth, necessary healthful growth, which is just as inevitable as it is desirable. This does not mean that any proposal is automatically a wise and desirable proposal simply because it will result in an expansion of activities. Obviously there are certain limitations on growth which must be observed by any prudent organization.

24.10 The first is that the assessments to its Members shall not rise to a point where they place an intolerable strain upon the national budget of some of the Member States. In this connexion, we must remember that Unesco is only one of many international organizations to which our members contribute. A second and not less important factor is that every proposal for increased activity must be justified both on its own merits and comparatively, vis-à-vis other possible activities of the Organization. Such justification must also take into account the ability of the Organization effectively to carry on its current activities, and to assimilate new activities as proposed. In fields such as education and scientific progress, the most abundantly provided material resources and money are worthless unless highly trained men and women are available to plan and supervise their use. There is a definite limit to the number of such trained people who can be found to carry on programmes. And there is a definite limit to the number of untrained people who can be trained in any one year. Nor can the time required to produce such people be shortened merely by providing more money. If it takes for example, $10,000 and ten years to produce a highly trained physicist, $20,000 is not going to produce him in five years.

24.11 I hope, Mr. President, you will forgive this digression. My purpose was merely to make very clear the objectives of my Government with regard to the future of this and similar organizations. We believe they should continue, as they have in the past, to grow; we believe they should do so at a reasonable and prudent rate consistent with the capacity of the Organization to use, and the ability of the members to provide.

24.12 Now the proposed programme and budget which we have been offered for 1959-1960 has been in the process of development for the past two years. It represents a tremendous amount of careful and expert thought on the part of the Director-General and his staff, on the part of many other persons from outside the Organization and the Member States themselves. It reflects both the thinking of the Member States at previous sessions of the General Conference and continued further thinking by the Member States in their comments on the proposed programme and budget and in the deliberations of the Executive Board. The proposed programme and budget suggests that about $2,200,000 in additional funds should be devoted to Unesco's operations in this biennium as compared with 1957 and 1958. This is an approximate increase of 10% over the biennium, roughly speaking a rate of increase of about 5% a year. The United States representative on the Executive Board, Sir, has consistently supported this proposed increase at approximately such a rate and approximately for the purposes that have been suggested.

24.13 The proposed programme and budget, as I say, represents a great deal of careful thought. It has been carefully prepared. It has thereby attained through its various changes and processes of development, and the long consideration given to it by the Executive Board in 1957 and again during almost two months in 1958, a very considerable status which should be recognized. There should be a strong presumption in favour of the programmes presented in this budget, it seems to me, in comparison with other programmes and proposals. Now this does not mean that the proposals which have been made more recently, some of them within recent weeks, do not deserve very careful consideration. My Government has itself submitted several proposals; we feel they are wise, or we would not have submitted them; but we recognize that they, like other proposals that have been submitted, have not gone through the long and careful process of development that this programme and budget has done. We also recognize that in many cases we have not had the opportunity of consulting with other governments concerning these proposals. Similarly new proposals have been submitted by others which we have not had an opportunity to study fully. These matters should be considered it seems to us during the course of this Conference. What result this will lead to, I do not know. I do say that these proposals should be regarded as of somewhat lesser status, in general principle, than those which have been developed carefully over the past two years. However, as the Director-General himself has suggested, we may find among these new proposals some that we consider of even greater merit than some of the proposals in the draft programme. A certain amount of reasonable flexibility, it seems to me, should go into our careful consideration of these matters, and this should take place in the Programme Commission. However, as a general rule, it seems to us that this should be done, as nearly as possible, within the framework of the careful proposals that the Director-General and his staff have made both for our programme and for our budget. For these reasons, Sir, I should like to state that my delegation supports the proposed programme and budget in its broad outline; we support the provisional ceilings suggested, and we strongly support the second report of the Administrative Commission, which we urge be accepted.

25. The PRESIDENT:
I call now on Mr. Matsui of Japan.

26.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, we have heard the Director-General's detailed explanations concerning the extremely careful preparation of the programme and budget for 1959-1960.

26.2 The documents before you have been studied in detail by the Executive Board, both from the standpoint of the programmes themselves and from the administrative angle.

26.3 The Administrative Commission of the General Conference has just concluded its thorough examination of this question. The Japanese delegation therefore proposes the adoption of that Commission's second report.

26.4 Regarding the total assessment level, I endorse the Brazilian delegate's proposal and am of opinion that the total assessment should be maintained at the level of $25,771,797; the spending budget would then be $25,970,463, taking account of the new estimate of 4.75% as the percentage of contributions unlikely to be received and of the additional sum of $63,929 resulting therefrom. This would undoubtedly allow of some flexibility in the consideration of the draft resolutions already presented by Member States or which may be presented by tomorrow morning.

26.5 Regarding the proposals for a reduction in the budget level, I venture to say that, in my opinion, this is neither practical nor advisable at the present moment. The General Conference should fulfil its obligation to take a decision on the programme and budget and not repeat what took place at New Delhi owing to an entirely exceptional circumstance.

27. The PRESIDENT:
Thank you. The next speaker is Sir Edward Boyle, of the United Kingdom.

28.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):
Mr. President, I will not detain the session for many minutes, but I am happy to come to this rostrum to support the proposal that has been made, among others, by the delegates of Brazil and of the United States of America. I do so with all the more pleasure because, in past Conferences, the delegation of the United Kingdom and the distinguished delegate of Brazil have not always been in the fullest accord on matters of detail. Incidentally, I listened with interest to what the delegate from the United States had to say about growth. I agree with him, but I think that most people would say that with individuals and with organizations, it can sometimes depend on the direction in which the growth is made. I notice that the proposal we have before us involves no increase in the assessment levied on Member States themselves, on the basis of which the British Government considered its policy in regard to the budget of this Organization. Furthermore, we have listened and been much impressed by the argument used, among others, by the Director-General and the delegate of the United

States of America. They have drawn our attention to the difficulties under the present time-table included in our Rules of Procedure, for Member States proposing draft resolutions with budgetary implications. The Rules are, however, to be considered for amendment at a future date.

28.2 In these circumstances we shall vote, as a delegation, in favour of including, in the resolution on this budget ceiling, a figure of $25,970,000 for the spending level and $25,771,000 for the assessment level. This does not of course necessarily imply that the United Kingdom is committed to all the details of the programme, or indeed all the administrative details on the basis of which this budget has been constructed, but I certainly very much hope, as does the whole of the British delegation, that any criticisms which we will feel bound to make on certain matters of detail, will be balanced by positive proposals for its improvement. Thank you very much Mr. President.

29. The PRESIDENT:

I call now on Mr. von Trützschler of the Federal Republic of Germany.

30.1 Mr. von TRUETZSCHLER (Federal Republic of Germany):

Mr. President, the Federal Government and the German National Commission have studied with special attention the programme and budget proposals submitted by the Director-General after very careful examination by the Executive Board.

30.2 We accept the general lines of the programme and, in consequence, are prepared to vote for the budget ceiling proposed by the administration. However, we have taken this decision with a certain misgiving, that continued increases in the budgets of all Specialized Agencies of the United Nations might put a very heavy burden on Member States. My Government therefore welcomes the decision taken by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to make a survey concerning the future work of the Specialized Agencies, and the financial implications involved. We hope that this study will lead to a stabilization of the budget of our Organization in the manner indicated by the honourable delegate of Canada, and that we shall not again be faced with a considerable augmentation of financial demands at our next Conference.

31. The PRESIDENT:

I call now on Mr. Bender, of the Netherlands.

32.1 Mr. BENDER (Netherlands):

Fellow delegates, the Netherlands delegation does not wish at this point to enter into considerations on the programme or budget of Unesco, it wants to limit itself to a statement on the report of the Administrative Commission, 10 C/56, which we have before us now.

32.2 Mr. President, we are prepared to accept this report on the manner of financing the budget. In the Administrative Commission we have pointed out that we would have preferred to see the figure of 5% instead of 4.75% for contributions unlikely to be received, but the majority of the Commission wished the lower figure and we do not wish to reopen that question. As to the budget ceiling, the Netherlands Government is prepared to support the figure proposed by the Director-General and the Board of $25,000,770 as assessment level and $25,970,000 as the spending budget. This latter figure includes the sum of approximately $63,000 resulting from the application of the above 4.75%. We would like, formally, to move the adoption of the report of the Administrative Commission in the above-mentioned sense.

33. The PRESIDENT:

I call now on Mr. Kuznetsov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

34.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as Mr. Zimin has to take part in the work of the Programme Commission, I have asked to speak in reply to Mr. Hanes' speech.

34.2 It is evident that either Mr. Hanes himself invented something or there was an error in the interpretation, although - and this must be emphasized - the interpreters do their work excellently. He accused the Soviet delegation of complaining that the Administrative Commission was concealing something from us. I listened carefully to Mr. Zimin's speech and the word he used was "cover" and not "conceal". We stated that we would not cover the Chiang Kai-shek group's arrears. No one conceals anything from us; it would be difficult to conceal anything from us. We have learnt to analyse budgets in detail. The fact is that we are unwilling to cover unjustified expenditure; we are unwilling to cover expenditure attributable to the Chiang Kai-shek group. "Cover", not "conceal". Perhaps there was an error in the interpretation, but perhaps Mr. Hanes was very anxious to devise something against us; I do not know whose fault it is, but there has been a misunderstanding; no one has concealed anything from us; it would be difficult to conceal anything from us; but we say that we will not cover the arrears of the Chiang Kai-shek group; let its bosom friends pay its arrears; we will have nothing to do with it. You say that normal growth is necessary; yes, normal growth is necessary, but, when a malignant tumour is growing, then, with all due respect, it cannot be regarded as normal growth. Growth must be on a healthy basis.

34.3 You ask how we think the programme should be implemented if we adopt this resolution. We think that it should be implemented by way of rational transfers within the budget. It is easy to propose an increase of three million dollars, but we must consider whether it is not possible, within the limits of the present budget, to carry out the programme without overburdening Member States with unnecessary contributions. I repeat, we do not wish to be niggardly. Firstly, money is not to be picked up from the ground; and secondly, it is not a question of grudging money; but every dollar represents our peoples' toil and we must account for every dollar that is spent - and every dollar must be spent advantageously. Our State spends large sums on cultural assistance to countries asking us for it; but this assistance is always based on useful and reasonable proposals. In such cases, we do not seek any advantage for ourselves, but always endeavour to ensure that the money is actually used

for the benefit of the countries in need of it.

34.4 You ask what is to be done if a State runs into debt. In such cases, use can be made of the Working Capital Fund. We can wait; the Working Capital Fund enables us to wait. We can wait until the State concerned is able to pay. We can expect nothing from the Chiang Kai-shek group; it will never pay, and we cannot, therefore, under any circumstances, approve a budget which is artificially inflated in advance by more than 4%.

34.5 You are afraid of anarchy. Although we are now discussing the matter, you are already haunted by the spectre of anarchy. I think it is still premature to speak of such a thing. I fully support Mr. Zimin's remarks and request that a vote be taken on our proposal.

35. The PRESIDENT:

As the last speaker on the list, I call upon Mr. Petrov, of the delegation of Bulgaria.

36.1 Mr. PETROV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Bulgarian delegation considers that, in the budget for 1959-1960, there are several sound and well-conceived projects and activities, which are deserving of our support. In this respect, the Secretariat's endeavours merit our backing. When, however, we are asked to approve an increase of expenditure by $3,139,000, we must consider this proposal very carefully, because the total amount of our contributions is thereby increased by $2,377,000.

36.2 It must be pointed out, first of all, that, although certain figures can be explained in one way or another, one thing is quite incontrovertible - the fact that we are paying for an imaginary member who has no right to sit among us; in other words, we are paying for the Chiang Kai-shek group. Paying as we are for this group, we are at the same time assuring it that we recognize its right not to pay its contributions in the future. In our opinion, this situation is not only inadmissible from the financial and administrative points of view, but, as was stated by the head of our delegation, Mr. Bachev, it is also impossible from the political standpoint; we cannot, and never will, accept such a situation.

36.3 We consider that it is possible to reduce the budget for 1959-1960 by reducing the Secretariat's internal reserves. When, in the Administrative Commission, we discussed the report of the Management Survey Committee, it became clear to us that such possibilities exist now and will consequently exist in the future. It is therefore essential to study this question and ascertain which of these staff posts duplicate one another or are not entirely indispensable.

36.4 The administrative machinery must be carefully examined once again, and even more carefully than it was by the expert committee. This was also recommended by other delegates, namely those of the Soviet Union, Rumania, Hungary, and even Canada, all of whom noted the existing possibilities in this respect, which the Secretariat should study in order to discover where future savings might be made.

36.5 We consider that the development of our Organization is an entirely natural phenomenon, but that it should follow a definite direction, i.e. that more money should be spent on absolutely essential activities which are in line with Unesco's aims and ideals, and not on trivial undertakings which merely involve financial outlay without making any significant contribution to Unesco's work.

36.6 There is, for instance, an Institute which could be thoroughly investigated and on which a definite decision could be reached; this is the Cologne Institute, whose aims and functions are not quite clear to us. In general, we cannot see any results of its work and we do not understand why the proposed sums should be spent on it.

36.7 We consider that every endeavour should be made to see that in future the budget does not rise above 1957-1958 level. We also deem it necessary to emphasize once again that, in our opinion, the position with regard to the Chiang Kai-shek group is inadmissible and unacceptable. I fully support the very sound, well-founded and carefully considered proposal made by the Soviet delegation and the proposals presented by the delegates of Rumania, Hungary and other delegations, which merit consideration and attention from the Secretariat.

37.1 The PRESIDENT:

Fellow delegates, as the chair sees it, we have before us two motions: one presented by the delegate of Rumania, supported by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other delegations, that the budget level for 1959-1960 be the same as for 1957-1958. The other motion presented by Brazil, supported by the delegate of Canada and other speakers, is that we approve the recommendation of the Administrative Commission, especially as set out in paragraph 5(b) of document 10 C/56.

37.2 I shall put to the vote first the motion presented by Rumania and supported by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

37.3 The motion is rejected by 9 votes in favour, 43 against, and 3 abstentions.

37.4 I now put to the vote the second motion, presented by Brazil, supported by other delegates, that the report of the Administrative Commission, document 10 C/56, paragraph 5(b) be adopted.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

37.5 The motion has been adopted by 48 votes in favour, 9 against, and 2 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

FOURTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

12 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. A.N. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (continued): Speeches by the delegates of Peru, Indonesia, Morocco and Cuba, the representative of the Organization of American States, the delegates of Ethiopia and Nicaragua, the representative of the League of Arab States, and the delegates of Jordan, Colombia and the Philippines 212

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Ladies and gentlemen, today's meeting is now open. We are continuing our general discussion. I will now call upon Mr. García Calderón, delegate of Peru.

2.1 Mr. GARCIA CALDERON (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a very great pleasure for me to speak in Unesco's newly completed building, which is destined to be the centre of universal culture. Years ago, following the advice of my esteemed friend Torres Bodet, I wrote an article entitled "Actualité de l'Unesco" for a Paris journal. I could not then foresee that Unesco would advance and expand until, today, we see met together here the representatives of 81 countries.

2.2 In a world unhinged and tormented by the perpetual threat of a universal cataclysm, this institution of ours has undertaken the difficult task of giving brotherly assistance to underdeveloped countries while remaining respectful, everywhere, of the different religions, races, and age-old customs. Together with the three theological virtues, it exemplifies the three splendid words of France's motto: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. To these, solidarity should be added. Our institution must eschew politics, its programme being exclusively cultural. Realizing that beauty should be attendant upon charity, it has, with unexpected success, adopted the "Musée imaginaire" of my famous friend, André Malraux, and brings to all parts of the globe perfect reproductions of world art. Is not this love of beauty one of the foremost needs of Man, who does not live by bread alone?

2.3 Have you noticed the flowers on balconies in the poor quarters of our big cities? Flowers are the luxury of the poor, whose sensitivity seems well conveyed by the words of the English poet: "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever". Without joy, mental rest, and real brotherhood, life would not be worth living. Unesco hopes to found an earthly paradise where Cain and Abel will be bound by a pact of friendship. What the socialists of the beginning of the Nineteenth century, disciples of the prophets of Israel, were all dreaming of, a thing which then seemed Utopian, can now become a reality. In this connexion, I would recall the names of two of my compatriots and the part they have played: Flora Tristán, the apostle of French socialism of 1840, and her nephew, Paul Gauguin, who was the precursor of modern art. As an onlooker in a civilization obsessed by money, he was considered proud and unruly. The fact was that the industrial Europe of that time had subordinated spiritual values to its anxiety to amass wealth - a preoccupation which my compatriot stigmatized in such impressive books as "Promenades dans Londres". Did not both of them have in their veins the rebellious blood of liberators like Bolivar, who, at the Congress of Panama, wanted to found an amphictyonic league of peoples? Did we not set out enthusiastically to fuse three races - White, Indian and Black - a task which seemed Utopian and yet is today a reality in our our America?

2.4 Flora Tristan, the "woman Messiah" as she was then called, had the word "solidarity" added to her epitaph; and this word might also be engraved on the portal of Unesco. We are all interdependent - we are all brothers in this task of building a better world, of abolishing hate, which destroys, and fostering love and faith, which move mountains. I am happy that such an organization should have chosen to dwell in Paris, this great city, standing at the crossroads of world culture, which, as its motto proclaims, never founders and does not yearn in vain for Picasso's dove, which bears the green branch of hope and calms the fears of an anxious humanity.

2.5 My country, which, since the beginning of the Republic, has always upheld compulsory arbitration and settlement, is today a favourite home for men of

goodwill. Unesco stands for absolute respect for human dignity, harmony among the three different races, and aid in poverty and disaster, as in the Cuzco earthquake some years ago. Despite its imperfections, Unesco means the distribution not only of food but also of beautiful things, and the transformation of a period of decline into an age of constant endeavour, in which work will not be considered as a misfortune or a punishment, but as a profitable way of using human energy; it also stands for a much-needed rest, like the "otium" of the Ancients, a pause marked by serenity and optimism between two spells of work. Only thus can we hope to avoid the universal suicide predicted by a German philosopher, the pessimism of the Italian poet who asserted the infinite vanity of all things, or acceptance of the awesome statement in one of the Buddha's sermons on Nirvana that action is at the root of all human sorrows.

2.6 Unesco is active, fraternal and universal; it is a ship in which we are proud to set sail for a marvellous destination.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation fr... the Russian): I thank the delegate of Peru and I call upon the delegate of Indonesia, Mr. Tiroprodjo.

4.1 Mr. TIROPRODJO (Indonesia) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great honour and pleasure for the Indonesian delegation to be able to attend the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco in this magnificent and historic city of Paris, a city which, throughout the centuries, has always been one of the seats of Western culture and civilization. This splendid building which houses Unesco's Headquarters is also symbolical of Western thought and technology; it could, however, be embellished and made more colourful by a larger contribution from Eastern culture and art.

4.2 For our part, we should be happy to offer you, on behalf of the Indonesian nation, and as a modest contribution to the adornment of Unesco's permanent Headquarters, an Indonesian painting and a specimen of Indonesian wood sculpture. These two works are on their way to Paris now.

4.3 Since the last session of the General Conference of Unesco, two countries, Ghana and Malaya, have joined the Organization. Further, three countries, Kuwait, the Federation of the West Indies and Somaliland under Italian administration, have just been admitted to Associate Membership. I should like to convey my cordial and sincere good wishes to the delegations of these new Members and Associate Members.

4.4 When we come here from a distant land, situated in the tropics, and with a very different climate and culture, our first impression is that the day-to-day life of Westerners is on the whole different from that of Indonesians and other Eastern peoples. This view is of course based solely on superficial observation, because as soon as we examine customs more closely, apart from the industrial progress and scientific achievements of the Western world, we soon discover that the civilizations of the Occident and the Orient have many features and trends in common. These are doubtless due to certain identical human reactions to natural difficulties. Without going into the matter more thoroughly, we can see clearly that this stimulus has always resulted in cultural creation in the broadest sense, that is, in the application of Man's mental and physical powers to the solution of problems imposed by Nature, in order to procure living conditions worthy of the human race.

4.5 But let us not forget that Nature is twofold, including not only the phenomena we perceive around us, but also Man himself, as a physical and spiritual being. Thus Man's faculties and powers are not useful to him merely as means of cultivating the outer world; they are in themselves capable of being perfected and adapted to suit Man's constantly changing position in the world.

4.6 There are thus two different aspects of the concept of culture; on the one hand, it involves all human activities for the production and distribution of material assets (agricultural, stock-breeding, trade, industry); the other aspect comprises Man's efforts to develop his ideals of beauty, goodness and truth through science, literature and the arts. Now culture, in this sense, has existed at all times and in all countries since the birth of the human race. During the last century, culture and civilization rose to extraordinary heights. It is regrettable, however, that Man, penetrating the secrets of Nature with his great scientific discoveries, does not achieve the same results when he applies his inexhaustible knowledge and resources to the service of humanity. Social and economic conflicts between groups of people still exist in the world. Moreover, we see that life has become almost impossible in underdeveloped countries. However, it is not for us to blame anyone, because as members of Unesco - whose primary objective is to seek, by scientific methods, to improve living conditions and secure greater mutual appreciation of human values - it is our specific duty to solve the scientific, educational and cultural problems of mankind.

4.7 Recently one of the ideals of the United Nations became a reality - the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Let us hope that this energy will be used for the benefit of all men everywhere and will improve their living conditions. And let us also hope that Unesco will have the power and strength to put into practice the noble ideals which it has so loudly proclaimed at all the sessions of its General Conference. I am convinced that Unesco will succeed in translating its objectives, as set down in the proposed programme and budget, into action. And we are really grateful for the sincerity and great competence with which the Director-General and his colleagues have stated the wishes, proposals and hopes of Member States, doing so clearly and precisely, with a view to the efficient conduct of human affairs and to the use of available resources for the welfare of mankind.

4.8 If we state our ideals clearly in accordance with Unesco's principles, we are obliged to recognize that humanity must live as one family. Only when we have become really imbued with this feeling of unity and brotherhood shall we be able to make the sacrifices required in order to help the needy, the poor, the outcasts, all those who suffer in the world today. With regard to this indispensable unity of all nations as members of a single family, I regret, Mr. President, that the People's Republic of China, with its

600 million inhabitants, that is, 24% or one-quarter of the world's population, should still be deprived of representation in Unesco. There may be certain political reasons for this curious situation, but an educational, scientific and cultural organization like Unesco ought to be above such considerations.

4.9 With reference to the proposed programme and budget, my delegation would like to support the proposals for the advancement of education, scientific research, cultural activities and technical assistance. I should, however, like to take this opportunity to make a few comments, especially with regard to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Owing to technical improvements in the field of mass communication, most Eastern countries are receiving a constant flow of the products of Western culture; this not only contributes to uniformity, standardization and a certain ease of movement in several spheres of human activity, but also fosters appreciation of Western cultural values. On the other hand, we cannot say that there is any true appreciation of Eastern cultural values, except among certain Orientalists. We can only hope that the achievements of the Eastern world in art, culture and religion will receive the consideration they deserve in Unesco's publications.

4.10 It is a well-known fact that Indonesia, for centuries, has had close economic, political and cultural relations with the outside world. It has been inspired and influenced - and continues to be so today - by many different ideas, which it assimilates in an active and creative way. It has never withdrawn into itself, but has always taken part, since prehistoric times, in the general progress of mankind. First of all, there were the events which affected all South East Asia during the vast migrations of whole races and peoples in the prehistoric period; Indonesia later played a part in the expansion of trade, especially during the later development of Buddhism and Hinduism; afterwards it was affected by the expansion of Islam and finally by the introduction of Western European culture during the last decades. Even in the prehistoric age, Indonesia's trends were determined and conditioned by events which were occurring over very widely separated areas and which had their influence on the early history of mankind and civilization. Indonesia is certainly an interesting subject for study and deserves to be given every attention in the proposed programme.

4.11 With reference to technical assistance - a problem surely of considerable importance, in particular for underdeveloped countries - I should like to point out that it is a matter of urgency to provide increased facilities for the purchase of equipment and to offer assistance and subventions of all kinds. We hope that the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance will enable Member States to achieve positive and practical results in the various spheres of Unesco's work. In this connexion, we believe that priority should be given to education and to assistance to research in the natural sciences. In our efforts to develop our educational system, we have many obstacles and difficulties to overcome. However, realizing the importance of education in the work of building up our country, we have begun with pilot projects in the field of compulsory education. Great enthusiasm has been aroused by the law introducing compulsory education. It is not always easy to enforce it, however, owing to lack of local schools and to child labour in the most economically backward districts, where children have to help their families in the fields or at market. The lack of travel facilities for inspectors responsible for ensuring that the law is enforced is another difficulty. We should therefore welcome the establishment of an international fund for education, science and culture, which might help us to solve our problems by granting us loans and subventions.

4.12 As regards higher education, we have seven universities with a total of 65 faculties and some 33,000 students. In community education, inspectors, with real authority, have been assigned to many districts in order to launch projects and co-ordinate and reorganize community activities as part of a programme of rural development. This close collaboration has, in large measure, helped to clarify the prospects of community school activities and define their objectives more specifically.

4.13 As regards representation in the Unesco Secretariat, I would point out that, hitherto, no Indonesian has been appointed to a post in the Director category, or indeed to any post in the Secretariat. I earnestly hope that the Executive Board and the Director-General will give consideration to this important matter.

4.14 Mr. President, before I return to my seat, allow me to say a few words about the candidature of Mr. Kusnoto Setyodiwiryo for a seat on Unesco's Executive Board. The announcement of his candidature has been printed and distributed to Member States. However, to our great regret, we are now obliged to inform you that, owing to Mr. Setyodiwiryo's heavy duties as Head of the Central Institute for Natural Science Research and the Botanical Gardens of Indonesia, and as professor at the University of Katermada and member of the governing body of the Indonesian Science Council, he has been obliged to withdraw his candidature, which is now replaced by that of Mr. Soebroto. The latter, already a member of the Executive Board of Unesco and Vice-Chairman of our National Commission, is well informed about Unesco's activities. He has been a member of all the Indonesian delegations to the General Conferences of Unesco and has always played an active part in persuading various institutions in our country to co-operate, in one way or another, in the attainment of Unesco's aims and objectives.

4.15 In conclusion, I should like to convey, on my own behalf and on that of the entire Indonesian delegation, our warmest greetings to the delegates of all the other countries here represented and express my earnest hope that the spirit of unity transcending the diversity of national views - a spirit which is that of the Indonesian people - will also inspire this General Conference, so that it may take another great step forward towards the achievement of Unesco's lofty objectives.

4.16 Mr. President, I should like to lay emphasis on this spirit of unity transcending diversity by quoting to you a sentence from the address given by President Soekarno during the ceremony at which he received the degree of Doctor honoris causa at the University of Michigan on 27 May 1956: "Today much of the world talks peace, but thinks war. Let us all resolve to talk peace and think peace".

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Indonesia, and I call upon the delegate of Morocco, Mr. El Fassi.

6.1 Mr. EL FASSI (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to transmit to you the greetings of our Sovereign, His Majesty Mohammed V, King of Morocco, and of His Government, together with their good wishes for the success of the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco. You are all aware of the keen interest taken by our country in this great institution and of the enthusiasm with which it is co-operating in Unesco's work.

6.2 I fully endorse all the tributes paid by previous speakers, who have expressed our gratitude to France and the City of Paris for their generosity in making it possible to build this temple of knowledge, mutual understanding among the peoples, and peace.

6.3 It must be added that this fine achievement would not have been possible without the unremitting efforts of the Director-General, his assistants, all the members of the Secretariat, the Headquarters Committee (of which Morocco is a member) and all the architects, artists and workers to whom we owe this masterpiece of modern art and technology and to whom our warmest thanks are due.

6.4 I wish to greet the new States admitted at this session as Members and Associate Members; my hope for the latter, and for all peoples that do not yet enjoy their freedom, is that they will accede to independence and thus be able to take their place in our Organization as full Members. No nation, great or small, should be excluded from Unesco. All the great religions and ideologies aim at universality; but they clash with one another, and so fail to attain that end. Unesco, on the other hand, by respecting all religions and ideologies, should be able to attain it. It is within this Organization that such agreement should be easiest to reach and Unesco's greatest Major Project ought to be sincere understanding amongst all the peoples of the world.

6.5 Mr. President, I alluded a moment ago to the enthusiasm with which we are co-operating in Unesco's work; let me mention some aspects of this co-operation.

6.6 Thanks to the help of Unesco experts and to the seminars which Moroccan educators have been able to attend in Unesco centres, our Government has been able to set up a service for fundamental education and the spread of literacy. It has been in operation for nearly three years, and its work among the suburban and rural populations of our country has already yielded results. Every year, two literacy campaigns are organized, in addition to regular courses in the fundamental education centres. This work is done in collaboration with the "Ligue marocaine de l'éducation de base et de la lutte contre l'analphabétisme", in which generous-hearted men and women have made it their task to eradicate the evils of ignorance and illiteracy. This League publishes a periodical for new literates - an activity corresponding to one of the projects in Unesco's programme (draft resolution 1.52 (b)). The publication of this weekly, entitled "Manar al Maghrib" (The Magrab Lighthouse), is very costly; but thanks to the adoption by our Government of the Lakhdar system of characters developed in Morocco, the printers' work will become easier and less expensive.

6.7 In view of the satisfactory results of this programme carried out in Morocco in collaboration with Unesco, I feel justified in proposing to you, as the delegate of India has already done, that we plan for a Major Project dealing with the anti-illiteracy campaign in Africa.

6.8 Another example of our co-operation with Unesco was the initiative taken by the Moroccan Government and by our National Commission for Unesco in calling the first Regional Conference of Arab National Commissions for Unesco. This Conference was opened under the presidency of His Majesty Mohammed V at the beginning of this year and was attended by Mr. Veronese, Chairman of the Executive Board, the Director-General, Dr. Evans, the Assistant Director-General, Mr. Thomas, and the Chief of the Bureau of Relations with Member States, Mr. Galindo Pohl. It is an honour for me to thank once again the distinguished members of the various Arab delegations and observers of Mediterranean States who accepted our invitation, and almost all of whom I have had the pleasure of meeting again at this tenth session of our General Conference. The resolutions of this Regional Conference at Fez were published in Arabic and French and those of them directly concerning Unesco will be submitted to the various commissions of this tenth session of the General Conference by a spokesman of the Co-ordinating Committee of Arab National Commissions, set up at the Fez Conference.

6.9 I should like to inform you that, on the occasion of this Conference, the name of Unesco was given to an avenue in Fez, the intellectual capital of Morocco. Quite recently, when it celebrated United Nations Day, Rabat, the capital of Morocco, gave the name of the United Nations to an avenue and that of Unesco to a large square at a ceremony presided over by Mr. Boucetta, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This is an effective way of giving publicity to Unesco and the noble aims which it pursues.

6.10 In connexion with the East-West Major Project (and also in conformity with the spirit of draft resolution 4.91), I had the honour, last February, of accepting an invitation from the great Friedrich-Ebert Foundation in Bonn, Germany, to give a lecture on Morocco's political and cultural history. Exchanges of this kind, which we continually encourage in Morocco by inviting lecturers from various countries to come to us, effectively contribute to mutual appreciation of the cultural values of all countries.

6.11 In collaboration with Unesco, Arabic translations of two works published by our Organization are now being issued in Morocco.

6.12 A social scientist, sent to Morocco by Unesco at the request of our Government, has recently prepared a report on our plan to found a social science institute at the Faculty of Letters in Rabat. Other experts on technical education and planning are soon to leave for Morocco.

6.13 Mr. President, I do not believe, as it has been stated on this rostrum, that descriptions of the main cultural achievements of each country are

superfluous here. Quite the contrary because, in my opinion, one of Unesco's principal aims is to promote such achievements and stimulate healthy competition in this regard among the various countries. The sustained attention with which we follow these descriptions shows how interested we are in thus comparing our experience and in the results which have been achieved - some of them successful, others less so.

6.14 I should therefore like to tell you that, since its accession to independence, Morocco has made very considerable progress in the promotion of education. Hundreds of thousands of children have been enrolled, thousands of schoolrooms have been built, both by the Government and by the local people themselves, who have responded with indescribable enthusiasm to the appeal launched by His Majesty and the Government in favour of education; hundreds of teachers are being trained annually, and it is here that Morocco most needs your assistance. Our Government's action is now entirely centred on this task of training teachers in all fields, and we are counting a great deal on the extension of the technical assistance with which, I hope, Unesco will provide us.

6.15 In regard to these school buildings, Morocco has been experimenting in this matter for several years, in order to produce a type of school which will meet all educational requirements and cost as little as possible. It has communicated the result of its experiments to the International Bureau of Education in Geneva and to the International Union of Architects - bodies of which it is a member and in whose work it takes part.

6.16 A recommendation of the XXth International Conference on Public Education held in Geneva in July 1957, concerning the establishment, with Unesco's assistance, of an international school building centre, was approved by the Committee on School Buildings of the International Union of Architects, at its meeting held, at the invitation of the Moroccan Government, in Rabat last February. We hope that Unesco will make it possible to set up this centre.

6.17 Classical and technical secondary education has also developed in Morocco. Some thirty State and private secondary schools have been founded over the past three years. Engineering schools will soon begin to operate, and a preparatory school has already been opened. Many fellowships are granted to students pursuing their studies either in Morocco or abroad. Scientific studies are particularly encouraged. A secondary teachers' training college has been functioning in Rabat for two years.

6.18 The crowning achievement in this field has been the founding of the modern Moroccan University, opened in September 1957 by His Majesty Mohammed V at a ceremony attended by many university leaders from various countries. Morocco has thus renewed its traditions; for, in addition to its famous Kairouan University in Fez, the oldest in the world, whose syllabuses and methods have been brought up to date, it now has a higher educational institution which already includes three faculties, those of science, law and letters. A group of students' hostels has been built and its extension, later on, is included in our Government's plans for providing educational facilities.

6.19 Mr. President, in the course of my remarks, I have touched upon certain aspects of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. I do not want to go into full details here, but I should like to point out that, in the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands, no funds have been provided for the campaign against locusts. Now the Moroccan Government spends thousands of millions of francs every year to stop the migratory locusts, commonly known as grasshoppers, in their devastating advance towards Europe. Substantial sums should be provided, not only to finance research designed to locate the breeding areas of migratory locusts, but also in order to improve methods of countering the invasions of these most harmful of all insects, which are among the worst scourges of humanity.

6.20 Generally speaking, moreover, the sums allocated to this Major Project on arid zones ($991,302) are, I believe, inadequate. It is, of course, true that research is only beginning; and that thought must mainly be given to making increased provision for the years to come, when it is hoped that research programmes will be developed and extended.

6.21 With regard to the East-West Major Project, the various measures mentioned in the proposed programme and budget are highly praiseworthy. Yet allow me to make two suggestions concerning Arabic culture. The literary and scientific works produced by the peoples who have expressed themselves in Arabic throughout the many centuries of Moslem civilization are a priceless heritage, most of which is unfortunately unknown even to the Arabs. Millions of manuscripts lie in thousands of libraries scattered all over the world. These manuscripts must first be preserved - and the best way of doing it is to microfilm them, a task requiring funds and qualified staff. In recent years, the Arab League has undertaken an enormous task in creating the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, with its headquarters in Cairo, for the purpose of locating the rarest Arabic works in all libraries throughout the world and making photographic reproductions of them. This Institute should be encouraged and aided. In addition, the amounts provided under resolution 4.91(e)(i) should be increased, in order that some of these exceptionally valuable manuscripts may be published in collaboration with appropriate organizations in Arab or even European countries; for we cannot forget the magnificent work done in the past four centuries by Orientalists who have contributed to the publication of a considerable number of Arabic works. But this activity is definitely on the decline, and it is to be feared that this will be attributed to the gradual disappearance of the motive underlying such activity - I mean the colonial expansion of European States. However, since scientific research is becoming more and more disinterested, we must hope that the work of Orientalists will once again become what it was at its best.

6.22 Mr. President, a perusal of the proposed programme with all its chapters concerning human knowledge leads me to consider the high level which this knowledge has reached and the progress mankind has made towards civilization. I then say to myself: the admirable spectacle of the extraordinary achievements of the human mind in every sphere should give men a very lofty conception of their own dignity and so induce them to combine their efforts to bring about an age of perfect understanding among all peoples, an era of true peace and brotherhood, in which all men will be

free and able to enjoy the benefits of science and material well-being. All civilized men should make it a point of honour no longer to tolerate the sight of their fellow men being morally, culturally or physically degraded. These are the real aims of Unesco. If we direct all our activities towards them, we may then consider ourselves worthy to belong to this human race whose present ambition is to reach the immensities of outer space.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Morocco and I call upon the delegate of Cuba, Mr. Ferrara Marino.

8.1 Mr. FERRARA MARINO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the inauguration of this new Headquarters by the President of the French Republic has given us increased confidence in the Organization's future, which promises to be both serene and productive. The Director-General's Report and the Proposed Programme and Budget show that we are mapping out the regular stages through which we must pass, without bustle or anxiety, and that we shall reach our goal. The enlightened and efficient way in which our Organization is administered yields better results every day and proves to us that the foundations which we have laid in the realm of ideas are as firm as this great edifice in which we are meeting. The Executive Board, which, under the Constitution, was intended to be a mere link between the General Conference and the Secretariat, has, in the course of time, acquired well-defined functions and become the main axis around which the Organization revolves. And finally, the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, who has been largely responsible for these achievements, has submitted to us a very promising programme for the next two years which testifies to his sound common sense and intelligence. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate him on the good work he has done during the period of office to which we elected him several years ago. With these results, we feel confident in the future, all the more so now that we are working under the sponsorship of our governments and are receiving encouragement from the intellectuals of so many nations. Unesco is now the cultural centre of the world, not because of the benefits it brings to certain States or to specific scientific organizations and educational services, but because of the social bonds which it is creating, through science and education, among the peoples of the world. We should all congratulate one another and congratulate those who have so greatly contributed to this work. To disagree on account of some minor difference would be a regrettable sign of unfairness or ignorance. For those of us who have followed all this hard work, the budget now before us seems meagre and the allocation of fixed percentages a very good thing, because, in any institution responsible for directing and co-ordinating various activities, the principal item in the budget is always staff costs - the staff being necessarily numerous and specialized.

8.2 Fellow delegates, it is really up to us to make the final effort. Unesco is on the right road. We must be equal to its spiritual needs. I feel no doubts about you, but I do feel certain doubts about myself and about the atmosphere which more or less prevails everywhere. I feel uneasy about the psychological reaction to the contrast which is always apparent when old institutions are faced with new social needs. I fear the vacillations of these transition periods. Four centuries of violent nationalism in Europe overshadow us. Two destructive - nay, barbarous - wars have dominated the first half of this century. A theoretical conflict over national economic systems has made it even more difficult for a sense of the unity of mankind to develop; and instead of taking the form of noble rivalry, this conflict is following the astounding course of the religious wars of the Sixteenth century, which served political ambitions rather than religion itself. But the goodwill of one generation can have more effect than the painful echoes of the past and the fleeting present.

8.3 Facing these problems, which can be solved if the nations and their governments bring intelligence and goodwill to bear upon them, we recognize certain major needs: a just peace, true and complete freedom everywhere, a spirit of brotherhood in a smaller world and better living conditions for all.

8.4 In order to promote this trend in history, international institutions, including our own, have been created with the ultimate purpose of securing unity among men, despite their diversity, and a feeling of universal brotherhood, with maximum individual freedom. But any institution, however perfect, is an "umbra sine corpore" - or rather a body without a soul - if it has no spiritual stimulus; it must have a lofty idea of what is right and good and believe in the principle of fair shares, which means that, all selfishness and arrogance being set aside, every man receives what he is entitled to. Notwithstanding the precedents I have mentioned, our age has forged the tools for the work which lies ahead of us.

8.5 Unesco is the least political of these international institutions and the most important among them in the realm of ideas. Its obligations centre round the noble task of raising the moral and intellectual standards of education throughout the world. It is absolutely imperative that we should work efficiently in this field, but we must also remain within the broad limits laid down for us by our Constitution. Let us make every effort to create an atmosphere of peace and security through scientific and cultural development. Let us encourage activities which may serve to increase mutual sympathy among the nations, irrespective of geographical boundaries and differences of creed, race or national economy. The aims of education, the progress of science, the ideals of art and a steadily increasing respect for the human personality are the things that we are working for, a rich field for your abilities. The differences in opinion which these objectives may cause should not divide us into two camps, but rather unite us through auspicious competition. Let us not depart from this common ground which diverging traditions, prejudice and conflicting interests have not invaded.

8.6 This assembly is no place for unnecessary disputes. Majorities or minorities, left-wing or right-wing parties, are the heritage of national political systems and are unsuited to our intellectual mission.

8.7 This tenth session of the General Conference, attended by so many distinguished men, must be held in the most favourable conditions possible. A vast programme has been submitted for our consideration.

Let us examine it with sympathetic attention and be moved only by the desire to take the right decisions. Let us consider each case with an open mind and with sincerity, and let there be no threats, open or veiled. Let us welcome with enthusiasm the renaissance of the East and the hopeful news that comes to us from Africa. Let us greet all fresh progress joyfully, wherever it may come from, since the happiness of us all is the direct consequence of improvement in any one of our countries. Let us consider one another with sympathy and respect, using no harsh words, in the hope that what is really right will be done when Equity, in its own time, delivers its final decision. Above all, let us not occupy this rostrum, which hope has sanctified, in order to spread propaganda that would shake the confidence of our peoples.

8.8 The delegation of the Republic of Cuba, over which I have the honour to preside, is prepared to vote enthusiastically for the Programme and Budget presented by the Director-General, together with the Executive Board's comments, in the assurance that this tenth session of the General Conference will, in the annals of Unesco, stand out as one of the most profitable that has been held until now. The States which have responded to this summons and the distinguished men who are sitting before me are a sufficient guarantee that such hopes will be realized.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the venerable spokesman for the Cuban delegation. I should like, with respect, to mention that he is, it seems, one of the oldest delegates at our Conference. I now call upon the representative of the Organization of American States, Mr. Nannetti.

10.1 Mr. NANNETTI (Organization of American States) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is an honour for me to bring you the greetings of the Organization of American States and to congratulate the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, on behalf of the Organization of American States, for his excellent report. It is also a pleasure to attend a session in this splendid building which is Unesco's own home.

10.2 Mr. President, the General Conference of Unesco has great moral significance. The representatives of culture have not come together from all over the world merely to carry out the administrative act of voting a budget. No, they are here, as representatives of the conscience of mankind, to reaffirm the principles of the United Nations and to consider how all the peoples of the world can safeguard and implement them.

10.3 The very words "United Nations" should make us think.

10.4 After a terrible war, mankind has mastered its grief and decided to try to derive some wisdom from the experience. The old theory of the balance of power has been replaced by moral law, and an international body set up to enforce it. The United Nations is the symbol of that decision taken by mankind. We are not living under the "universal monarchy" of which Dante dreamed as an answer to his cry for peace, wrung from him by the sufferings of his time. This is something more: international democracy as a system for dealing with conflicts and regulating relations among the peoples of the world.

10.5 The peoples ... because the peoples are present today. This is another modern phenomenon which became a preponderant force immediately after the Second World War; the real revolt of the masses; the uprising of the common people, anxious to have their share in the benefits of civilization and culture.

10.6 What do these great masses of Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania want? Or rather, what do these men and women want? What does each of them want?

10.7 All are seeking something; they want a roof, bread, security for those they love, a spark of the light of culture, a peaceful old age, a place where they can rest at last. These are humanity's age-old desires, which have been held in check and denied for centuries, but are being voiced again in the general revolt.

10.8 Directly after the world conflagration, the ideal of the United Nations gave a greater sense of the unity of mankind and renewed strength to attack the injustices and scourges which drive nations to despair and violence. Great international agencies, such as Unesco, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization, arose to combat ignorance, poverty and disease. They came to join the veteran International Labour Office, responsible for securing social justice.

10.9 We must not think of all this as being merely a great bureaucratic apparatus of international dimensions. The United Nations is an expression of immense human suffering and of a passionate desire for mercy, justice and hope.

10.10 But the United Nations ideal would be incomplete if it were limited to the establishment of security and well-being. Man today, as always, is seeking mental and spiritual freedom. This is the first defence of peace. In the Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations and the Organization of American States have offered men a banner and a mission. To enforce it throughout the world and to give it life and spirit should be the constant endeavour of the contemporary world. The Declaration of Human Rights should become the very flesh and blood of Twentieth century Man.

10.11 It is for us to analyze the rôle which falls to Unesco in this mission of redemption. Let us reread the Constitution and consider whether what has been accomplished is commensurate with the ideals of those who founded Unesco.

10.12 "Since wars begin in the minds of men", so reads the Constitution, "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." But wars do not begin in the minds of men - they begin in the minds of a few men.

10.13 The modern world wants peace, but it is haunted by the nightmare of war. The defences of peace already exist in the conscience of mankind, but, faced with the relentless course of events, they are of no avail. Unesco would be failing in its task did it not bravely confront this greatest paradox of our time.

10.14 One of Unesco's Major Projects is concerned with mutual understanding of Eastern and Western cultural values. Although the wording is vague, there is agreement that the Project aims at better understanding of the great Asian cultures in Europe and America, and vice-versa. It is a laudable objective. What humanity seeks and needs is mutual understanding and acquaintance between the Orient and Occident,

facing each other across the spiritual frontier of our age.

10.15 Each people seeks its own paths in the light of the geographical factors affecting it and its own historical genius. Difficulties and competition then cannot but exist, for they are the price of progress. But Twentieth century Man has a right to demand the establishment of a world moral standard to direct the rivalries of nationalisms and ideologies along the ways of peace and justice.

10.16 History tells us of other clashes of values, of conceptions of life, for which peoples have gone to war. Yet later, nevertheless, we have seen those who were formerly irreconcilable enemies settle their differences and live together in brotherhood.

10.17 The old idea of "To kill or be killed" no longer applies to any conflict possible in our own days, in which the sole and terrifying choice would be to kill and be killed.

10.18 Unesco's Constitution binds us to enlist education, science and culture in the cause of peace. The appalling tension under which the generation of today is living calls for research and diagnosis by sociologists, psychologists, economists and political philosophers.

10.19 We must promote the closest contacts between the intellectuals, educators, journalists, artists and students of the two rival worlds. But this is not enough just as the efforts of the chosen few are not enough to cure the ill. We must reach the peoples. The Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America deserves a special place in Unesco's thoughts and consideration for extension to other parts of the world.

10.20 Unesco should promote national education plans for the organized employment of States' own resources and should concentrate its own resources on the promotion of teacher training. Schools are the nurseries where the new human race of which we dream in this the second half of the Twentieth century is being reared.

10.21 Combatting illiteracy is a sterile task if the man who learns to read does not have ready to his hand the books which can make his life a nobler thing. It is therefore Unesco's unshirkable task to spread the best that culture can offer, through the printed word.

10.22 The promotion of technical education is essential at a moment when the nations are concerned with improving their living conditions by speeding up the process of industrialization.

10.23 The Major Project on Arid Lands offers a worthy task to modern science and deserves the encouragement and support of every State.

10.24 All these special efforts, as also the others covered by the Regular and the Technical Assistance programmes, should have as their motivation and inspiration the extension of human rights to all the world and the consolidation of peace.

10.25 Similar ideals inspire, and similar duties bind the Organization of American States, - the oldest of all international organizations - which is co-operating with Unesco in the new world. The position is auspicious. The Organization of American States is the expression of 21 American Republics' will to peace. Unesco seeks to achieve peace through culture; the Organization of American States promotes culture in a climate of peace. The understanding between the two Organizations has yielded excellent results - seminars and conferences have been held, training centres for teachers and experts in fundamental education established, and many other projects carried out in America by the joint endeavours of the Organization of American States and Unesco.

10.26 This co-operation between our regional body and the international Organization cannot but strengthen anew our faith in our common ideals. The Organization of American States, with its half century of service to the peoples of America, is here today to join its strength to that of this Conference, the symbol of mankind's unity and the proof that men of all races, nations and beliefs, made brothers by the living sense of concord and friendship, can work together for the cause of peace.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank Mr. Nannetti and call upon the delegate of Ethiopia, Mr. Wold.

12.1 Mr. WOLD (Ethiopia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is not without emotion that I confess that this is the first time the honour has fallen to me of heading a delegation from my country to this great international Conference. The honour would also be a testing experience did I stand before any other assembly than your own, but now, after many years as Head of Public Education in Ethiopia, I feel that, though a newcomer, I am yet at home in an Organization which it seems hardly suitable to call a "Specialized Agency", when the loftiness of its aims and the range of the media and methods it employs raise it so far above the level of specialization in any narrow sense.

12.2 I too, in my Government's name, would express my thanks to the Government of the French Republic and the City of Paris who have made this meeting of ours possible in a setting so favoured that I suspect the visiting delegations of envying the permanent delegates and staff of Unesco, for whom it will remain the scene of their daily life.

12.3 I welcome, the specially happy decision of this assembly, to raise the Italian Trust Territory of Somaliland, the Federation of the West Indies and Kuwait to the status of Associate Members of Unesco and I think I speak for all of us in expressing our joy that Ghana and Malaya are, for the first time, participating fully and completely in our proceedings.

12.4 I am also glad to have the opportunity of thanking the Director-General, Dr Luther Evans, and all those who, under his leadership, have given of themselves unsparingly, not only to carry out a difficult programme but to open up new vistas for our Organization.

12.5 Incidentally, we in Ethiopia have had the pleasure of visits from the Director-General, Mr. Veronese and Mr. Adiseshiah, while other distinguished representatives of the Secretariat and various experts have been passing our way since 1955, I venture to assert that all these visitors have been able to see for themselves on the spot that the efforts expended by the Ethiopian authorities to promote increasingly modern forms of education on an ever wider scale are proceeding on the lines which Unesco would like to see adopted

everywhere, and that the closest and most fruitful co-operation has been established between the local administration and Unesco's representatives. As proof of this, I need do no more than mention the Madjiti Community Centre, about 300 kilometres from Addis-Ababa, an experiment of particular interest and a definite success in the educational field. It could not indeed have been otherwise, given the strength with which Ethiopia has ever held to the principles of collective security and international co-operation, which she sees as the sole basis of enduring peace. But, at least as much as to Ethiopia's heartfelt and unreserved acceptance of these principles, the co-operation happily obtaining can be ascribed to the fact that education has always been treated as our top priority problem.

12.6 My country has unfortunately had the tragic experience of seeing its intellectual leadership systematically decimated. On our liberation, the problem of schooling took precedence over all others and, to signify the exceptional importance he attached to it, His Majesty the Emperor deliberately combined with his own supreme office that of Minister of Education. The budget of the Ministry of Education has been steadily increased, even at some sacrifice of the interests of other Ministries no less important. To cope with the programme for the extension of schooling to the whole country, a special three per cent ad valorem tax is levied on all imported merchandise and articles and the yield set aside to finance the advancement of education. A corresponding tax is levied on all land. Advisory committees on education, elected by popular suffrage and under the authority of the Higher Council of Education in Addis-Ababa have been set up in each of the Empire's thirteen provinces, and supervise the disbursement of the funds collected in their respective provinces in respect of the imports I have just mentioned. These measures have created a spirit of emulation and through them we are progressing towards the introduction of free and compulsory education. Already the modest enrolment fee of three Ethiopian dollars per term, formerly payable by the parents of primary school pupils, has been abolished. There has been an increase in the number of secondary schools and they have been supplemented by university colleges. I want to emphasize that education in these establishments is free of all charge; board and lodging are free for pupils electing to enter as boarders and school equipment is supplied free. These arrangements also apply in the agricultural schools, the training schools for future builders and technicians, and the schools of commerce, all established more than ten years ago and playing their part in the emergence of a professional class. We shall never fail to acknowledge the aid afforded us in this field by Unesco and the other United Nations Agencies.

12.7 Co-operation between Unesco, teachers and the general body of Ethiopian civil servants responsible for questions of education and culture will not fail, I am sure, to increase in the years to come and my Government will afford its full support in the implementation of the programme presented by the Director-General.

12.8 My Government sets a high value on the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Ethiopia, a part of Africa geographically, but equipped by its history and ancient culture to be receptive to the ideals of other parts of the world, is in a position to make a useful contribution to greater mutual knowledge and understanding between civilizations whose salient difference is their degree of technological advance.

12.9 Since we shall be talking about Africa later and Unesco's interest in Africa's problems, may I venture to observe that insufficient attention is paid to those African countries lying South of the Sahara. The infant States, whose birth we are witnessing in that part of the world and whose numbers will necessarily increase, have extremely urgent problems to tackle, in connexion with the fight against illiteracy and also with the intensive training of technicians. Whatever the interest of long-term projects, of research of great significance for pure science, what is really needed is to apply practical remedies at once and in quantity to respond to the appeals now reaching us. Is it not significant that the African States, which are conscious of the exceptional merits of international bodies, are already carrying out exchanges of students among themselves? For instance, this very year the secondary schools and university colleges in Ethiopia have been opened to young people from neighbouring countries whose expenses are paid by our Government.

12.10 The voice of afflicted Africa might perhaps get a better hearing if - as indeed the traditional rule of geographical distribution requires - the continent were better represented at all levels in our Organization.

12.11 We rejoice at the success of the work undertaken in Latin America to combat illiteracy and promote suitable fundamental education and we wish to express our admiration and gratitude to all the officials and all the experts through whom this vast task is being carried to success. But is it not desirable - nay, even essential - to extend the undertaking to the continent of Africa and thereby make the most of the experience gained in South America? I agree that Africa has its place in Unesco's thoughts, that appreciable efforts have been made and that the projects on secondary and vocational education in Tropical Africa are of the utmost interest, especially to my delegation. I feel however that I must stress one point - the essential problem of Africa is to get to immediate grips with illiteracy and the most urgent need is to expand primary schools. The distinguished representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, at the meeting of 7 November, rightly stressed that necessity; while my good colleague and friend, the head of the Liberian delegation, advanced convincing arguments to the same effect at the meeting of 10 November. We subscribe wholeheartedly to the conclusions reached by both and hope that, in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the General Conference at its eighth session, the question of compulsory primary schooling will become, in the African context, a priority project.

12.12 I have no wish to comment on the details of the budget before us, on which many speakers before me have made observations which were often justified. We shall reserve our remarks in that connexion for the appropriate committees.

12.13 At that moment, we also propose to ask our colleagues to give special consideration to the Social

Sciences chapter, in view of the problems posed by Africa's growing industrialization. This is indeed an eminently desirable development, but it may well have far-reaching repercussions on traditional structures and diagnosis and practical measures are required to make the change-over a smooth one.

12.14 In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to extend my thanks to the Director-General for the distinguished report he has put before us, as also to all those concerned in the preparations for this Conference, and to express my complete conviction that the tenth session of the General Conference, which has opened in such favourable conditions, will enable us to take a new step forward and to give more dignity, more opportunities, to the millions of men and women throughout the world who place such high hopes in our endeavours.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Ethiopia and call upon the delegate of Nicaragua, Mr. Quintanilla.

14.1 Mr. QUINTANILLA (Nicaragua) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President, fellow delegates, I account it a great honour, and grounds for proper pride, to be speaking in my country's name from this platform where the thoughts of the world are expressed.

14.2 Nicaragua is one of the smallest nations of the world and that fact alone obliges me to justify its presence at this General Conference of Unesco. For all the lack of personal qualities in myself or of material considerations entitling my country to a position of patent pre-eminence in this assembly, it is my good fortune to be able to evoke the mighty memory of a great poet - Rubén Darío, reformer and visionary - whose world-compassing and immortal voice gives Nicaragua its rightful place in the realm of universal culture.

14.3 But apart from this higher title with its deep-rooted basis in the spiritual sphere, my country can also advance its genuine co-operation and unwearying efforts at Unesco's side since our affiliation, in February 1952, to the Organization's noble cause.

14.4 Before going on to the body of my discourse, I would ask the indulgence of the distinguished delegates here present, whose proven understanding and tolerance make my task less difficult.

14.5 The Nicaraguan delegation to this, the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, has closely studied the report presented by the Director-General on the Organization's activities over the last two years of hard and fruitful work in the vast and complex domains of education, science and culture in every quarter and region of the globe.

14.6 We have perused, too, with the greatest interest and in the fullest detail, the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, also submitted to this Conference by the Director-General.

14.7 These two documents, in our judgement, are the clearest proof of Unesco's substantiality, effectiveness and scope. The report contains valuable and revealing details of the successes achieved by the Organization in the various spheres of its activity and those victories demonstrate strikingly and indisputably how far Unesco's ideals have progressed towards becoming fact and how it has continued to expand and consolidate its sphere of operations.

14.8 Particularly striking is the progress achieved in the operation of the three Major Projects approved by the General Conference at its ninth session in New Delhi in November 1956: the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America; Scientific Research on Arid Lands; Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

14.9 Mr. President, what has been accomplished under these splendid projects, begotten under fortunate stars, is really impressive. Never before has any organization accomplished so much in so little time and this fact proclaims aloud the competence, drive and lofty spirit of international service inspiring and animating the work of those who so ably direct and administer Unesco's programmes.

14.10 Nicaragua counts itself privileged to express gratitude to Dr. Luther Evans, our distinguished Director-General, to our good and respected friend, Mr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, and to all those working with them in the several departments of Unesco on the outstanding work carried out with such dedication and devotion.

14.11 Mr. President, my delegation wishes to make it known that it will give its unreserved support to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. More particularly we applaud the provisions for the increase of the appropriations for the extension of primary education in Latin America because Nicaragua has a direct interest in this Major Project, which comes providentially to make an effective reality of the free and compulsory education prescribed in the Constitutions of all States of Latin America, but given substance only on the most limited scale, owing to lack of money, lack of foresight, or lack of clear appreciation of the scope and sweep of this problem.

14.12 In our view, culture is the best agent of freedom and, if the doors of the school are barred to the common man, the fundamental principles of democracy are imperilled. To grasp this truth and tackle it with courage and intelligent determination is the only way of putting an end to prejudice, economic insecurity and underprivilege of every type.

14.13 Latin America is going through one of the most lively and important stages in its history. The swift growth of the population, the constant spread of industrialization, the consolidation of republican institutions and the progressive extension of the public service, all require strong, immediate and full-scale government action in the field of education and a clamping down on illiteracy at the source.

14.14 A great American educator, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, used to say that the Republic itself should be treated as one vast school. He was speaking of Argentina, his native land, but his inspired thought should be made a reality throughout the continent by the governments concerned. The time is already ripe for the 70 million children and adults still barred from the benefits of civilization and culture to be admitted to them forthwith, if we really wish to speed up the rate of our economic, political and social development.

14.15 Unesco, in co-operation with the Organization of American States and other international bodies, is making a powerful contribution towards the success of this joint venture of the nations which make up the continent discovered by Columbus.

14.16 Moreover that co-operation cannot but have repercussions far outside the regional American sphere, since the experience gained must be of as much service to all the countries of the international community.

14.17 We consider that this vast educational project, the greatest of any ever launched in any continent, points clearly to the "will to progress" of the Latin American peoples and to the extraordinary insight of Unesco. It is with great satisfaction, Mr. President, that we note that this Project has been strengthened and confirmed in the programme and budget submitted by the Director-General.

14.18 We support the establishment - jointly with the Organization of American States - of an Inter-American Centre for Rural Education with its headquarters in Venezuela, and the decision to concentrate more on the comprehensive planning of education.

14.19 We support the continuance of the teacher-training courses in the Escuela Superior de Administración Pública in Costa Rica and the seminars on science teaching sponsored by the Montevideo Science Co-operation Office.

14.20 We support the expansion of the international programme of fellowships for the training of education specialists and the technical assistance agreements administered by the Organization of Central American States.

14.21 We support the establishment of new Associated Normal Schools and the Pilot School Libraries Scheme for Latin America. We support the reinforcement of and assistance to National Commissions and the foundation of the Latin American School of Public Administration suggested by FLACSO.

14.22 Mr. President, I think it only right to state plainly that Nicaragua is deriving the fullest and most satisfactory benefits from Unesco's Major Project No. 1, under which we have been able to secure associate status for two Urban Normal Schools, to improve and accelerate the training of primary school teachers, the provision of experts to modernize and reform our educational system and the provision of fellowships for specialist studies in the various fields of education.

14.23 To match all this, the Government I represent has taken effective steps to ensure the expansion of our educational services. The appropriations for national education are being progressively increased. Teachers' salaries have been improved. Seating capacity in primary schools has been raised. A pilot project in Fundamental Education is in operation on the Río Coco, which is one of the leading experiments of its kind now going on in Latin America. A modern Rural Normal School has been established with help on the technical side from the International Co-operation Administration. A national school building plan is in course of execution and systematic in-service training of teachers is proceeding.

14.24 Mr. President, because we are convinced of the merits of the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America and because we have reached an appreciation of the magnitude of the educational problem facing our countries, my delegation will vote in favour of the budgetary increase suggested by the Director-General to strengthen this project.

14.25 Likewise, the Nicaraguan delegation will endeavour, when the moment comes, to secure favourable decisions by the General Conference at its tenth session on the following matters:

14.26 (a) A renewed appeal to international banking and credit institutions for the grant of long-term loans to underdeveloped countries for specific school building operations and the purchase of teaching equipment and materials. The obstructively dilatory attitude of the banks in this connexion is considerably delaying the expansion of national education programmes and it is therefore urgent that capital from individual or corporate sources supplement the financial efforts being made by these States to exorcize their desperate educational crisis.

(b) Authority for the Director-General to negotiate the effective co-ordination of ICA's programmes in Latin America with Unesco's Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in that region. So far, notwithstanding the promises to this effect from either organization, they have not managed to devise any executive machinery through which such co-ordination, at once useful and desirable, could be effected. We desire to draw the attention of the delegation of the United States of America to this matter, which is of capital importance for the success of a Major Project of such concern to all Latin Americans.

(c) Creation of a Revolving Fund of $30,000, of which half would be contributed by Unesco and half by the Organization of American States, for the supply of reading materials to Latin American countries engaged in literacy campaigns. OAS is to submit a project on this subject to Unesco. The lack of suitable books obviously hampers the campaign against illiteracy and, in this connexion, it would be well to increase the circulation of the Fundamental Education Primers published by OAS.

14.27 Mr. President, fellow delegates, on the special instructions of my Government and with much personal satisfaction, I express, on this memorable occasion, our gratitude to the gallant and noble people of France and to the distinguished men who form their Government for the generous hospitality they are affording us for this tenth session of the General Conference, meeting in the glories of Paris, timeless and eternal, and in this splendid palace whose massive architectural harmony symbolizes the moral strength and indestructible spirit of Unesco.

14.28 Finally, Nicaragua affirms its unswerving loyalty to, and unquenchable faith in, the principles of Unesco, which is already the most outstanding achievement of civilized man in his struggle to assert his essential values and the most heartlifting hope for peace in a world still full of uncertainty and misunderstanding.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Nicaragua and call upon the representative of the League of Arab States, Mr. El Diwany.

16.1 Mr. EL DIWANY (League of Arab States) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as this is the first time the League of Arab States has had the honour to attend a General Conference of Unesco, I think it my duty to give you a brief outline of the League's cultural activities.

16.2 The Arab States are homogeneous elements in

a nation divided into several political entities by the differing histories of its component parts. Within their respective boundaries, they lead their separate national lives but are always bound together by certain indissoluble spiritual and cultural ties. Thus they have a common language, a common cultural heritage and the memory of a long history of civilizations which they have founded together. As a result, the notion of the League has been at the back of the Arab mind since the end of the First World War but got no further until the end of the Second, when it emerged as the present League, which defined its aim and its cultural activities as soon as it was established in 1946.

16.3 All in all, the Arab League's cultural activities represent a kind of clearing house operation, like the activities of many departments in Unesco. In pursuance of this idea, a cultural treaty was signed, binding the Arab States to mutual aid and to supplementing each other's individual activities whenever and wherever there was a gap to be filled.

16.4 So, too, exchanges of teachers are effected on a very large scale between the Arab States and, at present, some hundreds of Arab teachers are to be found beyond the frontiers of their individual countries, teaching in other States whose governments have called on them. Again there are brisk exchanges of students between the various Arab States, with these young people moving on from one country to another where a fuller training is available and all the necessary arrangements for mutual recognition of degrees and for equivalence of studies have been made, so that they find not the slightest difficulty in transferring from one university to another.

16.5 It was in 1946, that is, immediately after the League was formed, that a cultural treaty was signed, and it is the League 's work in the field of culture which is the bond between us here.

16.6 Mr. President, the League of Arab States has always concerned itself with the common heritage of all Arabs - the countless manuscripts distributed over the libraries, public or private, of the whole world or in the hands of private persons. Accordingly the Arab League has established an Institute of Manuscripts for the specific purpose of listing and cataloguing, with the necessary bibliographical notes, the various Arabic manuscripts held by all libraries; thus a research worker coming to the Institute of Manuscripts, currently accommodated at the headquarters of the Arab League, can there find out exactly where a particular manuscript is to be found; he may even be able to discover how long it is and obtain some idea of its value. The Institute, which is supplied with ultra-modern equipment, concentrates on producing photostats of which it sends any copies needed to research workers in other countries. As a result, after studying the catalogues of a whole series of libraries and sometimes sending agents to assess the value of particular manuscripts, the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts currently holds 9,000 individual items representing over 2 million pages.

16.7 Mr. President, this rapid outline will enable you to see the similarity, the affinity of the cultural activities of the League of Arab States with those of Unesco. It is on that account that we have bound ourselves to Unesco by an agreement, so that our respective activities may be undertaken after mutual consultation, overlapping thus being avoided and our co-operation made more effective.

16.8 The Arab League has of course taken an interest in all Unesco's work ever since the latter's foundation. For instance, the League has concerned itself particularly with the Department of Education and notes with satisfaction the progress and expansion of its activities, which show a really remarkable development over the past few years. When we compare the education appropriation in the early Unesco budgets before 1950 - say in 1948 or 1947 - with the appropriations then made, say, for Mass Communication or other activities, we realize that at that time the Education Department stood in the relation of a Cinderella to the rest, although, in actual fact, Education is the first activity to be mentioned when one tries to explain what Unesco is.

16.9 Since then, things have changed and today Unesco, led thereto by successive Directors-General and especially by Dr. Luther Evans, to whose intelligence, independence of character, honesty and devotion I gladly pay tribute, has succeeded in expanding its educational programme in a highly satisfactory way. Education now stands for fighting illiteracy, founding regional centres, training teachers, preparing teaching materials, sending out missions, providing experts etc. - all truly valuable and productive activities.

16.10 As regards Unesco's other projects, such as that on the Arid Zone and that on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, I shall, with your leave, have a brief word to say on both.

16.11 Under the Arid Zone Project - the report tells us - preliminary activities have been proceeding since as long ago as 1951. Thus the Project was the successor, after a gap of two or three years, of the famous Hylean Amazon scheme. The Arid Zone Project is today entering its third year and its activities comprise scientific research, the foundation of various institutes, the development of some already in existence, the training of experts (i.e. the award of fellowships), and, finally, the study of wind and solar energy.

16.12 In my view, the scientific research institutes should be used forthwith - I say this because the execution of the Project is to be spread over six years - and their activities should be focussed at once on the practical aspects of the problem.

16.13 Arid zone research is not and should not be a matter of pure science, however praiseworthy the aims of research in pure science may be and notwithstanding our inability to say exactly where pure science ends and applied science begins; for us it is essential, now, to direct the efforts of these institutes towards applied research i.e. research on deserts, hydrology, hydrography etc.; for the specific purpose of cultivating the desert so that it may yield food for man. It is not a matter of pursuing research for six years, of encouraging scientists and supporting institutes, in order that the institutes may thereafter become components of faculties of science or of universities, where research drifts on, divorced from real life, passed on from one professor to the next, from one student to the next, institutes where examinations are taken and diplomas may even be secured; far otherwise, the task is to prove, from time to time, that such and such an item of research has proved applicable in the field and has yielded this or that result.

16.14 When we have achieved that, gentlemen, it will be easy enough to find people to exploit these methods and apply them to the more or less intensive cultivation of the desert.

16.15 Thus, as and when a practical result is reached, it must be brought into use at once so that it can supply food for man.

16.16 As regards the training of experts, this is a question which has always been dear to Unesco, since it has always made a special point of sending fellowship holders from country to country.

16.17 However, when a man is sent to another country with a fellowship and trained there as an expert, Unesco, which has borne the cost of this fellowship, must have some guarantee that, on his return home, the man will remain, for some time at least, in the service of the project for which he was trained. Today, if an expert is trained for this or that country, he goes home, stays a while - sometimes a very short while - finds another post elsewhere, a little better paid, and leave the Desert Institute or wherever he has been posted and goes off to look for something better. It was not for that that we trained him. When a man is trained as an expert, Unesco must find means to bind him to stay at his post, and even to bind the Member State to retain him in his appointment, for a specified minimum period - six years or ten years - that is a matter for discussion. If one man does not accept these conditions, another will, and the second man will be more interested, more dedicated to his task than the first. With that point made, gentlemen, since the matter of scientific research is obviously one of our continuing concerns, there is no reason why, in other spheres, research should not continue on the purest and most thorough lines - but not within the scope of the Arid Zone Project.

16.18 As regards the other Project, that on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, you all know that the countries, like those of the Arab League, which now need help from others, once upon a time - very long ago - gave science and learning to Europe. Europe in her turn is repaying the debt and the universities - universities in general - have certainly not laid themselves open to the slightest criticism over the dispensing of learning, which they have done without chaffering to every student who comes to them.

16.19 Since the beginning of the present century, we Arabs have therefore been sending our children to the various universities and schools of foreign lands, in France, England, America, Germany and Italy, and in that way we have secured, at the charge either of those concerned, or of the State, a chosen few who today manage all our activities. Hence we know the West by the means I have described. Another way of knowing the West is by reading translations of its modern and classical writings. Now, gentlemen, in the cultural treaty of 1946 of which I have just been speaking and which binds all the Arab States, there is an article - the seventh - which reads as follows: "Member States shall encourage the translation from foreign languages of works of famous authors, classical or modern, and co-ordinate all efforts exerted in this direction". That dates from 1946, from Unesco's birth so to speak. And, since then, a good thousand works by leading authors, classical and modern, have been selected by special university committees and their translation undertaken. Some hundreds of them have already been printed and published and the rest will surely follow.

16.20 So, gentlemen, we want the West to know as much about us as we know about it. The question of how to achieve this is one for discussion at greater leisure in specialized committees.

16.21 Mr. President, that is all I have to say. May I repeat my compliments and congratulations to the Director-General and his distinguished colleagues?

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Thank you Mr. El Diwany. I now call upon the delegate of Jordan, Mr. Salim.

18.1 Mr. SALIM (Jordan):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, at this very late hour of this illuminating debate I must make my intervention very short. We have always been advised to save time; I wish only that we were told more of the important ways in which we could spend the time we save. I hope also that in our attempt to save time, we shall not overlook the principles, rules and regulations which govern our deliberations.

18.2 We are very happy to be in the magnificent house of Unesco, amongst many friends from all nations. It is our hope that the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity pursued, by this great city in the past, will reign over all our thought and activity in the present. Better international understanding and a just and everlasting peace will never be achieved if we do not believe that men are born free and equal brothers. We need to believe, but also to manifest this belief in our actions.

18.3 Jordan is a very small country with a very poor economy. One-third, if not more, of the total population are refugees from Palestine; they were driven out from their homes, farms, schools and everything they held dear, by a powerful conspiracy and a barbarous aggression. They are denied their right to their personal property and their right to go back to the homes and farms which they have built and cultivated with their sweat and blood.

18.4 The education of the refugee children from Palestine is of particular concern to my country. We look with very keen interest and enthusiasm to Unesco's participation in the programme of education for refugee children. It may seem that the rôle of Unesco in this field is a minor one, because UNWRA has all the funds and Unesco has only technical and professional responsibilities. But in fact, Unesco, with all its knowledge and experience of educational theories and techniques, could make of the refugee children's education a pioneering example for the whole area. Unfortunately, it has not been able to do so and has not even been able to raise the standard of their education up to the standards of education in the host countries. There may be many reasons for this failure. I might well cite one: at the previous General Conference, 15 posts for technical advisers, programme specialists and professional experts were established to help in the work of refugee children's education, but we discover that only 7 of these have been filled. I do not wish to dwell on this point. I would rather draw your kind attention to the fact that Jordan, in spite of its meagre financial resources,

has been able to accommodate 40,000 refugee children in its own schools. We have more than 18 per cent of the total population of the country enrolled in elementary, secondary and higher institutions: a good record, which was achieved as a result of our belief in the right to education. Education in Jordan is an economic investment, and better use of human resources is a major step in the preparation of a better future for our country. In this context, Mr. President, I should like to refer to draft resolution 10 C/DR/14, submitted by the United States delegation, to offer it strong support and express our deep gratitude.

18.5 Mr. President, last January, when the Arab States met in the very old and learned city of Fez to discuss the programme and budget of Unesco, with the help of the Secretariat and representatives from many other Member States, the Arab National Commissions' representatives drafted certain resolutions and recommendations, some of which were addressed to Unesco in the hope that they would be taken into consideration when the programme was revised. I need not repeat those recommendations, but I hope that the Secretariat will find ways and means to implement them in the present, and in future, programmes. I might add that, although Jordan would like to play a major part in the implementation of the Arid Zone Project, it is more deeply concerned with the better use of its water resources for the improvement of the living conditions of the people. We believe in the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values; we say to those who believe in the spiritual values, and consider them important for the enrichment and ennobling of human experience, that Jordan, the cradle of religion, has every good intention and a firm determination to keep the holy places in Jerusalem and the old country safe and accessible to all friends from all parts of the world. They will continue to be a source of inspiration for those who want to build the defences of peace in human minds.

18.6 Mr. President, the present programme of Unesco is very well planned, thanks to the Director-General and the Secretariat. Although we do not, in this General Conference, vote the work plans, yet I believe that the work plans are as important as the resolutions we vote. We have to admit that the implementation of any programme is decisive for its quality. We hope that the Member States and the Secretariat will handle this programme in a sincere Unesco spirit and with an intelligent international outlook, high above narrow national prejudices and cultural tribalism. The Secretariat should be given every assurance and guarantee that they are free to give their advice and discharge their responsibilities, paying the slightest attention to the directives of their respective governments or of strong and influential Member States. They are an instrument of service for the whole world of education, science and culture, and we are sure that they will be aware and conscious of their mission. Small countries like mine find in the Secretariat a sympathetic friendship which helps, and will continue to help, in the solution of their problems and in the dissemination of Unesco's aims and ideals among the masses.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Jordan and now call upon the delegate of Colombia, Mr. Uribe Holguin.

20.1 Mr. URIBE HOLGUIN (Colombia) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, delegates, fortunately for Colombia, its most distinguished citizens are strongly imbued with the idea that, in order to consolidate our democratic system, efforts to solve the problem of education must take precedence over all others. More and better education is our motto, because education is a safeguard against innumerable dangers; it is never an expenditure, but the most profitable of investments. There is no more powerful contributing factor to national prosperity, peace and greatness. Since the establishment of the Constitution of Unesco, Colombia has always regarded the latter as the body most qualified to inspire and promote that fundamental activity.

20.2 What practical steps have been taken during 1958 to give effect to these principles? Mr. President and fellow delegates, they are as follows:

(a) Doubling of the education budget, as compared with that for 1957 - approved by an overwhelming majority.

(b) Application of the specific recommendations relating to overall educational planning, prepared by the office of Planning of the Colombian Ministry of Education.

(c) Study of the reorganization of the educational system proper.

(d) Tabling in Parliament of a Reform Bill on the administrative structure of education in our country.

(e) Study of the reorganization of the national budget on more technical lines, with a view to making it more flexible and practical.

(f) Another study on ways of obtaining new and permanent funds for education, at the national level and from sources presupposing assistance from other Colombian public bodies.

20.3 My country is proud of the fact that, as a result of reports by its representatives, the internationalization of overall educational planning, discussed at the ninth session of the General Conference of Unesco in New Delhi, as well as at the Third Congress of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education in October 1957 and by the Intergovernmental Advisory Committee on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, was initiated in Lima during the Second Inter-American Meeting of Ministers of Education in 1956.

20.4 Towards the middle of this year, an Inter-American Seminar on Overall Educational Planning was held in Washington under the auspices of the Organization of American States and Unesco. One of its main recommendations was that an Inter-American Centre for the training of leaders in the field of overall educational planning should be established; my country has proposed that the Centre's headquarters be set up in Bogotá. The idea is that OAS, Unesco, ECLA and the Colombian Government would co-operate in this project.

20.5 Even at the risk of appearing conceited, I cannot refrain from quoting the following statement made at the Washington Seminar by the distinguished Peruvian Minister, Dr. Jorge Basadre: "At the proposal of the Colombian delegation, educational planning was recommended at the memorable meeting of Ministers of Education, held in Lima in 1956. Since then, there has been growing recognition of its

UNESCO ARCHIVES

importance throughout the entire Continent". We are deeply committed to this principle.

20.6 The fact that the idea of overall educational planning is catching on in all parts of the world will be the latter's salvation, and to this Unesco has already made a considerable, sincere and enthusiastic contribution. The Government of the Republic of Colombia will, in the appropriate commissions and committees, describe new aspects of the planning and Centre to which I have just referred, and they will certainly be warmly approved, for they point to prgress. My country has learned with great satisfaction that at least twelve other countries are organizing offices of overall educational planning.

20.7 We are profoundly concerned with the problem of illiteracy, because of its inevitably detrimental effect on cultural and economic life, and hence on the standard of living, and because it is a very difficult thing to eradicate. In order to overcome this difficulty, Colombia launched, in 1958, the "National Literacy Campaign", which, in its early stages, has already proved very effective.

20.8 What is illiteracy if not a number of problems in one? For, in addition to the shortage of school buildings, there is a shortage of teachers, school furniture and teaching materials. Money would suffice to remedy this situation, except for the shortage of teachers, a problem which can only be solved by time and adequate training. Colombia will make every effort to form a body of teachers with unshakable faith in their vocation; their training will obviously have to be of a technical, moral and intellectual nature.

20.9 Colombia is not only seeking to ensure that teacher training is better adapted to needs but that it also helps to improve the standard of teaching and the social and financial position of teachers, the first step being to introduce a single salary-scale for each category of teachers. In 1958, a sum, in the form of allowances, was allocated for that purpose, making it possible in some cases to double salaries.

20.10 The teachers' charter now being prepared provides for further financial advantages and real inducements for teachers. At the same time, teachers are being urged to improve the organization of their professional associations.

20.11 The problem of the construction of primary schools has not been neglected; a Government subvention has been granted for that purpose, and this sum will have to last for many years, although the country needs 15,000 new classrooms and 400 more will be required yearly as a result of the constant growth of the population. Aid is also given to school canteens and other social welfare services.

20.12 This year, the first "Pilot Primary Schools" have been established; they try out the changes recommended by the Office of Educational Planning, e.g. introduction of the "New Primary School Curricula", whose novelty consists in standardizing primary studies - which previously differed in urban and rural schools - by fixing a uniform period of six years and thus putting an end to an odious and unfair situation in which rural areas were at a disadvantage as compared to urban ones.

20.13 It is now a year since the "Institute for the Training of School Inspectors" was established for the purpose of preparing the future directors of primary education: national and departmental inspectors, directors of school annexes, demonstration schools, etc. A new and more positive meaning has been given to school inspection; henceforth, instead of being a mere matter of investigation, its purpose will also be to give guidance to the teaching and administrative staff.

20.14 Such are our achievements in the field covered by Unesco's Major Project for Latin America; they were made possible by the valuable assistance given to the Office of Planning and the Division of Primary Education and Teacher Training of the Colombian Ministry of Education by Unesco experts.

20.15 Secondary education, which aims at providing basic general culture and school and vocational guidance, consists of two cycles; during the first cycle, which is the same for all secondary school pupils, adolescents acquire the general knowledge and are given the mental training needed for their future tasks; during the second cycle, which involves specialization, pupils are given greater opportunities to develop their personality and to take special subjects fitting them for their probable future careers. The characteristics of the second cycle thus vary according to the nature of the careers contemplated. Studies for the "bachillerato" (secondary school leaving certificate) correspond to the traditional idea of secondary schooling; teacher training to the teacher's future functions; commercial, industrial, agricultural or other studies to future activities in those respective fields.

20.16 These two cycles will not come into effect, however, until the results obtained at the Pilot "Bachillerato" Schools have been assessed and a study made of the actual possibilities of the schools.

20.17 The technical side of secondary education is not neglected, but, at present, Colombia is devoting its main efforts to the reorganization of the "bachillerato" and rural education.

20.18 Since 1955, two Unesco experts, one on rural education and the other on agricultural training, have been stationed in Colombia, and I am glad to say that we are already reaping the first fruits of their remarkable efforts: I refer to the establishment of the Pamplona Pilot Institute of Rural Education, the Pilot Rural Training School for Fundamental Education Teachers in the arid zone of Guajira, and the Service for Training in Agriculture and Cattle-Breeding in the Cundinamarca Municipality of Tabio; the preparation of educational studies, surveys, plans and programmes; the planning of the reorganization of the Department of Rural Education; assistance in educational planning under the programme for the rehabilitation of areas affected by public disturbances, and so on.

20.19 It is regrettable indeed that such valuable co-operation will be paralysed, as from 31 December next, by lack of funds for Unesco's programme of assistance to Colombia.

20.20 Colombia has granted its universities complete independence, but this does not mean that the Government intends to take no further interest in university life. This independence reflects the democratic spirit on which my country prides itself, as well as the firm conviction that a reasonable degree of independence is necessary for the proper functioning of universities.

20.21 In Colombia, universities will play an

important part in the activities of a national body it is planned to set up to co-ordinate and stimulate scientific research.

20.22 Unesco has just begun to give further assistance to Colombia, by sending an expert to advise my Government on the reorganization of the Pedagogical Universities of Bogotá and Tunja, and by carrying out a survey with a view to the establishment of an Institute for the Professional Training of "Bachillerato" Teachers.

20.23 The Organization has helped my country in other ways: it has sent us an expert to appraise the results of the Sutatenza educational broadcasting plan and advise the National Administrative Department of Statistics, as well as two other experts instructed to give technical aid to the Pamplona Associated Teacher-Training School. Further, it has promoted a new programme of assistance for the financing and administration of schools.

20.24 We ascribe such importance to the work done by Unesco's experts in Colombia that a decree has been passed, assigning them to the Office of Planning where they form part of its staff. It is my pleasant duty to declare that the work of Unesco's experts in Colombia has been, and still is, of excellent quality, and that we regard them as guides and helpers in our present energetic efforts to reform our educational system.

20.25 A little over a month ago, my Government had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General of this Organization, who wished to see for himself how the mission's work in Colombia was proceeding and to contact the country's educational authorities. He visited the Pamplona Associated Teacher-Training School and, in our capital, was received by the Minister of Education, Dr. Reinaldo Muñoz Zambrano, established contact with the experts of that Ministry's Office of Planning, and expressed clear, precise and useful views on the relations between that Office and Unesco's experts. We know that our distinguished visitor was satisfied with the work done and he offered words of encouragement which did not fail in their purpose.

20.26 On the instructions of my Government, I now present a summary of its suggestions to this distinguished gathering in the French capital: (a) That Unesco's Major Project for Latin America be strengthened; (b) That the establishment of the Inter-American Centre for the training of directors of overall educational planning be speeded up; (c) That strong support be given to the programme of international assistance for teachers' in-service training, recommended by the Unesco Inter-American Seminar held in Montevideo in October last; (d) That Unesco's activities be concentrated in the regions where they have already been undertaken, thus avoiding a dangerous dispersion of efforts and funds; (e) That an international system for the financing of education be organized.

20.28 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I should like to conclude by expressing my Government's deep satisfaction at having Mr. Berthoin, the distinguished French Minister of Education, as President of this session of the General Conference of Unesco, whose work he is conducting with unquestionable skill and impartiality.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I thank the delegate of Colombia and I now call upon the delegate of the Philippines, Mr. Lim.

22.1 Mr. LIM (Philippines) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Philippine delegation wishes first of all to extend to you the warm greetings of the Republic of the Philippines and of its First Citizen and President, H.E. Mr. Carlos P. García. My delegation is also glad to express to the Chairman and members of Unesco's Executive Board, as well as to the Director-General and the whole of his staff, the highest praise for their excellent preparatory work which has so greatly facilitated the holding of this tenth session. Further, my delegation wishes to thank the French Government, the fine people of France and, in particular, the delightful Parisians, for the cordial welcome and generous hospitality they have extended to all of us here. These magnificent Headquarters of Unesco, which will be the scene of the many activities of this Conference, could and should be a symbol of hope for the millions of persons throughout the world who have been forsaken or led astray.

22.2 For us Filipinos, Paris conjures up happy memories. It was in this city, towards the end of the Nineteenth century, that a small, but illustrious and highly cultured group of Filipinos - including Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Pedro A. Paterno, Antonio Luna, José Rizal - studied or resided. It was also here that one of the famous Philippine painters, Juan Luna, completed some of his masterpieces, including "El Pacto de Sangre" and "La Batalla de Lepanto", and others which were exhibited with great success in this eternally beautiful and flatteringly hospitable city.

22.3 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Philippine delegation reaffirms once again its unshakable faith in the principles proclaimed in our Organization's Constitution. For us, these principles are not empty high-sounding words or mere pretentious phrases, but ideals based on faith and hope. They represent a precious treasure for mankind and offer us an imposing array of intrinsic values. Our faith in these principles is such that our minds work and our hearts beat in complete unison with them.

22.4 In all modesty, we feel that we possess innumerable advantages enabling us to co-operate in the achievement of the Organization's ideals. What are these advantages? From the material standpoint, my country cannot compete with the world's great powers, although it comprises 7,107 islands and islets, with a coast measuring, from north to south, over a thousand miles, and with a total area of 114,830 square miles, i.e. an area somewhat larger than that of England and Ireland together, but slightly less than that of Japan or Spain. José Rizal, our national hero, rightly described the Philippines as the Pearl of the Eastern Seas, for it has been said of my country: "The Philippines are the Philippines of 1500, 1890 and 1958; Christian, Moslem and pagan cultures coexist in an area of slightly more than 100,000 square miles; a fundamentally Christian civilization maintained by Orientals in a clearly oriental setting. Geographically, the Philippines are situated in the Pacific Ocean; culturally, they are at the crossways of various influences: Eastern and Western, old and new."

22.5 It is largely due to this enviable setting and these extremely favourable circumstances that the Philippines live at peace with the entire world. Envy, avarice, falsehood, arrogance, subversion and oppression are proscribed from the country's international relations, for they militate against peace. Our nation believes in the power of principles; we maintain that peace can be preserved only if sound principles are the basis of human thoughts and acts. We believe in the ideology of peace; all our efforts are directed towards it.

22.6 All this idealism is reflected in the attention we have given to education, science and culture - Unesco's three basic fields of work. Owing to the wishes of our people as well as to the express provisions of our Constitution, the Philippine Government maintains, or has resolved to maintain, a system of complete and adequate public education, and also provides adults with a course of training in the principles of good citizenship. Almost one-third of our annual budget is devoted to the maintenance of our public schools, and the number of pupils enrolled in schools, anxious to develop moral qualities, self-discipline, their value as citizens and their professional efficiency, represents a quarter to one-fifth of our total population of over 22,500,000. Religious instruction is given in all the schools, as an optional or compulsory subject, according to whether the school is undenominational or denominational. Nevertheless, there are still over 3,000,000 pupils of school age unable to attend school owing to lack of public funds.

22.7 Our Constitution stipulates that the State shall promote scientific research and encourage inventions, and that it shall also grant adequate fellowships to citizens particularly suitable for them. The 1958 Science Law, approved during the last sessions of our Congress, which is represented at this Conference by two of its eminent delegates, Senator Da. Paz. M. de Gonzalez and Mr. Manuel Enverga, member of the House of Representatives, has given effect to this principle. Aware of the close connexion between a nation's scientific and technical progress and its normal standard of living, and also of the fact that we are about to enter the Age of Automation and are already encountering one another on the threshold of outer space, we have recently introduced a greater amount of science teaching into all our schools. In order to obtain the best possible results, we are integrating our programme of vocational education with those in other fields. Mere plans, however, are not enough if there are no funds to implement them, and that is our present plight.

22.8 With regard to culture, our Government has adopted a liberal as well as a farsighted policy. Under the Constitution, arts and letters are sponsored by the State. Our country has 24 universities and innumerable colleges of higher education. These universities, particularly the State University, enjoy complete academic freedom. The State has also provided fellowships and promotes literary and artistic competitions.

22.9 In Manila, the biggest city in our country, there is an educational establishment - the "Universidad Real y Pontificia de Santo Tomás" - which was founded in 1611, i.e. a quarter of a century before the foundation of the oldest North American establishment of higher education, Harvard University.

22.10 It should be noted that, English and Spanish, as well as Filipino, which is our native tongue, are used in teaching in all our schools and colleges, from the lowest to the highest classes. It can thus be claimed that our young people, if not linguists, have a love of languages. Our people understand and appreciate the value and use of words and when they practise speaking other languages, it is not with any idea of concealing their thoughts, but simply because they realize that ignorance of foreign languages denotes ignorance of one's own.

22.11 Fellow delegates, if I have ventured to expatiate on the measures adopted by my Government in the fields of education, science and culture, it is because I wished to inform you of the extremely modest and perhaps inadequate intellectual, moral and spiritual resources which my country is ready and anxious to contribute to the common cause - Man's eternal search for truth.

22.12 The task will be a difficult one, but let it not be said that it is impossible. If we all undertook scientific studies and applied the results properly, if we regarded education as a guarantee against prejudice and intolerance, then we should discover the common factors which sustain our efforts in the service of education and culture. It cannot be denied that a nation's level of progress almost always depends upon the extent to which it is aware of its affinities with other nations. Our main task is to discover these affinities and do our utmost to foster them. If we devote ourselves entirely to this task, we certainly cannot and shall not fail.

22.13 On the other hand, if we do not pursue our efforts to achieve this universal sympathy and understanding, if we do not convince ourselves that civilization is one and indivisible, the world will continue to be the scene of conflict, confusion and chaos.

22.14 We are happy to see from the Director-General's voluminous report that Unesco has devoted its time and talents to the task of attaining these objectives. We feel that this document sheds considerable light on the results so far secured by our great Organization and we are glad that our spending budget was approved this morning. We wish, however, to make a few observations.

22.15 Firstly, there is the question of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. We note that the relevant appropriation totals only $4,000,000 and that this sum is distributed in very small amounts among the beneficiary countries. In case it should interest you, I would point out that $35,000 of this sum is allocated to the Philippines. It is well known that technical training is costly, and, if the assistance given is inadequate, it is useless to expect the desired results.

22.16 Secondly, there is the programme for providing the services of experts. This is highly commendable, for, as technical knowledge is of a universal nature, there should be no obstacles to its dissemination. As regards the Philippines, we repeat that we are glad to receive the services of these experts, but for purely practical reasons we should prefer to see an increase in the number of fellowships for technical studies. I say for purely practical reasons, because it is four times as expensive to send experts to a foreign country and

provide for their maintenance as it is to maintain fellowship-holders, duly selected for training in the branches in which those experts are specialized. Let us not forget that, for very obvious reasons, an expert requires a certain amount of time, varying in length, in order to acquire a detailed knowledge of the conditions obtaining in the foreign country to which he is assigned, and that he leaves the latter as soon as his appointment - be it long or short - comes to an end. Fellowship-holders, on the other hand, return to their own country in order to spread among their fellow countrymen the knowledge they have acquired during their period of training.

22.17 As for Unesco's three Major Projects, relating respectively to the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, Scientific Research on Arid Lands, and Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, only the third concerns the Philippines but we are sincerely glad that they have been worked out and adopted. It is our belief that the benefits accruing to certain areas will in fact be shared by the rest of the world.

22.18 Allow me, however, to remark, with regard to the first of these Projects, that Asia is as much in need of assistance as any other part of the world. We hope that, in the near future, similar aid will be given to our region. Whilst it is true that the Philippines and other countries similarly situated in the tropics have no arid zones, they have to contend with just the opposite problem, namely the excessive humidity caused by destructive hurricanes and torrential rain, and, if Unesco were to devote itself, in due course, to the task of resolving this serious problem, it would thereby achieve one of its fundamental objectives.

22.19 As regards the third Project, we reaffirm our sincere intention of making our own small contribution; for it is well known that my country was, and still is, the melting-pot, as it were, of Western and Eastern cultures, which proves beyond all doubt that cultural integration, intellectual and moral solidarity, and, consequently, a combination of all cultures, are possible. The Philippines have shown that, from the cultural standpoint, East and West do not exist.

22.20 Before concluding, I should also like to express our earnest hope that our region, which is known as South-East Asia or Malaya, will receive greater assistance from Unesco, because this region seems to have been overlooked during the distribution of the privileged posts in the various organs, commissions and committees of this Conference, despite the principle of equality of opportunity which should guide our Organization in all its acts.

22.21 Led, inspired and encouraged by Unesco, we are resolved, as individual nations, to devote ourselves to the task of making others understand, as best we can, the subtler aspects of our respective racial characteristics and, in the days to come, in perfect harmony with the rest of mankind, we will live together as brothers, without distinction between East and West, regardless of national boundaries, social or racial differences, all equal and united, though we hail from the furthermost corners of the earth. Thus, in heart, word and deed, as though divinely inspired, we will have but a single objective - to discover the most effective and satisfactory solutions to the problems confronting this Conference.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

13 November 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mrs. Maria SCHLUETER-HERMKES (Federal Republic of Germany)

CONTENTS

Election of twelve members of the Executive Board 230

ELECTION OF TWELVE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the fifteenth plenary meeting is open.

1.2 The General Conference is to deal this afternoon with item 12 of its agenda: election of twelve members of the Executive Board. In accordance with Rule 30, paragraph 3 of the Rules of Procedure, the Nominations Committee met this morning to consider nominations for the twelve vacant seats, having regard to the principles laid down in Article V. A. 2 of the Constitution.

1.3 As the Chairman of the Nominations Committee, being himself a candidate for the Executive Board, resigned from his position for this morning's meeting, the Chair was taken by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Kalergis, of the delegation of Greece. I therefore call upon the Chairman of the Nominations Committee, who will present to the General Conference the report called for by Rule 30, paragraph 3 of the Rules of Procedure.

2.1 Mr. KALERGIS (Greece), Acting Chairman of the Nominations Committee:

Madam President, fellow delegates, it is my pleasure and privilege to present the report of the Nominations Committee which met here this morning. The Chairman of the Nominations Committee, Mr. Massaquoi, whose candidature was proposed yesterday by his Government, has asked me, as Vice-Chairman of the Nominations Committee, to take his place at this morning's proceedings.

2.2 The task of the Committee was to consider nominations for vacant seats on the Executive Board, having regard to the principles laid down in Article V. A. 2 of the Constitution, and to submit to the Conference general observations on the manner in which that Article should be applied, together with the names of all the candidates.

2.3 At the beginning of the meeting, Mr. Vittorino Veronese, on behalf of the delegation of Italy, informed the Committee that his Government had decided not to present a new candidate in replacement of the late Ambassador Egidio Reale, thus paying a tribute to his outstanding personal qualities and achievements and providing an opportunity for the election of a representative of a new Member State to the Executive Board of Unesco. Many delegates associated themselves with this tribute to the memory of our late colleague and friend, and I am sure that we would all wish to reaffirm our appreciation of his outstanding services to Unesco and to record our sense of the loss sustained by the Organization and by ourselves, personally, by his sudden death before our Conference opened.

2.4 I have also to record that His Excellency Mr. Carlos Morla Lynch, head of the delegation of Chile, on behalf of his Government, withdrew the candidature of Professor Francisco Walker Linares, thus greatly facilitating the task before this meeting of electing 12 members to fill vacancies on the Executive Board.

2.5 The delegations of the following countries also made observations on the candidatures presented, and on criteria for election of the members of the Board, having regard to Article V, A, paragraph 2, of the Constitution: El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Iran, Japan, Lebanon, Morocco, Norway, Poland, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic and United Kingdom.

2.6 The following general considerations were stressed in the course of the discussion:

(a) In interpreting Article V. A, paragraph 2, of the Constitution, in which it is stated that the General Conference "shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution", it was necessary to bear in mind the diversity of cultures within a given geographical region. Regions such as Europe, the Middle East and Asia were not culturally homogeneous and an effort should be made to ensure proper representation.

(b) In determining the composition of the Executive Board account should be taken of increases in Unesco membership in the various geographical regions and an effort made to ensure that an opportunity is given for new Member States to have a voice in the Executive Board.

(c) Any increase in the total membership of the Executive Board should result in better geographical and cultural representation.

(d) The importance of the personal competence, qualities and experience of individual candidates was emphasized, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution.

(e) Reference was also made to the traditional representation of the great powers, France, the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and to the presence of three of these powers in Europe. At the same time, it was pointed out that there was no constitutional provision for permanent representation of any particular Member State.

2.7 Madam President, fellow delegates, I have the honour to present the names of the candidates for election to the Executive Board.

H.E. Professor Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO, Brazil; Professor Tha HLA, Burma; H.E. Dr. G. P. MALALASEKERA, Ceylon; Dr. Adolf HOFFMEISTER, Czechoslovakia; H.E. Dr. José Ricardo MARTINEZ COBO, Ecuador; Mr. Julien CAIN, France; Mr. Casely Menasseh Obuobisa MATE, Ghana; Professor Marceau LOUIS, Haiti; Mr. R. SOEBROTO, Indonesia; H.E. Mr. Ali Asghar HEKMAT, Iran; Dr. Mohammed NASIR, Iraq; Professor Nathaniel V. MASSAQUOI, Liberia; H.E. Dr. Pedro de ALBA, Mexico; H.E. Dr. Mohamed EL FASSI, Morocco; Mr. S.M. SHARIF, Pakistan; Mrs. Geronima T. PECSON, Philippines; Dr. Hilding EEK, Sweden; Mr. Bhunthin ATTAGARA, Thailand; Professor Bedrettin TUNCEL, Turkey; Dr. Mohamed AWAD, United Arab Republic; Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS, United Kingdom; H.E. Mr. NGO DINH LUYEN, Viet-Nam.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I thank the Chairman of the Nominations Committee. The delegate of Haiti has asked to speak. I call upon him.

4. Mr. GEORGES (Haiti) (Translation from the French):
Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, in the interests of Pan-American co-operation, the delegation of the Republic of Haiti has decided to withdraw its nomination for a seat on the Executive Board.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I think the General Conference will wish to proceed to vote forthwith, according to the provisions of Rules 87 and 89 of the Rules of Procedure and of the Rules for the Conduct of Elections by Secret Ballot. In accordance with Rule 2 of the latter, I will ask Mr. Pedro Quintanilla, of the delegation of Nicaragua, and Mr. Ionescu, of the delegation of Rumania, to be good enough to act as tellers. I will now call upon the Secretary of the Conference to give you a brief reminder of certain practical aspects of the voting.

6. Mr. MONTAGNIER (Translation from the French), Secretary of the General Conference:
Madam President, the Secretariat has had ballot papers and envelopes distributed to the delegations. The ballot paper bears the reference 10 C/Form/11. In accordance with Rule 13 of the Rules for the Conduct of Elections by Secret Ballot, the following are considered invalid: (1) ballot papers on which there are more names than persons to be elected; (2) ballot papers in which the candidates have revealed their identity, in particular by apposing their signature or mentioning the name of the Member State they represent; (3) ballot papers on which the name of any candidate appears more than once; (4) ballot papers on which there are fewer names than there are persons to be elected. Delegations are therefore asked to insert on the ballot paper twelve names, to be selected from the list submitted by the Chairman of the Nominations Committee - remembering, of course, that the delegation of Haiti has withdrawn its nomination. It is essential to insert on the ballot papers the names of the candidates, and optional to insert on them the names of the candidates' delegations. Under Rule 12 of the Rules for the Conduct of Elections by Secret Ballot, blank ballot papers - that is, those on which no names are written - are considered to be abstentions.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The delegate of Liberia has asked to speak, on a point of order.

8. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):
Madam President, my delegation simply wished a clarification as to whether we are required to vote on the sheet that was passed to us by the Secretariat or whether we are required to vote on a clean sheet of paper.

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
It must be quite clear, ladies and gentlemen, that you will use, for voting, the paper 10 C/Form/11 - which will now be distributed.
9.2 I declare the ballot open.

(The vote was taken by secret ballot. The tellers called the President's attention to a ballot paper which appeared to be invalid.)

10.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
One of the ballot papers is invalid, because the vote was recorded on a blank sheet instead of on the official form.
10.2 The delegate of the Lebanon wishes to speak, on a point of order.

11. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):
Madam President, if the only reason for considering this ballot paper invalid is that the vote has not been recorded on one of the official forms distributed to us, this is not enough to invalidate it. The essential point is that the voter shall not reveal his identity. I think a vote is valid irrespective of the type of paper on which it is made. If the objection is raised on the grounds that the ballot paper does not give the names of the candidates but only those of the countries, that is another matter. But we are not obliged to use the papers distributed to us. The essential thing is that whatever papers we do use do not reveal the voter's identity. I think this is quite elementary as regards the regularity of the ballot.

12. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I would like the Legal Adviser to give us his opinion.

13. Mr. SABA (Translation from the French), Legal Adviser:
Madam President, I myself am a little doubtful. But the fact remains that in answer to a question - from the delegate of Liberia, I think - you did explain,

before voting began, that special ballot papers would be distributed and should be used for the vote. As a general principle, I do not think that a vote is invalidated simply by its being recorded on a blank sheet of paper; and that is what I was proposing to say just now. However, as a question was asked before the voting procedure began, and you gave a reply which constituted a ruling, as it were, I think that you could consult the Conference to discover whether the majority view is that, in this instance, the ballot paper should, or should not, be cancelled.

14.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, we will take a vote on this question.

14.2 The delegate of the United Kingdom wishes to speak, on a point of order.

15. Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Madam President, on a point of order, since it has been suggested by the Legal Adviser that you take the wishes of the majority of the assembly on this point, I would like to move, beyond any question, that the ballot on the ordinary sheet of paper, not on the special sheet, should on this occasion be taken as valid. You did, it is perfectly true, announce to us that the normal procedure was to vote on the sheets with which we were issued, but there really is nothing I can see about this in the rules, and I would suggest that it would be perfectly reasonable in the situation in which we find ourselves that the ballot paper in question should be regarded as valid on this occasion.

16.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, I see, from your applause, that the majority is in favour of the ballot paper being regarded as valid. We will therefore accept it.

16.2 The delegate of Uruguay wishes to speak, on a point of order.

17.1 Mr. SECCO ELLAURI (Uruguay) (Translation from the Spanish):

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry the Chair should have interpreted the opinion of the Conference as favouring the admission of this ballot paper. We take the contrary view - that it should be declared invalid; because the consideration just mentioned - that the President had already given a ruling on the subject - is not of sufficient legal force, since the President does not make the rules but merely interprets them, and that interpretation may be correct or may be incorrect.

17.2 The final say in this matter rests with the Conference, and it strikes us that there is, here, one consideration of great weight and importance. The ballot on which we are at present engaged is a secret ballot, and the whole system is based on the principle that the voting is secret. We now have the case where one vote has been recorded on a paper which can be identified; and since this paper differs from the others in that material respect, the vote becomes individualized, and for this reason violates the secrecy of the ballot. We therefore propose that this vote be regarded as invalid.

18.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, we will put the question of this ballot paper's validity to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

18.2 The ballot paper is valid: 41 votes in favour, 5 against and 5 abstentions.

18.3 Will the tellers kindly resume the counting?

(The tellers reported that one ballot paper bore the name of a delegate who was not a candidate.)

19.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, this ballot paper must be cancelled, in accordance with Rule 14 of the Rules for the Conduct of Elections by Secret Ballot. It bears the name of a delegate who has not been nominated.

(The tellers concluded the counting.)

19.2 Ladies and gentlemen, here are the results of the ballot. Number of Member States entitled to vote: 80. Absent: 2. Abstentions: 0. Number of invalid ballot papers: 2. Number of votes recorded: 76. Majority required: 39. Thirteen candidates obtained an absolute majority, and, of these, 10 secured more than 43 votes; the 3 others obtained 41 votes. The first 10 are elected, and we must now have a second ballot to decide between the 3 candidates who received 41 votes each. They are Mr. Soebroto, Mr. Tuncel and Mr. Ngo Dinh Luyen. Two of these three must be elected. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

19.3 Ladies and gentlemen, I will now give you the detailed results of the first ballot:

Sir Ben Bowen Thomas (United Kingdom) 69 votes; Mr. Julien Cain (France) 67 votes; Mr. Eek (Sweden) 62 votes; Mr. Awad (United Arab Republic) 58 votes; Mr. de Berredo Carneiro (Brazil) 58 votes; Mr. El Fassi (Morocco) 55 votes; Mr. de Alba (Mexico) 55 votes; Mr. Sharif (Pakistan) 53 votes; Mr. Martinez Cobo (Ecuador) 50 votes; Mrs. Pecson (Philippines) 44 votes. In all, 10 members elected.

19.4 We will now have a ballot to decide between Mr. Soebroto, Mr. Tuncel and Mr. Ngo Dinh Luyen, each of whom obtained 41 votes. May I remind you that two of these three names must be entered on the ballot paper?

(The vote was taken by secret ballot.)

19.5 Here are the results of the ballot for the election of two members of the Executive Board: Mr. Tuncel (Turkey) 64 votes; Mr. Soebroto (Indonesia) 45 votes; Mr. Ngo Dinh Luyen (Viet-Nam) 43 votes. Mr. Tuncel and Mr. Soebroto are elected.

19.6 I feel sure the General Conference will wish me to offer congratulations and good wishes to the delegates who have today been elected members of the Executive Board.

19.7 I will now read out the number of votes obtained by the candidates who were not elected.

Messrs. Massaquoi (Liberia) 37; Mate (Ghana) 33; Hoffmeister (Czechoslovakia) 29; Malalasekera (Ceylon) 26; Nasir (Iraq) 26; Attagara (Thailand) 23; Hekmat (Iran) 23; Hla (Burma) 22.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

SIXTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

14 November 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Alfredo CALCAGNO (Argentina)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Director-General's Reports and of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (conclusion): Speech by the delegate of the Dominican Republic 233
Reply by the Director-General 234

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1959-1960 (conclusion)

1. The PRESIDENT: (Translation from the Spanish): Fellow delegates, this morning we are to continue and conclude the discussion on the Director-General's Report and on the Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. I call upon the delegate of the Dominican Republic.

2.1 Mr. PEIGNAND CESTERO (Dominican Republic) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I would like first of all to give public expression to the gratitude felt by the delegation of the Dominican Republic to this General Conference of Unesco, for the great consideration shown to us in the Organization's new Headquarters. I would also like to thank the authorities of the great French nation, so much beloved by the Dominican Republic, for the many courtesies we have received from them. It is our wish and prayer that France, that country of long tradition, may be blessed with many years of good fortune and may continue to be the lavish and hospitable home of Unesco.

2.2 We have given careful consideration to the Report of the Director-General and to the proposed programme and budget for the coming period. These documents bear witness to a praiseworthy degree of zeal and energy, and will constitute a landmark in the history of the progress and elevation of mankind in present and future times. There can be no doubt that if all the measures and policies included in the proposed programme are carried out, all the nations of the world, united by the noble links forged by Unesco, will benefit considerably - and this fact will go far to promote the cause of peace and brotherhood among men.

2.3 It must be admitted that the Director-General has devoted himself body and soul to the cause of education, science and culture which is advocated and upheld by Unesco. Dr. Evans deserves warm applause and gratitude for his skilful direction of the Organization in the interests of the furtherance of peace throughout our sorely-tried world. In paying him this well-merited tribute, I feel confident that I am expressing the feelings of all the delegations represented here.

2.4 Our gratitude is also due for the work done by the present Executive Board. Setting aside their personal interests, its members have devoted their utmost efforts to serving the cause of peace and understanding among mankind, by means of education, science and culture.

2.5 The Government of the Dominican Republic has unreservedly accepted the Constitution of Unesco and is applying it to the full by means of educational programmes whose benefits are extended to all classes without any form of discrimination. Every level of the community is receiving advantage from the comprehensive educational programme introduced in my country, inspired and directed by that great leader and eminent statesman, Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, upon whom our people, in an eloquent tribute of gratitude, have conferred the title of First Teacher of the Nation. Great efforts are being made to give full effect to Unesco's Major Projects, especially as regards the extension of primary education, the training of qualified teachers and the eradication of illiteracy. Twelve million dollars are being spent by the Dominican Republic, during the present academic year, in applying the extensive programme drawn up by the Government in the current financial year.

2.6 Our cities at present have a total of 716 primary, secondary, vocational and special schools, while 3,600 educational institutions are spread over the rural areas. Nearly half a million children and young people are enrolled, and wherever a group of more than 5 school-age children is found, the Government immediately arranges for the opening of a school to provide them with primary education, which is free and compulsory, in accordance with the terms of our Constitution.

2.7 In addition, a nation-wide campaign was instituted in 1952 to teach illiterate adolescents and adults to read and write, and to provide them with fundamental education. As the result of a tremendous effort, and in pursuance of an educational programme which perhaps has no parallel on the continent of America, 12,116 schools have been opened to promote education

and literacy among adults; and during the five years from 1952 to 1957, 290,000 adults learnt to read and write and received a fundamental education. The national census of 1935 revealed the distressing fact that 74% of the adult population was illiterate. In 1950 a census indicated 57% of illiterates; thanks to our nation-wide literacy campaign the figure has now been reduced to 33.9%, and the National Government has set itself to eliminate illiteracy entirely by 1963, which will mark the centenary of our national restoration; the campaign based on the present programme will conclude at the end of that year.

2.8 Many specialized courses and seminars have been organized to train teachers for this vast educational programme; a Faculty of Philosophy and Education has been added to our National Universit - the first in America - and we have also opened two rural teacher-training schools, four national teacher-training colleges where the students are resident and receive State scholarships, and a number of rural pilot schools where the teachers receive practical training in teaching methods and in the correct interpretation of the curricula for a comprehensive rural education course.

2.9 I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to call the attention of all members of the Unesco family to the advisability of adopting a resolution to the effect that every country should introduce in its rural areas study plans and curricula which, though adapted to the rural environment, should at least cover a period as long as the primary course provided in the towns. It is discriminatory and unjust to follow the practice, at present adopted in many countries, whereby a six-year course or cycle of studies is provided in almost all towns, while rural districts have only two-year or three-year courses - so that millions of children leave their rural schools without having acquired the educational foundation necessary for a full appreciation of all aspects of the programmes to promote international understanding which are devised by the members of the Unesco family as part of the great campaign to consolidate peace and the brotherhood of mankind. The study plans of all countries should be identical, throughout the world, in that they should provide, in rural areas and towns alike, a primary cycle of not less than six years. Only thus shall we be able to give our children the intellectual and spiritual basis necessary for the faithful interpretation of the noblest aspects of human dignity and the lofty aims for which we are all working in this great Organization.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Thank you. The address by the delegate of the Dominican Republic brings us to the end of the list of those wishing to speak in the debate on the Report of the Director-General and the Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. We are now to hear the Director-General's reply to that debate.

REPLY BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

4.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL: Mr. President, gentlemen, I wish first of all to join with the delegates who have thanked France for being the seat of this Conference, for having provided us with a great leader in education as our President, for having made it possible for us to construct our great new Headquarters buildings. I am glad that so many of you have expressed pleasure at the character and spirit of the buildings as a symbol of the great ideals of Unesco, as well as a comfortable place for the conduct of our work. I regret that some of the rooms are not sufficiently large to accommodate adequately some of the working parties. We decided only recently, relatively speaking, to have programme working parties which could include all Member States, long after the rooms were designed for special and limited working parties.

4.2 I do not deserve credit for the design of these buildings, because the Conference accepted the plans, then in a rather sketchy state as regards details, before I was appointed Director-General. It has merely been my job to construct the buildings within the budgetary limitations laid down by the General Conference. We in the Secretariat have been responsible as we went along for making certain changes; some of them were inevitable, others we thought were highly desirable, but the principal credit for these buildings, in terms of the Secretariat's participation, belongs to my predecessor.

4.3 I wish to express thanks to the Chairman of the Executive Board for his kind remarks about the collaboration which has existed in the past two years between the Executive Board and myself. It has been my effort to aid the Board in strengthening its rôle in the Organization, both as regards its relations with the Secretariat, and as regards its relations with the General Conference. It has always seemed to me, as I told the Board shortly after taking office, that the Board should play a stronger rôle in giving leadership to the General Conference in programme matters and in administrative and financial matters. I said this even before the Board had been converted into an organ that represented governments. I have on occasion invited the Board to take jurisdiction over matters which it did not previously concern itself with. One of these, and to my mind a very important one, is the matter of changes in work plans. We now go to the Board with important changes in work plans, consult it and sometimes ask it for its approval, before we make those changes. Some people have regarded this as asking the Board to do too much work, but I have thought that it was important enough to have the Board undertake this, despite the additional burden that it has placed upon the Board.

4.4 The Board also has been asked to take into consideration and give me advice concerning appointments at the P-5 level, as well as at the higher levels where it was previously consulted. The Board gives me great help in regard to the matter of appointments, it takes account of geographical distribution in the appointments, but it also takes account of questions of competence particularly with reference to posts of D-1 and higher. Our relations are relations of candour, which sometimes raises the temperature a little bit, but also of mutual respect.

4.5 Mr. President, I wish also to thank delegates who have made kind references to the work which I have done, and the work of my colleagues in the Secretariat. I will not try to reply to individual delegates who have made such references, for that would take too long. Before going further, Mr. President, I should

like to call your attention to the very sad news that, during the year, Sir Alfred Zimmern, who was the first Secretary-General of the Preparatory Commission of this Organization, has passed away. He was a good friend of mine, he was a good friend to Unesco, although he served it for a relatively short period.

4.6 As to the reports, I will say very little. I note that you have in general approved the way we report to you on our activities. We have given a great deal of attention to this matter; with the help of the Board, the reports are more systematically organized and presented. They are efforts at honesty and candour without going too far in the revelation of diplomatic secrets. We have a great deal of work with Member Governments that is difficult sometimes, particularly in getting action out of governments, but we do not say much about that phase in our reports. The Executive Board has taken a very genuine interest in the reporting system, and I wish to express my gratitude for the very valuable aid it has given in this regard. We are still open to suggestions, and suggestions are made every time we discuss these reports with the Board. We hope that there will be additional ones and that we can make the reports still more useful. Certain ideas on that subject, which have come out of the Reports Committee will receive your consideration at a later stage in this Conference.

4.7 I have made reference earlier, in the debate on the budget ceiling, to the effort that I have made to introduce more democracy in the operations of the Organization. Democracy in dealing with Member States, enlisting their co-operation to develop the programme and to decide on the budget level, the multiple consultation that is carried on, is, I think, a very good thing. We have tried to be democratic in dealing with the Executive Board; the Executive Board discusses our ideas for the programme and budget on at least two occasions during each biennium. We try to obtain guidance at an early, general stage, and precise suggestions from the Board at a later stage of getting down to details, when we have the first draft of the proposed programme and budget. I go very far in accepting even the suggestions of members of the Board, let alone the formal recommendations of the Board in its work of revising the proposed programme and budget. I think that is a good thing, and I think that is one reason why you have found the programme and budget corresponding, as closely as you have, with your own ideas. Since the Board reflects 24 governments, it is a good sample of the thinking of all of the governments of the Organization.

4.8 We have also introduced a good deal of the element of democracy within the Secretariat. I have tried to enlist the thinking, the imagination, the creative talents of our programme specialists, as well as of our Department Heads, in the work of making decisions of importance in the work of our Organization.

4.9 As one step in this effort to make the programme correspond to the wishes of Member States, I have personally visited, since August 1953, all of the Member States of the Organization including all the new ones - not the most recent, but some that have become Members in the last few years - with the exception of Albania, Byelorussia, Costa Rica, Ghana, Malaya, Monaco, Nepal, Paraguay and the Ukraine. I have also failed to visit the Associate Members. I regret that, but the pressure of work at Headquarters has been such, that to have been absent any more than I have been, would not, I think, have been in the best interests of the Organization.

4.10 In the last few years, and in the last two years specifically, we have done what we could to aid in the development of National Commissions, which we in the Secretariat regard as one of the fundamental bases of the structure of Unesco. We have also encouraged and aided, to the best of our ability, the regional conferences of the National Commissions. We regard this now as a prominent feature of our work and hope that you will see fit to continue it.

4.11 We have tried to co-operate in a spirit of comradeship and common endeavour with international organizations. I take pride in what we have accomplished in this sphere, and I am greatly pleased with the reactions which we have received from these organizations in response to our policy of co-operation.

4.12 In the United Nations family we have been one of the leading supporters of co-operation and concerted action, and this is acknowledged openly by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This flows in part from the fact that we have a special rôle to play in educational and in informational activities. It also flows, of course, from the fact that this Conference has had a long and consistent record of requesting the Director-General to co-operate well with the Members of the United Nations family. We have introduced a plan of both informal and formal consultations with the Agencies of the United Nations family in the matter of developing our programme. We are regularly represented in many United Nations meetings. We have helped not only in programme matters but in administrative matters; we have worked closely with the General Assembly, and with the Administrative Committee of Co-ordination. In the current year, the ACC, as we call it, has taken a great interest in its own reform and improvement. At the request of the Economic and Social Council formulated in a resolution, the ACC was set up some years ago as an agency of co-ordination. It has not worked to our entire satisfaction in that body, and the Secretary-General at my suggestion invited Mr. Maheu to make a study of the ACC. This he has done; I lent Mr. Maheu to the Secretary-General for some time this year, and at a recent meeting the ACC discussed this study. It did not have time to complete its deliberations on it, but it will continue them at its session next May. The Secretary-General has said that he is persuaded that this study will greatly aid the members of ACC in coming to decisions regarding the matter of its own structure.

4.13 In the field of concerted action we have played a very important rôle. Here again Mr. Maheu, with my authorization, made a study and put forward proposals which were later accepted by the ACC; were later still accepted by the Executive Board of Unesco, which co-operated with real zeal in this work; and were also accepted by the Economic and Social Council.

4.14 We have co-operated closely with UNRWA in regard to the education of the Arab children refugees from Palestine; we have co-operated closely with the United Nations Korean Relief Agency; we have worked very hard for the Trusteeship Council in regard to the educational and cultural aspects of their reports to the United Nations on trusteeship territories;

we have also co-operated in the matter of non-self-governing territories. We have co-operated closely with UNICEF, and some of the products of that consultation and collaboration are before the Conference for its decision.

4.15 In the field of atomic energy, there was a feeling in the Organization some time ago that perhaps Unesco ought to play a dominant rôle in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. I resisted that tendency, thinking that it was primarily a United Nations enterprise and, while we would help in the scientific research and certain other aspects, we should look to the United Nations for leadership in this matter. The Executive Board supported me in this position and, as you know, the International Atomic Energy Agency has been created; as you also know we have made an agreement with them with which they are pleased and which our Executive Board has accepted; I have no fear that our rôle will not be recognized in the future development of this subject.

4.16 In the matter of the appraisal of programmes, on which you have a document before you to which some of the delegates have referred, Unesco again took an important rôle. At one time this matter was in some doubt, in the Economic and Social Council of July 1957; I took a strong position in favour of the appraisal and eventually it was adopted by the Economic and Social Council.

4.17 We have also been the first Agency to go as far as we have gone in implementing the Economic and Social Council's resolution. The Economic and Social Council took note of this fact at its meeting last summer and was very grateful to Unesco for, as it were, opening the path, breaking new ground in regard to this matter. Here again the participation of the Executive Board was very important, and it has supported me at every stage in this work.

4.18 The Economic and Social Council has passed a resolution on international exchanges and co-operation whereby it invited Unesco to make an important study. We frankly encouraged the passage of that resolution at the Economic and Social Council, and I believe the Cultural Activities Working Party has endorsed our going ahead in this matter, as did our Executive Board. In the matter of concerted action in the field of community development, while we did not take the leadership - the United Nations did that - we have played our rôle and have co-operated. In regard to the Indian-Andean project, in which ILO had the leadership, we have also participated and put some of our resources at the disposition of the project. Another idea that developed in the United Nations circles, was the idea of doing something important and realistic concerning discrimination in the field of education. The United Nations discussed this for two or three years with Unesco playing a minor rôle, and now the stage has come for Unesco to take on the major rôle: our Board supported that and we have brought proposals before you. In regard to the development of the Special Fund, we have also co-operated in a friendly spirit with the United Nations; we took one initiative, early in the game, of arranging for the Specialized Agencies in Europe to have a meeting in Rome with the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board to prepare a Specialized Agency position on the matter of the Special Fund. We found ourselves in agreement with the Secretary-General on all major points and we have accepted, with the approval of the Board, the position that has finally been taken in the United Nations itself. In developing the important "country programming system" in the Technical Assistance programme, we were active at one critical point, in favour of the country proposal. In the ACC there was general agreement to oppose this; I intervened at a critical moment with a very Texas type of speech, such as some of you have heard me make on other occasions, and the ACC finally agreed to remain neutral on the subject. It is a good thing it did, because the Economic and Social Council adopted the proposal by a unanimous vote, and it would have been a pity had its own agency of co-ordination remained entirely negative on the subject.

4.19 We have also taken leadership among the Agencies in the matter of transferring Headquarters costs of the Technical Assistance programme into the normal budgets of the Organization, spread out over a period of years, and provided the Economic and Social Council finally makes a decision to that effect. Here again, the Executive Board has supported this idea; without its support I would not have taken the position I took. We work a great deal with our sister Agencies in helping them in the realization of their programmes by accepting invitations to consult with them about how we can co-operate. We also have good relations with the Organization of American States, as Dr. Nannetti has mentioned on behalf of that Organization; we have developed very warm and cordial relations with the Council of Europe in regard to its cultural programme; we have good relations with the Arab League, as the representative of the Arab League said recently, in fields where we have common interests. We also have good relations with the Ibero-American Office of Education, as indicated to you by Dr. Lacalle, and we have much co-operation of course with our famous sister Agency, the International Bureau of Education. Our relations with the non-governmental organizations are improving. We have very cordial relations with many of those, within the framework of Conference decisions. We give subventions to a great many of them with great pleasure, and I hope you will agree to increase some of those in the future. We have encouraged the non-governmental organizations to meet as a group and to advise on the programme, and things are going well in this respect.

4.20 As regards administrative costs, I gave some statistics last Wednesday on the reduction of personnel of the Organization in the past six years. I would like to mention that in respect of administrative costs in the Technical Assistance programme, we have the lowest percentage of all the Agencies participating in that programme, although a number of Agencies have larger programmes than we have, and hence one might think that the administrative costs would be lower in proportion. If you compare the costs of our language services, they are also the lowest in the whole United Nations family, and I speak here of lowest cost per unit of work. The Management Survey Committee went into this question; it did not find whether our administrative costs were too high, but it recommended that this matter be given further study.

4.21 We have done a good deal in the past few years to improve the administration of the Secretariat and

I think, with the new management unit, more work will be accomplished in this field. We have tried to be moderate in the upgrading of staff and have tried, where possible, to offset upgradings by abolishing posts at high grades and setting up others at lower grades. The statistics I gave you the other day clearly demonstrate that. Mr. President, I think I must call the attention of the Conference to the fact that, in my opinion, our staff is not adequate to do some parts of our work. We have not enough staff, for instance, to give adequate aid to the experts we send out under our various programmes with the back-stopping work, the clearing house services, and the giving of advice, which would be desirable. Nor is our staff adequate to respond to the needs of our Member States in regard to the national planning of their educational development. I think also that we are too weak in staff in the East-West Major Project and, perhaps, in certain other parts of the House. Some delegates have the impression that administrative costs are undesirable even in programme departments. They mention staff costs, and include the programme specialists of the Organization. Most of the programme activities of the Organization are activities which require the work of staff, and primarily that. I think this matter needs to be given further consideration and the concept of administrative costs needs to be clarified. The organization of the Secretariat seems to me, while it has changed somewhat recently, to be rather good at the present time. I have no important changes to recommend, except the implementation of certain recommendations in regard to administrative management. I think the top structure of the Organization works well in terms of my own working methods, but it is desirable to maintain a certain flexibility with regard to the assignments given to the persons in the few top posts in the Organization.

4.22 I have mentioned Mr. Maheu in connexion with the co-operation with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, where he has done a brilliant piece of work. Now I would like to mention that Mr. Thomas and Mr. Adiseshiah, with their differing personalities, talents and temperaments, have both given me very great aid and support in my work. I wish to thank also the Directors of Departments, who in general, have done an excellent job.

4.23 We are trying to improve the quality of the experts that we send out in our various programmes, particularly in regard to the qualities of respect for and adaptability to different cultures. I think we are making progress in this matter, the proportion of tried veterans who know how to operate in this kind of setting is increasing, and we are paying more attention to recruitment. On the other hand it is difficult to carry out the recruitment because we have not enough money to send people to interview prospective experts, and we have not enough money to invite them, in all cases, to come and see us at Headquarters.

4.24 I think the whole Secretariat is growing in its quality and in its productivity. We have been applauded for our hard work, I recognize that this is important, but even more important is the spirit in which we work. I feel confident that I am correct in asserting that this Secretariat of ours is devoted to the spiritual ideals of Unesco; it includes more than 50 nationalities, it is a little microcosm of cultures, religions, ways of life - we work harmoniously and smoothly together. To us who work here our differences seem almost inconsequential, except for purely personal competences and personal qualities. In this connexion, I think I can claim that we have won the respect of the leaders of the world's great living religions. In short, the Secretariat is one of Unesco's greatest achievements, and the present cost is not too much to pay.

4.25 There has been a good deal of talk in this Conference, as in all previous Conferences, regarding the geographical distribution of the staff. Now, I am not at all content with our achievement in that respect, but I should like in a few words to try to set the matter in a little clearer perspective. We are making progress, but progress in this matter has to be slow because we are not creating many additional posts; they do increase from time to time, but the rate is lower than it was six years ago. We are trying to give people permanent contracts where they deserve them, so the vacancies are few and far between. The opportunities to adjust the geographical picture must therefore be taken in a long-term framework. If you take the target figures published in one of the documents before the Conference, on geographical distribution of the staff, and compare them with the actual positions filled at the present time, you will find that Latin America as a whole, has reached 88% of its target; you will find that the Arab States, although we have some very new ones, as a group are right on the target. There needs to be some internal redistribution there to satisfy some of the States not now represented. The States of Eastern Europe are the worst represented within the Organization, but a good many of them are very recent Members; the percentage is only 37%. The group most over-represented is Western Europe, and here I include Turkey; 223% of the quota. But if you add the United States of America, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia to the Western European group, the total percentage drops to 141%. Finally Asia, excluding the Arab States, has 67% of the quota.

4.26 I take a certain pride in the fact that the Secretariat has helped to bring new Member States into the Organization, and I also take pride in our relations with the Associate Member States, some of whom have been with us for some time. We hope to develop very close relationships with the newest Associate Member States, whose presence I welcome. We have had good relations already with most of them, and we shall improve that relationship from now on.

4.27 I have always been strongly of the opinion that in the matter of the recognition of governments, the policy of Unesco should be to follow the lead of the United Nations, which is the supreme political forum in the world, and which provides us with leadership in matters of this kind. The delegate of Switzerland presented an idea, however, which I think is worthy of careful study, perhaps even in an expanded form. You may remember that he suggested the other day, in a discussion concerning China, that experts from continental China might be invited to attend some of our meetings, on a basis of equality with people from other countries. It seems to me that it would be worth while to study this possibility, without any disregard of the main political decision to which I have already referred, and to see whether

we could establish contacts with such peoples as those of continental China and other areas where the United Nations does not recognize the government, in the framework of our programme activities. It seems to me that Unesco should not allow whole peoples or large numbers of people to be treated as untouchables, in our work for cultural understanding and in other phases of the work of the Organization. Perhaps this matter could be discussed further in the Programme Commission.

4.28 One delegate said that Unesco is not realizing its ideals, that, on the contrary, it is playing around with small activities of one kind and another, that it ought to rise above such small tasks and try to conceive great programmes for eliminating hate, fear and war from the minds of men. I am the first to acknowledge that Unesco has not as much prestige in the world as I would wish; I am the first to recognize that some of the great problems of the world are not being attacked directly and frontally by our Organization. But we must not be lured into vague dreams and projects aimed at direct challenges to the conscience of mankind. We must rather, it seems to me, undertake long-term, patient and cautious work to influence the young, to mould the young, to shape them in our ideals. We cannot do a great deal with the present generation; we must concentrate our efforts, and I think our programme reflects such a determination, on the proper education of the young. Now that is not only the main purpose of our programme in education, it is one of the main purposes of our programme in science, and to a considerable degree, in cultural activities; our work in libraries and museums, for instance owes a great deal of its interest to the fact that it helps to develop the comprehension by the young people of the world in which they live.

4.29 We have put forward one great project, the East-West Major Project, which while it its practical, is also a very great and challenging ideal. In 1953, at the session of the Board which took place the week after I took office, Mr. Veronese made a suggestion that the time had come for the Executive Board and the Director-General to consider where we stood in Unesco and what we should do. This was readily accepted by the Board and by myself, and that autumn the Board held a private meeting, without records and without much translation, outside Paris, and deliberated on the question. One of the results of that discussion was the conviction that National Commissions should be strengthened, and our programme since has been based on that conviction. Another was that the programme ought to be reformed. The Board took up an idea which the United States delegation had advanced with much force and vigour at the Florence Conference in 1950, that we ought to have what they called "sky-scraper" projects. What came out of the Board discussions and the work of the Secretariat - and here again Mr. Maheu took a leading rôle in preparing a paper proposing the Major Projects - was the concept of Major Projects. Under Mr. Veronese's chairmanship, a working party of the Board developed plans for the reform of our programme. The two principal elements of that reform were the Major Projects, plus an emphasis on doing more work calculated to meet the needs of the less-developed Member States. From this came the definition of the areas of concentration of the Organization adopted at the Montevideo Conference; those areas are listed in your documents; and the Aid programme, which is now called the Participation programme, answers the other formulated need.

4.30 I think that this basic new direction which the Executive Board gave the Organization is one of the most fundamental steps forward that has ever been taken in Unesco's history, and that we must maintain this direction. I have not suggested a vast increase in the Participation programme, because I recognize that it is necessary to maintain a certain balance and that other things are vital to our purposes as well as the aid we give under the Participation programme.

4.31 I am fairly well pleased with all three of the Major Projects; we could use more money for them, but on all of them we are still in the experimental period, searching for the most useful purposes on which to spend our money. Even the East-West Major Project is doing very well. There have been references to its lack of clear philosophy and of clear concepts. I agree that this lack exists, but I do not wholly agree that it is as important as some delegates think. You may recall that you thrust me into the East-West Major Project; I rejected it at the November 1955 session of the Executive Board, when I adopted the other two Major Projects. After the Tokyo meeting of the Asian National Commissions, however, since it was quite clear that Member States wanted this Project, I put it in, and I do not regret it. While it is made up largely of bits and pieces that were already in the programme, they were good bits and pieces; we will add new ones to the programme from time to time, and I do not think we should throw out of the Project those things that are now in it. This is mainly a Project for Member States to act on, and they are responding very well indeed to its great challenge. So let us not go back on our commitment, but go forward in improving this Project by every possible means.

4.32 I have just a few more remarks. There is a project before the Conference concerning a special fund for education, science and culture. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro rightly pointed out in the Programme Commission that the Secretariat has taken something of a negative view of this proposal. We have this view because we gathered that the majority of Member States did not want the project, but nevertheless we have loyally carried out all the instructions we received from the General Conference in this regard. My own reservation throughout was that it did not fit in with the United Nations philosophy about special funds.

4.33 I think that the situation has now changed; the United Nations has gone ahead with a Special Fund, the Economic and Social Council passed a resolution on the subject in July of 1957, the General Assembly has passed two resolutions on the subject and the United Nations Special Fund now exists. It will begin on 1 January with approximately 25 million dollars. Here the funds are given voluntarily by Member States, they do not have to pay, they may give what they wish; I think the time has come to do something of the same sort in Unesco. The World Health Organization has set up a malaria fund with five million dollars, and some other funds. UNICEF is a fund working along these lines. But the United Nations

Special Fund cannot take care of some of the projects that we are interested in; as a matter of fact, it will be for a rather limited range of projects.

4.34 I speak at this time because I gather the Conference is close to a deadlock on this issue, and the deadlock is particularly serious, from my point of view, because it is largely in terms of the underprivileged against the privileged. When that situation develops, I think the Director-General has an obligation which he cannot escape, to try to find some kind of compromise. The compromise I would suggest is that the Unesco fund provided for in the proposal before the Conference, which I presented to you in pursuance of the instructions of the last session, should be devoted to the Major Projects of Unesco. Perhaps the amount of money stipulated might be reduced; in any event, the money should go solely to our three Major Projects. If and when we adopt other Major Projects - not merely the preparatory work I have proposed for the next two years, but when we actually start a new Major Project - it should also become eligible to receive help from this fund.

4.35 One of the tragedies of the Organization since I came here, has been the deep controversy that has existed within the Organization concerning the so-called American cases, where I dismissed some employees and refused to renew the contracts of certain others who had refused to co-operate in procedures established by the Organization for hearing charges that staff members had violated the Staff Regulations of Unesco. As you know, the International Labour Organisation Tribunal found me guilty of abuse of power and we had to pay damages to these people. The Executive Board appealed to the International Court of Justice as to whether the Tribunal had jurisdiction; the Court ruled that the Tribunal did have jurisdiction, but it refused to pronounce on the merits of the cases, and it also refused to accept the doctrine of abuse of power. The Secretariat has been brought into the Tribunal again, recently on cases of non-renewal of contracts of some employees, and the Tribunal has clearly stated that it is not entitled to make judgements concerning the decisions of the Director-General in evaluating the performance of staff members. In other words, if this philosophy, which the Tribunal has now stated clearly in two recent cases, had been the philosophy of the Tribunal at the time it heard the other cases, the decision would not have gone against the Organization. My conscience is clear on this matter, and I merely wanted to report this to you because it is not contained in any of the documents that have been put before you.

4.36 You have heard some lofty words at this session of the General Conference, and I would like to call attention particularly to the speech of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who reminds me of one of the great prophets of the Old Testament, and also to the closing paragraphs of the great speech of Mr. Berthoin, where he referred to Unesco as the guardian of the soul of mankind. I commend those paragraphs to you for rereading.

4.37 Now, Mr. President, if I have given the delegates an impression that I am pleased with the work of Unesco at the present stage, I must apologize to you for my lack of modesty; but let me say that if you have received that impression you have the right impression of my point of view.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I thank the Director-General, on behalf of the General Conference, for his eloquent and well-documented speech, with its wealth of suggestions and recommendations, which supplements and rounds off his Report and the programme before this Conference. The debate on the Report and on the Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 being now concluded, the delegate of Guatemala has asked to speak in order to express his gratitude to the glorious land of France. I call upon the delegate of Guatemala.

6.1 Mr. ROSAL (Guatemala) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, fellow delegates, I would like first of all to apologize to the distinguished Latin American colleagues who have preceded me on this platform, for the fact that I am speaking in French, and to explain, on behalf of the delegation of Guatemala, of which I am the head, that I do so as a tribute to France - to that beloved, fair and glorious land of France, thanks to whose generous hospitality we are holding the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco in this magnificent and somewhat bewildering building which has just been inaugurated.

6.2 It is a particular joy for me to revisit this great and noble country, where I spent what were undoubtedly the happiest years of my life - part of my childhood and part of my early youth. So I feel very honoured at speaking on behalf of my country in support of Unesco's ideals and of the lofty endeavours it is making in the fields of education, science and culture which form the real basis of prosperity and of the peace which should reign among the nations of the world.

6.3 As the various peoples come to know one another better, they will intensify their efforts to eradicate ignorance, and the prospect of a new world war will steadily recede. Speaking on behalf of Guatemala, I would like first of all to congratulate the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, his distinguished colleagues in the Secretariat and the members of the Executive Board, on their tenacious and untiring efforts to ensure Unesco's success in its noble task.

6.4 I shall be very brief; I do not want to weary you with a long statement, for our proceedings are already drawing to a close; I would merely like to tell you that, in the sphere of technical assistance, Guatemala has received help from Unesco in respect of adult education, educational and vocational guidance, commercial training and audio-visual aids. We should naturally like, however, to receive a somewhat greater measure of assistance in those same fields, especially in our current fellowship programmes and in the provision of the equipment we need.

6.5 I would like to emphasize the great need, in Guatemala as in other Latin American countries, to train national experts, who would be thoroughly conversant with the problems, resources and aspirations of the various communities within their respective countries and able to render services better adapted to local conditions, and more durable, than foreign experts could provide.

6.6 In the programme for the extension of primary education in Latin America, we have received all the

necessary assistance from Unesco; but we should undoubtedly be glad to receive technical assistance in this field as well, and to secure the funds which remain indispensable to the prosecution of this tremendous task.

6.7 We would therefore urge the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the other international banking institutions, to regard the capital invested in our countries for the purpose of promoting the development of popular education as productive investment - for the natural corollary to a higher cultural level is a higher purchasing power.

6.8 It is unfortunately impossible for us to bring our teacher-training schools into this programme, as we have commitments with the United States International Co-operation Administration.

6.9 In pursuance of the recommendation adopted at the ninth session of the General Conference, at New Delhi, the Government of Guatemala has succeeded in establishing perfect co-ordination between the activities of Unesco, of the Inter-American Co-operative Service (IACS) and of the Ibero-American Bureau of Education, defining the spheres of activity of each, and obtaining their assistance without duplication or interference.

6.10 This, in brief, was what I wanted to tell you. Before concluding, I would like once again to congratulate Dr. Luther Evans upon the admirable work he has accomplished at Unesco, and to express the hope that the Organization will continue its progress towards universal brotherhood and the prosperity of mankind.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

The seventeenth plenary meeting was held in private on 22 November 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

EIGHTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

22 November 1958, at 4.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Appointment of the Director-General 241

APPOINTMENT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

(Private meeting from 3.30 to 4 p.m. - Opening of the public meeting at 4.15 p.m.)

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the public meeting is open. The Chairman of the Executive Board will now put before the General Conference the name of the candidate proposed by the Board for the office of Director-General, together with the draft contract. The Conference will then vote on the proposal by secret ballot. If this ballot results in the election of the candidate proposed by the Executive Board, I shall have the honour of submitting the draft contract to the General Conference for approval.

1.2 I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

2.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board (Translation from the French): Mr. President, following upon my statement at this morning's private meeting, I am privileged to announce to this assembly, in accordance with Article VI.2 of the Constitution and Rule 99 of the Rules of Procedure, that the Executive Board proposes to the General Conference that Mr. Vittorino Veronese be appointed Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

2.2 I would point out that delegations have received two draft resolutions, contained in document 10 C/DR/67 - one referring to the appointment of the Director-General, the other to the approval of his contract and status. They have also received the draft contract given in document 10 C/65. I will now read out the two draft resolutions:

2.3 First draft resolution:

"The General Conference,

Considering the nomination presented to it by the Executive Board,

Acting in accordance with Article VI.2 of the Constitution,

Appoints Dr. Vittorino Veronese as Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, his term of office beginning on the day following the closure of the tenth session of the General Conference."

2.4 Second draft resolution:

"The General Conference,

Approves the draft contract presented to it by the Executive Board establishing the terms of appointment, salary, allowances and status of the Director-General."

2.5 Mr. President, I submit these draft resolutions for the approval of the General Conference.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the proposals. I should remind you that, to be entitled to vote, delegations must satisfy the conditions laid down in Article IV.C of the Constitution and in Rule 79 of the Rules of Procedure. I will ask Mr. Oittinen, head of the delegation of Finland, and Mr. Salazar, delegate of El Salvador, to be kind enough to act as tellers.

3.2 While the meeting was suspended, the Secretariat, I think, distributed ballot papers and envelopes to you. Delegations entitled to vote should place in the envelope one of the three papers distributed.

3.3 I would remind you that any voting paper which bears a signature or superscription of any kind will be regarded as invalid.

3.4 I would also remind you that the present ballot relates only to the appointment of the Director-General. You will be asked afterwards to vote on the contract. The ballot will now be taken.

(The vote was taken by secret ballot.)

3.5 Here are the results of the secret ballot for

the appointment of the Director-General.

3.6 Member States entitled to vote at this session: 81; absent: 2; abstentions: 4; invalid papers: 0; votes cast: 75; majority required: 38. Votes cast in favour of the candidate nominated by the Executive Board: 55. Votes against: 20.

3.7 Dr. Vittorino Veronese has thus obtained an absolute majority of votes, and I therefore declare him to have been elected Director-General of Unesco for a period of six years, running from the day following the closure of the tenth session of the General Conference.

3.8 Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Luther Evans is about to resign the high office to which you had appointed him, and I feel that the General Conference will undoubtedly wish to endorse unanimously the many well-deserved tributes paid to him during our proceedings - will be unanimous in offering him warm thanks for the manner in which, over a period of more than five years, he has acted as the secular arm of our Organization, giving it, in accordance with the directives of our Conferences and under the supervision of the Executive Board, conscientious and effective service which none of the member countries will forget.

3.9 The outgoing Director-General exercised his weighty and difficult functions with an impartiality and an authority in which good humour, understanding and benevolence were equally mingled. His work, which will leave an enduring memory, has earned him an undoubted title to the personal gratitude of many of us and to the general gratitude of the Member States. I feel it a great honour to be able to pay this brief but very sincere tribute in front of you all. The quality of Dr. Evans' leadership has been such that it will be no easy task to succeed him in office. But Dr. Vittorino Veronese, in addition to his great personal qualities and proverbial courtesy, has had long experience of Unesco in all its complex aspects, and we can feel confident that he will continue to guide our Organization, entirely independent as it is of political affinities and ideologies, along the path which leads - or at least, should lead - it to the position of the highest manifestation of man's conscience. In congratulating him warmly, on behalf of us all, on his election, I would like to express the hope that his term of office, now about to begin, will result in an ever-wider recognition of the ideal that brings us together - that of a happier world in which all men will be brothers.

3.10 Ladies and gentlemen, you are now asked to vote on the Director-General's draft contract. This is document 10 C/65, which has been distributed to you. I take it that the General Conference is willing to vote by a show of hands.

3.11 With your agreement, I will call for a vote on the approval of the contract.

3.12 The contract is approved.

3.13 I now call upon the delegate of Italy.

4.1 Mr. MANZINI (Italy) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my chief intention in coming forward is to assure you, on behalf of Dr. Veronese, that he is deeply moved by, and most gratefully accepts, the honour you have conferred upon him by placing him at the head of the Secretariat of our Organization. He will take an early opportunity of telling you this himself. I should also like, following the example of our President and many other eloquent speakers, to pay tribute to Dr. Luther Evans, who has directed the Organization so efficiently for more than five years.

4.2 I fully share Dr. Veronese's emotion and gratitude. And, speaking as head of the delegation of Italy, I wish also to express the feelings of our country, its pride in seeing one of its citizens, for the first time, entrusted with the leadership of a Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

4.3 This event cannot fail to add still further to the keen interest already taken by Italy in the work of international co-operation on which she has embarked.

4.4 Contrary to what might perhaps be supposed, the nomination of one of its citizens for a high international post is in no way a nationalistic gesture. It is first and foremost an act of faith in the aims and methods of international co-operation.

4.5 It is not without regret that we are losing Dr. Veronese for a time, now that he is to become a foreigner in our eyes. This Italian citizen, to whom his country looked with confidence for distinguished service in the future, will soon be caught up in other duties and bound by other engagements, serving the loftiest of ideals, to which, I am convinced, he will devote his whole strength. For him, as for us, this constitutes an act of faith in the ideal which unites us all - that of peace and brotherhood among all mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

NINETEENTH PLENARY MEETING

2 December 1958, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Joaquín TENA ARTIGAS (Spain)

CONTENTS

Place of the eleventh session of the General Conference	243
Second Report of the Credentials Committee	244
Measures to be taken and recommendations to be made with a view to ensuring that Member States maintain the free functioning of education in the territories under their administration	244
Admission of the State of Singapore as Associate Member	247
Reduction of the number, size and cost of working papers for the General Conference and the Executive Board	248
Report of the Reports Committee	250

PLACE OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

The meeting is open. At the request of the Chairman of the Executive Board, who has to attend an official function, we will first discuss item 21 of the agenda.

1.2 The relevant document is 10 C/16. I call upon Dr. Raadi, Chairman of the Executive Board, who will present the report.

2.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I have the honour to submit to the General Conference the draft resolution appearing in document 10 C/16, concerning the place and date of the eleventh session of the General Conference.

2.2 As is stated in the document, by 23 September 1958 - that is, by the time specified in the Rules of Procedure - no Member State had invited the General Conference to hold its eleventh session on its territory.

2.3 Consequently, having considered the Director-General's proposals, the Executive Board recommends that the General Conference hold its eleventh session at the Headquarters of the Organization and that this session open early in November 1960.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

Does any delegate wish to speak on this item of the agenda, which the Chairman of the Executive Board has just introduced? I call upon the delegate of Brazil.

4.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I can but support the Executive Board's proposal concerning the place of the session of the General Conference in 1960. The time-limit prescribed in our Rules of Procedure for the communication of invitations has now expired; we shall therefore - and it will of course be a great pleasure to all of us - be meeting again in Paris in November 1960.

4.2 I should, however, like to take this opportunity of informing you - but without asking you to take any immediate decision, since that would be out of place - that my Government hopes to welcome the General Conference of Unesco, either in 1962, or in 1964 should more brilliant invitations, to which I should be the first to bow, be forthcoming for 1962. We are not in a hurry, but we are proud to be able to inform this assembly now that we hope soon to see the General Conference of Unesco meeting in the new capital of Brazil, which is springing up on the central plateau of the South American continent, some 750 miles from the coast; here, modern civilization is gradually emerging from the forest and desert and, once again, Man, master of his fate and of the world in which he lives, is building his own home. It is, I repeat, in this city of Brasilia - to which the Director-General of Unesco, my dear and distinguished friend, Dr. Luther Evans, has been kind enough to introduce you through the exhibition which we owe to him and for which we are extremely grateful - it is in this city of Brasilia, city of the future, that we hope soon to welcome the General Conference of Unesco.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I am sure that I am interpreting the feelings of the entire assembly in thanking the Government of Brazil for its invitation to us to meet one day in its new capital, Brasilia, now being built. This is not a decision that we have to take forthwith, but I am confident that we shall all be able to meet there at some future date.

5.2 If no other delegate wishes to speak, I take it that the whole assembly is agreed that we should

approve the proposal of the Executive Board. The eleventh session of the General Conference will therefore be held at the Organization's Headquarters in Paris, early in November 1960.

5.3 We will now turn to the first item of our agenda. I call upon the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, who will present the Committee's second report.

SECOND REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

6.1 Mr. FUENTES PANTOJA (Chile), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, the Credentials Committee held its third meeting on Friday, 28 November to examine the credentials received from certain States after the Committee's first meeting.

6.2 The Committee found that the delegations of certain Member States, which had already submitted provisional credentials, had subsequently, in accordance with Rule 22 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, presented credentials in good and due form issued either by the head of the State, the head of the government or the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or by another Minister authorized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to issue credentials. These States are as follows: Belgium, Colombia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran and Mexico.

6.3 The Committee recommends that the delegations of the aforesaid States be finally admitted to take part in the work of the tenth session of the General Conference.

6.4 The Committee found that the following territories, which had accredited observers to the present session of the General Conference, had, after their admission to associate membership of the Organization, submitted credentials in good and due form accrediting their delegations in their new capacity: Federation of the West Indies, Kuwait and Somaliland.

6.5 Credentials have also been received accrediting an observer from Ireland, a State not a Member of the Organization.

6.6 The Committee recommends that the General Conference accept these credentials.

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the report of the Credentials Committee as adopted. It is adopted.

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO BE MADE WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING THAT MEMBER STATES MAINTAIN THE FREE FUNCTIONING OF EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION

7.2 We shall now pass on to item 15.1.2 of the agenda. A draft resolution on this subject is presented by Greece in document 10 C/DR.38. I call upon the delegate of Greece.

8.1 Mr. KALERGIS (Greece) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, at its ninth session in New Delhi, the General Conference, on the proposal of the Cyprus delegation, adopted resolution 7.81, inviting the Member States of Unesco:

"(a) To take, everywhere, all adequate steps to ensure the free functioning of education;

(b) To ensure that no obstacle of any kind shall be placed in the way of the regular operation of schools, so that study may be free and unrestricted;

(c) To adopt the necessary measures to ensure that everywhere education shall respect the national, religious and linguistic traditions of the inhabitants, and that its nature shall not be altered for political reasons."

8.2 That proposal was motivated by the very serious situation of the schools of the Greek population in the island of Cyprus, lying, as you know, in the centre of the Mediterranean Basin, which was the cradle of the most important civilizations of the world. Of the present population of this island, with its three thousand years of Greek culture, 80% are Greeks, 18% Turks and 2% Armenians and Maronites, according to British Government statistics.

8.3 The Greek delegation would not like the slightest doubt to subsist in anyone's mind concerning the nature of the grievances here stated. In this hall, where we are all concerned with education, science and culture, politics can have no place, and I shall certainly not refer to them - particularly as the political aspects of the Cyprus problem are, at this moment, being considered by the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Unfortunately, however, the Greek delegation feels obliged to raise the matter again from the educational angle, because, since the last session in New Delhi, not only has the situation not developed in the manner prescribed in the resolution which I have just mentioned, but it has become even more serious as a result of new administrative measures which are in flagrant contradiction with paragraph (c) of the resolution, where it is requested that the nature of education be not altered for political reasons.

8.4 These measures, gentlemen, are of two kinds:

8.5 The British authorities are making it increasingly difficult for the Greek communal schools to function properly, particularly because of the dearth of primary teachers, who can no longer be recruited in Greece, whereas the Turkish schools can obtain their primary teachers from Turkey. Subventions are also being reduced. Furthermore, a great many schools are being closed for long periods on various pretexts and for minor infringements of the regulations, such as the participation of pupils in patriotic demonstrations or the hoisting of the Greek flag over a school.

8.6 The second type of action taken by the British authorities consists in establishing government schools, known as Intercommunal Technical Schools, and in promoting the development of these institutions, where, on the pretext of providing a more technical education, young Cypriots are given a cosmopolitan education, devoid of all national tradition, either Greek or Turkish.

8.7 As I do not wish to overtax the patience of the Conference by quoting wearisome statistics, I will merely mention here a few figures which seem to me to speak for themselves:

8.8 During the school year 1955-1956, 417 primary schools (out of a total of 499) were closed for varying

lengths of time or even permanently; this seriously affected the education of 47,000 children out of a total of 62,0000. During the school year 1957-1958, 32 schools were closed and have remained so permanently. At the secondary level, the 8 largest lycées have been closed, affecting 9,000 boys and girls out of a total number of 15,000. At the end of 1956, that is, at the very time when the United Kingdom delegation in New Delhi was approving resolution 7,81, the British authorities expelled permanently from Cyprus 130 secondary school teachers (out of a total of 500) - practically all those who had been recruited in Greece. No reason for this general measure was given, but it was insinuated, without proof, that these teachers were imbuing their pupils with a hatred of foreign dominion.

8.9 To return to the facts, the dismissal of teachers from Greece has made it doubtful whether secondary schools in Cyprus can continue to function at all, since the number of secondary teachers who can be recruited locally is inadequate. The British authorities, taking advantage of this difficult situation, have done their utmost to push forward their project for the establishment of Intercommunal Schools, which it promotes in every possible way, and notably by larger subventions. I would here add a word of explanation: the subventions granted by the British authorities are borne on the island's budget. Now, since this budget is derived from the taxes levied in the island and since 80% of the tax-payers are Greeks, it is in fact the Greek Cypriots who indirectly maintain these Intercommunal Schools, to which they may quite well be unwilling to send their children. How does this square with the fundamental principle proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the effect that parents are alone entitled to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children?

8.10 On the other hand, the British authorities give their full support to the Turkish schools. The latter receive substantial subventions and are absolutely free to recruit their teachers in Turkey. Sixty new secondary teachers arrived from Turkey during the years 1956-1958. We are of course the first to commend, very sincerely, the large measure of help given to the schools of the Turkish minority, because we whole-heartedly subscribe to the view that each of the island's two communities - provided they are placed on an equal footing and no impediments are imposed - is entitled to settle its own young people's educational problems to the best advantage. In practice, however, the treatment accorded them is so different, the inequality so striking, that I feel bound to give further examples of this marked discrimination.

8.11 During the past two years, subventions for school libraries, amounting to £3,000 sterling, were allocated to the Turkish communities, as against £5,000 for the Greek communities. The latter sum seems ridiculously small, considering the Greek and Turkish populations are in the ratio of 4 to 1.

8.12 Now we come to fellowships granted to primary teachers for study abroad. As in the case of school libraries, I am referring to an official British document, namely, the "Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1956-57", by W. B. Tudhope, Director of Education. During the school year 1956, the total number of fellowships granted was 76, of which 65 were for universities or colleges in Great Britain and 11 for Turkish institutions. None for Greece.

8.13 I should now like to tell you about a very recent measure, as vexatious as the others, but probably even more dangerous.

8.14 By Decree of 29 August 1958, no pupil may be transferred from one secondary school to another without special permission from the Governor of the island, and headmasters are forbidden to have in their classes a number of pupils greater than that of the pupils enrolled in 1956. I doubt if many of you have immediately grasped the full implications of that measure or realized its hidden purpose. I myself took some time to do so. The British authorities announced that they had decided to take this restrictive measure in order to protect the parents of children enrolled, or likely to be enrolled, in government schools against the contempt, or even threats, of the Greeks who remained attached to their communal schools.

8.15 As it would be too extreme a measure simply to close the Greek communal schools, everything possible has been done, indirectly, to make it difficult to run them satisfactorily. The fact that it is forbidden to recruit primary teachers in Greece and that it is impossible to find enough of them in Cyprus has already caused a 20% reduction in school hours. The cutting down or discontinuation of subventions has made the Greek schools more expensive, so that parents with very small incomes cannot easily send their children there, whereas the government schools are practically free. So, there is the temporary or permanent closing of schools for petty reasons and now, finally, this Decree, making it absolutely forbidden to transfer a pupil from one school to another, or to enrol one pupil more than in 1956. Apart from all other considerations, what account is taken of the normal rate of population growth? It is of course overlooked; so that pupils over the number enrolled in 1956 will be obliged to attend the government schools - which, since they were boycotted by the Greek population of the island, have been in danger of having to close down for lack of pupils. I repeat, gentlemen, this measure is flagrantly at variance with the great principle proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

8.16 What, then, has been the aim, based on political considerations, of the British authorities over a period going back well beyond 1956? This aim, perfectly clear and precise, must be obvious to any impartial observer; it is to divest education of its national, traditional and Hellenic characteristics in the hope - and what a naïve hope! - of making young Cypriots lose their national feelings and of gradually training up a young generation with a cosmopolitan outlook, devoid of any deep attachment to the rich heritage of Hellenic culture, content with its own mediocrity and faintly tinged with British culture. In a word, the aim is to de-Hellenize education. It is amazing that administrators so experienced as the British can cherish such Utopian hopes, apparently believing that, by the simple process of setting up a few good schools providing a sound English education, they can easily put an end to the aspirations of the Cypriot people and destroy the

feeling of national solidarity thanks to which they have been able to survive as a nation for three thousand years, retaining their passionate devotion to their language, their culture and their national traditions, despite the trials which History has not spared them.

8.17 I thought I detected in the interesting speech made in this assembly by the distinguished head of the United Kingdom delegation on 10 November a condemnation of any such aim; he said, in effect - I quote his exact words - "it is no part of our function to attempt to construct a sort of supra-national culture, a new world-wide humanism which is to replace all traditional loyalties". It gives me great pleasure to subscribe whole-heartedly to this declaration by Sir Edward Boyle, imbued as it is with a spirit which, whilst realistic, is at the same time profoundly humane and in accord with the ideals of Unesco. It is inevitable, therefore, that one very distressing question should arise: how are we to reconcile the fact that Great Britain, a stronghold of democracy and liberalism, always has been and continues to be the home of outstanding humanists - including the celebrated historian Macaulay and Professor Gilbert Murray - remarkable for their study of the history, culture, language and way of life of Greece, and for their work in teaching the cultural elite of British youth to know and love Greece - how, I say, are we to reconcile this fact with the behaviour of the British authorities in Cyprus, who are open to the accusation of trying to "de-Hellenize" a Greek people proud to apply to themselves a phrase coined more than 25 centuries ago: "the name Hellene belongs to all who have a share in our culture"?

8.18 We are constantly being reminded of the sad fact that nearly half the population of the globe is deprived of education. It is our primary, our sacred duty, as Members of Unesco, to remedy this deplorable state of affairs; and in face of this urgent duty, we must, at all costs, safeguard the existing centres of culture and civilization. It is incumbent on us all to see to it that the illiterate are enabled to read and write; but it is no less important that we should preserve the cultural assets already amassed by protecting the right of the more privileged nations to continue to follow their ancient traditions and to draw on their national intellectual and cultural heritage.

8.19 To sum up, I should like to say that the problem we are discussing today is not a political one, involving the rights of Greece or the pre-eminence of Greek culture; it is a question of respect for human rights, of respect for the prior right of parents, over and above rulers even, to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. There are times, in the life of a country, when the solution of a political problem can be postponed; but this cannot be done where human rights are concerned. Because those rights are more sacred, respect for them must compel recognition without delay.

8.20 If I am today defending the right of Cypriot parents to continue to send their children, without let or hindrance, to their communal schools, it is not because those schools provide a Greek education (which is, incidentally, in accordance with the established tradition of the island) but because the Cypriots, like the English, the Turks, the Greeks, the Americans, the Russians and every other people in the world, have the right to choose for themselves what kind of education to give their children.

8.21 This is the fundamental right which the Greek delegation has the honour, in presenting draft resolution 10 C/DR/38, to ask you to proclaim; it is couched, deliberately, in general terms, as it is designed to defend the sacred principles of the right to education and to cause them to be respected throughout the world.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

10.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I am glad that the representative of Greece felt able to quote with some approval certain words which I uttered in the plenary session of 10 November. I, too, have pleasure in supporting the resolution which has just been moved, although I may have a few comments of a slightly different nature to make later on.

10.2 The United Kingdom at the ninth session of the General Conference voted in favour of resolution 7.81, because its terms express not only general principles for which Unesco stands, but also many of the ideals of education which are pursued both in the United Kingdom and in many territories overseas for which the United Kingdom is responsible. Indeed, for that reason we accept and support the draft resolution that has just been presented by the representative of the Greek delegation. Not only do we continue to support and respect the terms of resolution 7.81 adopted at New Delhi and quoted in 10 C/DR/38 which is now before us, but we have supported and voted at this Conference in favour of resolutions in the proposed programme and budget which make the same points.

10.3 I would refer the Conference to resolution 1.41 which invites Member States to provide equal opportunities for education at all levels and for all in metropolitan and overseas territories; "due regard having been taken of the cultural individuality of each country and territory".

10.4 Mr. President, that is exactly what we seek to do, as I believe the British record in many parts of the world clearly shows. The same principles are repeated in resolution 1.61 in regard to out-of-school education. We supported that resolution also in the Programme Commission because we not only accept these principles but seek consistently to put them into practice. But we also supported resolution 1.31 which urges Member States "to encourage the teaching in schools of points of view which are not prejudicial to relations with other nations or harmful to that understanding between peoples which is essential to the establishment of a real and lasting peace; and to discourage the teaching of inflammatory political points of view".

10.5 In presenting his draft resolution this morning, the representative of Greece made a number of allegations in regard to education in Cyprus, claiming that the free functioning of education and the rights of parents were being obstructed in their territory, in contravention of resolution 7.81 of the ninth session of the Unesco General Conference. I feel I must make a few comments on the points which he made.

10.6 As I am sure we all know here, the tragic situation in Cyprus today which causes deep concern in my own country among many men and women of all political parties, and of no political party at all, is a matter which goes far beyond the maintenance of the free functioning of education. Indeed, at this moment, it is the subject of debate in the United Nations, in New York. In fulfilment of our responsibility for the welfare of the inhabitants of Cyprus, and recognizing that others who are our friends and allies are also deeply concerned for their welfare, we have gone to unusual lengths to share the problem with them in the hope of finding the best solution that everyone concerned can accept. We have conferred over and over again with the governments concerned; the question of Cyprus was discussed in the North Atlantic Council throughout the month of October, and Her Majesty's Government were fully prepared to join in a conference which that Council proposed to call here in Paris, under the chairmanship of Mr. Spaak. We remain ready for a conference at any time and, indeed, we in Britain were naturally disappointed when the Greek Government suddenly decided that they could not attend. But quite frankly we do not feel that the Unesco General Conference is the appropriate forum in which to pursue this very highly complex and difficult subject. Now may I say a word about education and cultural individuality? I want to make the point that the regard for the cultural individuality of each territory under our administration, to which we have subscribed in resolution 1.41 and elsewhere in the proceedings of this Conference, has long been respected in Cyprus as in the other territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible. We deny that Cyprus is one of the territories to which resolution 7.81 applies, except in so far as we have also made reference to the principles in resolution 1.31 which I quoted earlier in my remarks. Of course we recognize the very strong cultural ties with Greece of a high proportion of the Cypriot people, and for this reason Greek language secondary schools in the island have precisely the same curricula as the Gymnasia in Greece itself. The textbooks used in these schools are the same as those prescribed by the Greek Ministry of Education, the methods of teaching, so far as I am aware, are the same, the rules and regulations are the same, and indeed the system of examinations is the same. Many of the staff are Greek nationals and many more are Greek-speaking Cypriots who acquired their teaching qualifications in Athens. The preservation of the Hellenic quality of these schools would, I believe, have been effectively assured had the Greek Cypriot representatives on the Advisory Committee on Greek Cypriot Education not withdrawn from that Committee three months ago, and refused the offer of a separate section of the Education Department of Cyprus which would have become fully responsible for all Greek Cypriot education in the island. I can also assure this Conference that there is absolutely no intention on the part of Britain of any de-Hellenization of Cyprus. We in Britain, as I remarked on 10 November have no desire to promote a world supra-national culture. Indeed, I think that anyone who is at all aware of the cultural history of Britain and our relations with many other countries, and the interest taken by countless generations of Englishmen in the Hellenic civilization, could not for a moment imagine that there would ever be any intention, in Britain of all countries, of pursuing a policy of de-Hellenization anywhere.

10.7 In the view of Her Majesty's Government, if the Greek Cypriots accepted the possibilities which are open to them, to take full control of Greek language schools in the island through Greek Cypriot control in the Ministry of Education, then we believe that any possible difficulties now experienced in that island in giving full expression to resolution 7.81, adopted at New Delhi in 1956, would be removed. Mr. President, it is in that spirit that we support the resolution moved by the representative of Greece. May I end on a personal word - it is not many months since I had the pleasure myself of welcoming, at the British Ministry of Education, a number of teachers from Cyprus of both the Greek and the Turkish communities. I was very pleased to welcome them and I would be very pleased indeed to welcome further teachers from Cyprus at any time in the future.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

If no other delegate wishes to speak, we shall proceed to vote on document 10 C/DR.38.

(A vote was taken by a show of hands.)

11.2 Document 10 C/DR.38 is approved by 56 votes in favour and none against, with one abstention.

ADMISSION OF THE STATE OF SINGAPORE AS ASSOCIATE MEMBER

11.3 We shall now consider item 4.3 of the agenda. The relevant document is 10 C/DR.68. I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

12.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, I will not detain the Conference more than two or three minutes on this item, which is a technical one. At the eighth session of the General Conference, in Montevideo in 1954, the United Kingdom presented for associate membership of Unesco two single territories, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, and two groups of territories for group associate membership. One of the groups was five West Indian islands, as the British Caribbean Group Associate Member, and the other group was five territories of South East Asia, as what was called the Malaya-British Borneo Group Associate Member. As the members of this Conference I am sure are well aware, it is the policy of the Government of the United Kingdom to bring all the territories under our administration as rapidly as possible to full self-government, and to independence within the Commonwealth if they so choose. Since the Montevideo Conference the Gold Coast has become a sovereign State within the Commonwealth and, under its new name of Ghana, is now a full Member of this Organization. The West Indian Islands have formed a federation which is not fully sovereign, but which has already been received into Associate Membership at this session of the General Conference. On the other side of the world, the Malaya-British Borneo Group Associate Member has already changed its composition because of the advance to full sovereignty

within the Commonwealth of the Federation of Malaya, whose delegation we have welcomed here as full Members of this Conference. A further change will become desirable in April of next year, when Singapore acquires a new status and will wish to become an Associate Member of Unesco in its own right. As this privilege of becoming an Associate Member in its own right can be conferred only by the General Conference, we have therefore asked you to inscribe this item on your agenda.

12.2 What we are asking the Conference to do is to recognize the change that has already taken place in the composition of the Malaya-British Borneo Group Associate Member, and to meet the desire of Singapore for associate membership before the next session of the General Conference, in April next year. The simplest way of achieving both these ends is to accept the withdrawal of the Malaya-British Borneo Group as a whole; in accordance with Article II, paragraph 6, of the Constitution, the withdrawal will not take effect until 31 December 1959. Thereafter, if our resolution is adopted by this Conference, the State of Singapore will assume the rights and obligations at present pertaining to the Group.

12.3 Mr. President, on behalf of the British Government and also on behalf of the Government and people of Singapore, I warmly advise the Conference to adopt this resolution.

13.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I thank the delegate of the United Kingdom. Does anyone wish to support this proposal? It is supported by Belgium. I think we all agree with it. That being so, the State of Singapore is unanimously admitted as an Associate Member of Unesco as of 31 December 1959, from which date the State of Singapore shall alone exercise the rights and assume the obligations hitherto pertaining to the Malaya-British Borneo Group.

REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER, SIZE AND COST OF WORKING PAPERS FOR THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

13.2 We shall now go on to the discussion of document 10 C/C9 and Annex. In this draft resolution presented by the General Committee of the Conference, it is proposed that the sum of $1,146,000, estimated as the expenditure entailed by the production of documents for the General Conference and the Executive Board, should be regarded as an upper limit which ought not to be exceeded.

13.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, who will present the draft resolution.

14.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the committee set up by the General Committee of the Conference to study the problem with which the draft resolution now before you is concerned (document 10 C/69), I will explain, briefly, the purpose of the resolution.

14.2 At this session of the Conference, several delegations have urged the need for reducing the cost of the documents prepared for the General Conference. The Administrative Commission has given its attention to certain aspects of the problem in response to the suggestions made by the Executive Board, it has proposed some substantial reductions, which you will be asked to consider when the Commission presents its report. The Executive Board, for its part, has proposed a drastic reduction in the papers for its own work. But all these reductions are still not sufficient to offset the recent increase in the very large sums which the Organization spends on the work of the Executive Board and the General Conference.

14.3 You will have seen, in document 10 C/69 Annex, the sums budgeted for the various documents and publications services. It was with the object of reducing these costs as far as possible that the draft resolution which you now have before you was presented by the French delegation. The General Committee of the Conference set up a committee to consider and draft a resolution on the subject; and it is this draft resolution, submitted to and approved by the General Committee of the Conference, which I have the honour to present for your approval. The text of the draft resolution, incorporating certain minor amendments, is as follows:

14.4 "The General Conference,

Noting with concern that the cost of documents for the Executive Board and the General Conference is increasing every year - number and volume of documents, number of copies produced, cost of translation - the latter amounting to a total of $32 per page,

Considering that the total cost of these documents should be reduced still further than has been done as a result of the decisions already reached by the Executive Board and the General Conference,

Noting with satisfaction that the Secretariat has, for the first time, been able to submit in the Annex to the present document a realistic estimate of the expenditure entailed by the production of documents for the General Conference and the Executive Board,

Decides that this sum of $1,146,000, estimated for 1959-1960, should be regarded as an upper limit which ought not to be exceeded,

Requests the Executive Board to make a careful re-examination of this question with the aim of still further reducing the amount,

Decides that any further saving which may be effected through a reduction in the documents produced for the Executive Board and the General Conference shall be used to finance expenditure on programme activities, including the publications mentioned in Part II (Programme Operations and Services),

Recommends that the Executive Board and the Director-General consider the following suggestions, with a view to reducing the number and volume of documents as well as the number of copies issued:

(a) Working papers for the General Conference and the Executive Board should, so far as possible, be submitted in summary form and incorporated in the Director-General's reports on the activities of the Organization;

(b) It would be desirable for the Director-General, as suggested in the Report of the Management Survey Committee, to instruct a member of his Office to study all possible procedures for the simplification and rationalization of reports and to control all documents before they are published."

14.5 The adoption of this resolution should, we think, make it possible substantially to reduce the amount spent on documents for the Executive Board and the General Conference.

14.6 You will recall that, in the proposed budget now before us - which was prepared in the light of a situation prior to the present one, on the basis of statistics for 1955 and 1956, at a time when the Executive Board was meeting less frequently than it has since done, the budget estimates are over $220,000 short of the amount that would actually be needed if the production of documents and publications were to continue on the same lines as hitherto. This explains why the reductions proposed by the Executive Board on the one hand and the Administrative Commission on the other are still not sufficient to make up the deficit of $220,000 with which we should have been faced if the former documents and publications system had been maintained.

14.7 What we are asking you to do, therefore, is to eliminate this deficit and to try to find a way of making still further savings, which could be used to finance programme activities.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I thank the Chairman of the Administrative Commission for presenting the draft resolution and I call upon the delegate of the Philippines.

16.1 Mr. BOCOBO (Philippines) (Translation from the Spanish):

The Philippine delegation approves the determination to economize. There is a Philippine proverb which says: "A spendthrift soon looks foolish". One of the items of the budget on which savings should be effected is that relating to documents: as is proposed in this resolution, there should be a reduction in their number, size and cost.

16.2 The International Labour Organisation has pursued a similar policy for some time past. At the recent meeting of the Governing Body of that organization, which I attended as government representative of my country, the rule was applied pretty severely. For instance, it was decided that no more summaries should be published of the speeches made in meetings of the committees of the Governing Body.

16.3 At international conferences, most of the delegates are afraid of being overwhelmed by the flood of documents. Many delegates have neither the time nor the desire to read solidly through so many papers; many of them might perhaps be able to think more clearly if they were not struggling to find their way through this maze of words.

16.4 Like autumn leaves, these documents look very fine on the shady tree called the "Agenda", but they soon flutter down and come to rest in the hospitable waste-paper basket.

16.5 Mr. President, we should get more done if there were fewer words wasted, both written and spoken. "Words pay no debts", as Shakespeare said, and the Member States of our great Organization jointly owe to mankind an enormous debt of well-being and social justice.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Thank you very much. I call upon the delegate of Mexico.

18.1 Mr. CABRERA (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Mexico wishes to congratulate both the sponsors of this resolution and the Administrative Commission, for adopting it. In all international organizations the phenomenon may be observed of the excessive proliferation of documents, some of them unnecessary and little read, and this entails unduly high expenditure which cannot well be justified.

18.2 Since this phenomenon occurs in all international organizations, the Economic and Social Council has, at various conferences, recommended all United Nations bodies to reduce the number of publications and to take steps to prevent the proliferation of documents mentioned by the representative of the Philippines.

18.3 We agree that it would be well to make a careful investigation of the possibility of producing papers in summary form, so that we may be kept well informed but without excessive effort and without having to sift out a mass of documents and decide which are important and which are not. In principle, my delegation is therefore in favour of this proposal; it would like to see the documents of purely ephemeral interest singled out as the most suitable subjects for the application of the policy of reduction.

18.4 It should be remembered that one of Unesco's tasks is to publish works of lasting importance, both in the original and in translation; we hope that this category of works will not be affected by the economy drive, since it is they that give Unesco international prestige in the world of culture. We believe that the purpose of this resolution is to reduce the number of documents that are not strictly necessary and to establish criteria for a rigorous selection of those warranting publication.

18.5 Similar decisions have been taken in all international organizations, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council. It therefore seems to me that, throughout the United Nations family, a definite policy should be adopted to protect delegates from the flood of papers referred to by the Philippine delegate, some of which, as I said earlier, are unnecessary. We should be very pleased if the commissions and committees of Unesco could establish some such system of priorities and classification, without sacrificing publications of lasting value which redound to the credit of the Organization and which it behoves the latter to publish in the interests of the dissemination of culture and the improvement of the general standard of culture.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Thank you. I call upon the delegate of the Dominican Republic.

20. Mr. PEIGNAND CESTERO (Dominican Republic) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I wish to make a proposal which, since it speaks for itself, I shall not enlarge on here. I trust that this assembly will feel able to accept it unanimously. The proposal is that there be added, at the end of document 10 C/69, the following sentence: "In applying the foregoing recommendations the present principle of equality of the working languages of the Organization shall be respected".

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of El Salvador.

22.1 Mr. BARON CASTRO (El Salvador) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, I have nothing to add to what has been said by the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, Mr. Baugniet, and by the representatives of the Philippines, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, in regard to the substance of this question, with which I am in absolute agreement. I would like, therefore, to state my approval of the draft resolution presented by the General Committee of the Conference. There is, however, one additional point I wish to make.

22.2 The Executive Board, both in its Administrative Commission and in its plenary meetings, has already devoted close attention to this problem, and tried to work out practicable solutions. With regard to the records of its own subsidiary organs, the Board has decided that they shall in future not be prepared, but merely kept on a tape recording. The Board has also decided that the minutes of its plenary meetings shall continue to be published in the four working languages, but without a separate version being produced for each language, so as to reduce the cost.

22.3 In the proposal now before us, however, the Executive Board is asked to make a re-examination of the question with the aim of still further reducing this sum - that is, the sum of $1,160,000. I fully approve of what the Board is being asked to do, namely to go into this matter again; but I would like to point out, Mr. President, that this is roughly the same as the recommendation contained in draft resolution No. 7 of the Administrative Commission, which is in due course to be considered by the General Conference and which likewise requests the Executive Board to consider afresh the problem of the reduction of the number and volume of administrative documents for 1959-1960, for the purpose of reducing to a minimum the expenditure provided for in document 10 C/5 Rev.

22.4 Hence, the proposal now before the General Conference implies, in some degree, prejudgement of the case that we shall have to consider when resolution No. 7 of the Administrative Commission comes up for discussion. I mention this merely to indicate that adoption of this resolution would be tantamount to anticipation of our decision on the report of the Administrative Commission.

22.5 This is the point to which I wished to draw the Conference's attention. On the other hand, the Dominican representative's proposal, that the four working languages be treated on an equal footing in all questions of documentation, is, I consider, absolutely in line with the decisions taken by the Executive Board and the Administrative Commission.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, who wishes to explain certain points.

24. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened very carefully to the remarks Mr. Baron Castro has just made on behalf of his delegation and it seems to me that the draft resolution you are now considering is more general than the one which is to be submitted to you at the same time as the Administrative Commission's report. The resolution to be presented by the Commission is already mentioned in document 10 C/69 Annex, which gives the amounts of the reductions which would be effected if the more specific proposals made by the Administrative Commission were adopted; but I see no reason why these specific proposals - which you will, I presume, adopt - should prevent you from making a general study, as is suggested in the proposal now before you, of this question which is troubling many delegations.

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): The Chairman of the Administrative Commission has given some explanations on draft resolution 10 C/69 which should now be amended to read as follows: in paragraph 4, instead of: "Decides that this sum of $1,146,000 ...." read: "$1,160,000". In paragraph 5, instead of: "Requests the Executive Board to make a careful re-examination..." etc., read: "Requests the Executive Board and the Director-General to make a careful re-examination..." etc.

25.2 Lastly, we have a proposal from the Dominican Republic for the addition of a sixth paragraph, to read as follows: "In applying the foregoing recommendations the present principle of equality of the working languages of the Organization shall be respected".

25.3 If there is no objection, we shall now vote on this draft resolution.

(A vote was then taken by a show of hands.)

25.4 Draft resolution contained in document 10 C/69 Annex is approved unanimously.

REPORT OF THE REPORTS COMMITTE

25.5 We shall now go on to item 11 of the agenda (documents 10 C/9, 10 C/9 Rev., Parts I, II and Corrigendum). I call upon the Chairman of the Reports Committee.

26.1 Mr. TUNCEL (Turkey), Chairman of the Reports Committee (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, in accordance with a decision taken by the General Conference at its ninth session, the Reports Committee, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, met several days before the opening of the present session, namely from Monday, 27 October onwards.

26.2 Of the 19 Member States appointed by the General Conference to take part in the work of this Committee, 14 were represented from the first meeting: Australia, France, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Philippines, Rumania, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America. The representatives of these States were joined, at subsequent meetings, by representatives of Colombia, Haiti, India, Lebanon and Uruguay.

26.3 The Committee was pleased to note that all the Member States appointed by the General Conference had in fact taken part in its work.

26.4 The Committee began by appointing its officers.

I had the honour of being elected Chairman, Mr. Weeden, delegate of Australia, and Mr. Muto, delegate of Japan, were elected Vice-Chairmen. Mrs. Paronetto Valier, delegate of Italy, was elected Rapporteur. Mr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General, and Mr. Chevalier, Deputy Chief of the Bureau of Relations with Member States, represented the Director-General at the meetings of the Committee.

26.5 The Committee was to study items 7, 9, 10, 11, 15.6.1 and 15.6.2 of the agenda of the General Conference. In the light of the Reports of the Director-General and of Member States, it considered the measures that had been taken in implementation of Unesco's programme in 1956, 1957 and the beginning of 1958. The Committee also examined the assessment of the work accomplished by Unesco during the period under review, prepared by the Director-General on the basis of his own reports and those of Member States.

26.6 I have the honour to submit for approval by the General Conference the report of the Committee, contained in document 10 C/9 Rev., Parts I and II, and 10 C/9 Rev., Part I, Corrigendum I.

26.7 The first part of this report (paragraphs 12-20) deals with the examination of the Director-General's reports on the activities of the Organization. Since it was physically impossible to examine all these reports in detail, the Committee decided to concentrate on three projects selected as typical examples of the possibilities and limitations inherent in the execution of the programme. These projects were as follows: the rôle of sport in education; co-operation with international scientific organizations; Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

26.8 The second part of our report (paragraphs 21-33) covers the examination of the reports of Member States and of the Director-General's analytical summary. The Committee noted with regret that 33 out of 81 Member States had failed to submit a report within the prescribed time-limit and had thus neglected an important obligation laid down in the Constitution. Proceeding in the same way as when studying the reports prepared by the Director-General, the Committee decided to confine its attention, when studying Member States' reports, to a few selected projects; these were: pre-school and school education; promotion of science; social sciences and problems of human rights and minorities; culture and international understanding; improvement of the means and techniques of communication; and promotion of the exchange of persons for international understanding. The Committee also considered problems connected with the periodic reports on human rights.

26.9 In the third part of the report (paragraphs 36-41) are set forth the results of the Committee's discussion of the special reports submitted by Member States on action taken by them upon the recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session.

26.10 The results of the Committee's examination of the assessment of the work accomplished by Unesco in 1956 and 1957 are given in the fourth part of the report now before you (paragraphs 42-55). Here again, the Committee confined its attention to certain selected subjects, namely: Major Projects; Programme of Technical Assistance and Programme of Participation in Member States' Activities; international conferences; co-operation with the United Nations Agencies.

26.11 The fifth part of the Committee's report (paragraphs 56-63) contains comments on the effectiveness of the means of action employed by the Organization and by Member States, and on the ways of developing the participation of Member States in the preparation and execution of Unesco's programme.

26.12 The sixth part of the report now before you (paragraphs 64-72) is concerned with the form and content of and period covered by the reports to be presented to the eleventh session of the General Conference.

26.13 The seventh part of the report (paragraphs 73 and 74) contains the Committee's recommendations regarding the printing of Member States' reports; these recommendations are designed to cut down translation and printing costs.

26.14 Under its terms of reference, one of the duties of the Committee was to select subjects to receive special attention at the eleventh session of the General Conference. This matter is dealt with in the eighth part of the report (paragraphs 75 to 77).

26.15 Lastly, paragraphs 78 and 79, forming the ninth and final part of the report, contain recommendations regarding the terms of reference and membership of the Reports Committee for the eleventh session of the General Conference.

26.16 I should, I think, Mr. President, draw the attention of the General Conference to the five draft resolutions submitted in the report. They are the logical outcome of the Committee's deliberations.

26.17 The draft resolution in paragraph 41 contains the Committee's recommendations regarding the special reports submitted by Member States on action taken by them upon the recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session.

26.18 The second resolution, in paragraph 55 of the report, concerns the appraisal of Unesco's work in 1956 and 1957.

26.19 In paragraph 72 of the report there is a third resolution, dealing with the form and content of and period covered by the reports to be presented to the eleventh session of the General Conference. It is interesting to note that, under the terms of this resolution, it is proposed, for the first time, to ask the Director-General to prepare a parallel analytical study of the reports of Member States and of his own reports for 1958 and 1959.

26.20 The subjects to receive special attention at the eleventh session of the General Conference are specified in a fourth resolution, to be found in paragraph 77 of the report.

26.21 Lastly, the Committee's proposals regarding the terms of reference and membership of the Reports Committee for the eleventh session of the General Conference are given in the fifth draft resolution, in paragraph 79 of the document.

26.22 I should like to say, Mr. President, that I hope these five draft resolutions, representing the result of the work of the Reports Committee for the tenth session of the General Conference, will receive the Conference's approval. The Committee's discussions, spread over thirteen meetings, were always imbued

with a spirit of frank and constructive co-operation and marked by the concern of the members scrupulously to fulfil the mission entrusted to them by the General Conference.

26.23 I think I may say that the Committee's work was crowned with success; and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all the members of the Reports Committee. Special thanks are due to our Rapporteur, Mrs. Paronetto Valier, for the intelligence and devotion with which she performed her difficult task of summing up the Committee's discussions and preparing the very comprehensive and critical report which you now have before you.

27. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): The Conference would, I am sure, wish me to thank the Chairman of the Reports Committee and congratulate him on this excellent report summing up his Committee's work. I now call upon the delegate of the Dominican Republic.

28.1 Mr. PEIGNAND CESTERO (Dominican Republic) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, in connexion with the report which has just been read out, I have some important statements to make, in line with the spirit of that report.

28.2 I said in this assembly, a few days ago, that the Dominican Republic had endorsed Unesco's Constitution, and was carrying out its provisions to the full through social and educational projects benefiting all classes of society without preference or discrimination.

28.3 Ever since their inception, Unesco's Major Projects have been steadily carried into effect in our country. We have, in the Dominican Republic, constantly expanding schemes for the extension of primary education; the improvement of teacher training; the eradication of illiteracy; the reclamation of arid land by the construction of hundreds of miles of irrigation canals, thanks to which thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation; and, lastly, the forging of closer links between Orient and Occident through a vast immigration programme, whereby thousands of families - mainly Japanese and Jews - have been brought over from the Far and Middle East and are now peacefully engaged in farming.

28.4 My purpose in speaking again today before this august assembly - whose mission it is to promulgate the eternal principles of world peace - is to bring you another encouraging piece of news, likewise bearing closely on Unesco's world-wide objectives in the fields of education, science and culture.

28.5 All the activities undertaken by the Member States of Unesco should be designed to advance fellowship and understanding between peoples, through the spread of knowledge and appreciation of all the manifold spiritual, ethical, scientific, cultural, economic and - above all - social values which make of man a vessel of grace, created in the image of God and entrusted with the divine mission of bringing to the world that peace which is sought by all men of good will.

28.6 In pursuance of the lofty aims of Unesco, and in addition to the programmes already under way, the Dominican Government proposes to organize a series of competitions amongst architects, town planners and artists from different countries, who will be invited to submit plans and projects for purposes of the construction of buildings, squares and monuments to celebrate the first centenary of the restoration of the independence of the Dominican Republic. According to the official announcement by the Council in charge of the works and ceremonies intended to commemorate this historic event, the programme will cost 100 million pesos and will begin to be put into effect in 1959.

28.7 In this way, engineers, town planners, architects and artists from the East and the West, from the North and the South, will have an opportunity of meeting in friendly competition to give concrete expression to their artistic and technical concepts in my country, in that land which Columbus loved above all others, the centre and heart of America, from whence the spirit, the language and the Christian faith of Leon and Castile spread to the furthest boundaries of the continent of hope, the inexhaustible treasury of the knightly heritage of our Spanish cultural tradition.

28.8 At the suggestion of His Excellency Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, the benefactor and founder of our new State, the Dominican Government propose to use some of the buildings erected under the above-mentioned plan to house Inter-American cultural and scientific institutions. The plan also includes the erection of a large building, with all the requisite facilities, which the Dominican Government proposes to make available to Unesco for housing a regional institution which might be sponsored by the Organization - such, for instance, as the Institute of Tropical Medicine, a large training college for training teachers for the West Indies and Central America, a training centre for educationists or an organization for the direction and supervision of the literacy campaign in this part of the American continent.

28.9 In addition, the Dominican Government promises to afford the centre or organization in question the fullest financial support, and to provide all the technical and administrative facilities necessary to the accomplishment of its work.

28.10 We sincerely hope that Unesco will soon announce the acceptance of this offer, and state the proposed use to be made of the large building which the Dominican Government is officially presenting at this historic tenth session of the General Conference, regarding it less from the point of view of its material value than as a contribution to the cause of universal peace and brotherhood which my Government and my country have very much at heart.

29.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I thank the delegate of the Dominican Republic very sincerely for the offers to Unesco which he has just described and of which, I am sure, the fullest advantage will be taken. Does any other delegate wish to speak on this item of the agenda? I propose, then, that we vote on the document before us (10 C/9 Rev.), and that each of the resolutions contained in the document be voted on separately.

29.2 First, we have the resolutions contained in paragraphs 41, 55 and 72 of document 10 C/9 Rev.

Part I. We shall vote first on the resolution in paragraph 41.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.3 The resolution is approved unanimously.

29.4 We shall now vote on the resolution in paragraph 55.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.5 Also approved unanimously.

29.6 We shall now vote on the resolution in paragraph 72.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.7 Likewise approved unanimously.

29.8 We shall now take the second part of document 10 C/9 Rev., with the resolutions contained in paragraphs 77 and 79. We shall vote first on the resolution on paragraph 77.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.9 Approved unanimously.

29.10 We shall now vote on the resolution in paragraph 79.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.11 Likewise approved unanimously.

29.12 The whole of the Report of the Reports Committee is thus approved.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

TWENTIETH PLENARY MEETING

2 December 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Maxwell M. RABB (United States of America)

CONTENTS

Report of the Programme Commission 254

REPORT OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

The meeting is called to order. We are today considering a very formidable part of the work of the Conference, the Report of the Programme Commission to the General Conference. At the outset, I would like to say a word of praise for all who worked on this report in the earlier stages, and particularly for Dr. Beeby of New Zealand, who chaired the Programme Commission with such skill and fairness that his work was greeted by sustained and spontaneous applause.

1.2 The Conference will have before it two documents which are relevant to the consideration of this Report: document 10 C/72 and the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, 10 C/5 Rev. First, it would be helpful for us all to have an overall exposition of the Report, and it would be appropriate also at this time to hear general observations. I shall therefore call upon the Rapporteur of the Programme Commission, Mr. Maté of Ghana.

2.1 Mr. MATE (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Programme Commission:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in presenting the Report of the Programme Commission (document 10 C/72), I would like first to make a few general observations on the work of the Commission. I am glad to report that the discussion at all levels was full and frank and was held in an atmosphere of friendliness. The contributions of the various delegations showed that they had been given careful thought. For the first time, Rule 78.2 of the Rules of Procedure, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, in New Delhi, in 1956, was applied: Member States were invited to submit to the Director-General, at least six weeks before the opening of the General Conference, any draft resolutions or amendments involving new activities or substantially increasing the budget level.

2.2 Working Parties were established for the purpose of examining in detail the five main chapters of the programme. There were points for and against the application of this new procedure. The work was expedited - a great advantage in view of the short time available for examining the programme. This procedure, moreover, permitted experts on the Working Parties to give the full benefit of their experience and knowledge, and the discussions were productive of good results. When the conclusions of the Working Parties were submitted to the Programme Commission, Member States with small delegations were able to hear the views presented and to join in the general discussion of them, even if they had not participated fully in the discussions of the various Working Parties. The Programme Commission held very useful and constructive debates on many subjects of general interest to all delegations, such as discrimination in education, vocational and technical education in Africa, the Special Fund and the Special Account, and many others. There was agreement that, while maintaining the system of Working Parties, provision should be made at the next session of the General Conference for the Programme Commission, at the end of its work, to have a general discussion on the programme and budget. I am happy to report that the Commission worked according to schedule; I am also pleased to report that for the first time in my experience the Programme Commission has completed its work with a balanced budget. I consider that this achievement will set a happy precedent for the future operation of the Commission and help to build up the confidence of Member States in Unesco.

2.3 In connexion with the work of the Commission, I must draw attention to the following observation concerning resolutions and work plans, which was formulated by the Executive Board for the guidance of the Commission: "The work plans are intended for the information of delegates and are not voted on by the General Conference. They are simply forecasts, often made several years in advance, of the way in which the programme resolutions can be implemented." Accordingly, the Programme Commission approved resolutions and departmental budgets and noted work plans. This procedure is reflected in the Commission's Report.

2.4 I am happy to observe that the Report was unanimously adopted. I think this shows a unified feeling in the Programme Commission, and in Unesco, as to the main directions of the Organization's work. I also think that this unanimity augurs well for the future of Unesco. I now come to the Report itself and will address my remarks more specifically to the document before you, 10 C/72. The Report covers all the work of the Programme Commission and its Working Parties at this session of the General

Conference, except for the report on the appraisal of Unesco's programme which will be the subject of separate discussion in a plenary meeting. A report is also to be made on the work of the Joint Meeting of the Administrative and Programme Commissions; it was considered yesterday at a joint meeting of the two Commissions.

2.5 The Report has been kept as short as possible for two reasons: first, the General Conference and the Executive Board have both - and I think wisely - called for a substantial reduction in the size of documents. Secondly, and more important, the interesting and fruitful debates which took place in the Working Parties and which led to many of the decisions recorded in this Report, have been admirably described in the second part of the reports of the Working Parties. The Working Party reports, which are official documents of the Conference, will serve as a guide to Member States, the Executive Board and, of course, the Secretariat, in the execution of the programme in 1959-1960. The debate in the Programme Commission itself is reported in detail in the summary records. Therefore, the Report concentrates on the resolutions and other concrete decisions and recommendations which resulted from the Programme Commission's deliberations. It may be useful to say a word on how the Report is presented. It consists of an Introduction followed by an account of the Commission's decisions on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, as set forth in document 10 C/5 Revised. I think you will find the Report largely self-explanatory. I would only point out that the text of the resolutions which are to be adopted have been reproduced in the Report only when the texts in the grey book (document 10 C/5 Rev.) were modified, or if the resolutions came from another source, such as draft resolutions and the corrigenda or addenda to the grey book. In other words, the texts of all of the resolutions to be approved are found in two documents only - 10 C/5 Revised and the Report before you (10 C/72).

2.6 The Director-General's proposals on the priority items recommended by the Working Parties were accepted by the Commission, and have been taken into account in the Report in connexion with each chapter of the programme. Those priority items recommended by Working Parties which were not covered by the Director-General's proposals are also described at the appropriate places in the Report so that the Director-General may take them into consideration during the execution of the 1959-1960 programme, if funds should become available, or in planning the 1961-1962 programme.

2.7 I would like to say a word with regard to one point in the report - Cultural Activities Chapter, paragraph 136. Sub-paragraphs (i) to (vii) of this paragraph, relating to the granting of subventions and contracts, will be integrated into the projects to which they relate. The Administrative Commission, in preparing the appropriation table, therefore transferred to the budget of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values the last item of expenditure, listed in paragraph 136 (vii) relating to the promotion of the recording on discs of Eastern music. The total for the Cultural Activities Chapter should therefore read $2,847,168, and for the Major Project $800,387.

I would like to make another correction to page 14, lines 8 and 9 of the Report. After "1959", in line 8, delete all the words starting from "at" up to "Hamburg" in line 9 to read: "would be organized in 1959 to establish general principles in the field of professional and technical education ...".

2.8 In conclusion, let me say how much I am indebted to the excellent reports prepared by the Rapporteurs of the Working Parties, from whose pens has come much of the contents of the document before you today. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the Chairman of the Commission for his admirable handling of the work of this Commission; a great deal of its success is due to the inspiration and guidance given to the Commission by Dr. Beeby. Also, I think I should fail in my duty if I did not comment on the excellent work which has been done by the members of the Secretariat, especially the two able secretaries whose duty it was to put the Report together. Quite often when excellent results are achieved, there is a tendency to forget the individuals who have worked behind the scenes. We shall not allow that to happen on this occasion, and I am sure you will all join me in showing our appreciation to all concerned.

3.1 The PRESIDENT:

We are most grateful to Mr. Maté for his helpful presentation of the Report. If the delegations wish to present general observations we should be glad to hear them now. There will, however, be another opportunity to make general observations when the Report in its entirety is put to the Conference.

3.2 Since we have no requests to present general observations we shall continue our consideration of the Report. A word as to the manner in which we shall consider this matter: there are seven chapters and three annexed chapters - 1A, 2A and 4A. We have also the Introduction to consider, in addition to three important items at the end of the report which relate to all the chapters. We shall consider the Report chapter by chapter, and within each chapter, project by project. Each project includes one or more paragraphs of which I will give you the numbers in putting them to you for adoption. Since the paragraphs under each project refer to resolutions and to work plans, in adopting them we shall be adopting the resolutions and taking note of the work plans. This procedure was followed by the Programme Commission in adopting its Report, and I propose that we follow the same procedure. When we come to a project that includes two or more work plans, or resolutions, a delegation may desire to have a specific resolution considered separately; if any delegation communicates such a desire to me, I shall be glad to arrange for separate consideration of that item. Let us now take up the Report.

3.3 First we have the Introduction which is contained in paragraphs 1-29. Any comments? Adopted.

3.4 Chapter 1 - Education. First we have paragraph 30, the introductory paragraph for Education. Any comments? Adopted.

3.5 Project 1.0 - Office of the Director, contained in paragraph 31. Are there any comments? Adopted.

3.6 Project 1.1 - Co-operation with International Organizations, contained in paragraphs 32-35. May I call attention at this point to the fact that paragraph 35

applies to other chapters as well as Education? Any comments? Adopted.
3.7 Project 1.2 - Education Clearing House and Advisory Services contained in paragraphs 36-39. Any comments? Adopted.
3.8 Project 1.3 - Special Services for the Advancement of Education, in paragraphs 40-46. Any comments? Adopted.
3.9 Project 1.4 - School Education, contained in paragraphs 47-55. Any comments? Adopted.
3.10 Project 1.5 - Fundamental Education, paragraphs 56-58. Any comments? Adopted.
3.11 Project 1.6 - Out-of-school Education for Young People and Adults, contained in paragraphs 59-65. Any comments? Adopted.
3.12 On page 18, reference is made to certain matters that should be considered before we proceed to the adoption of the whole Report. Paragraph 66 - Staff Establishment. Any comments? Adopted.
3.13 Paragraph 67 - Budget for Education Chapter. Any comments? Adopted.
3.14 We come now to Chapter 1A - Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, including paragraphs 68-69. Any comments? Adopted.
3.15 We now proceed to Chapter 2 - Natural Sciences. We shall take up first paragraph 70, the introduction. Any comments? Adopted.
3.16 Project 2.0 - Office of the Director, paragraph 71. Are there any comments? Adopted.
3.17 Project 2.1 - Co-operation with International Organizations, contained in paragraph 72. Any comments? Adopted.
3.18 Project 2.2 - Improvement of Scientific Documentation, contained in paragraphs 73 to 78. Any discussion? Adopted.
3.19 Project 2.3 - Promotion and Teaching of Science, contained in paragraphs 79 to 83. Are there any comments? Adopted.
3.20 Project 2.4 - Contribution to Scientific Research, contained in paragraphs 84 to 96. I would like to comment here myself; this is a large project with vast implications, and I would like, therefore, to allow a little extra time in case any of you decide to enter into the discussion. I call upon the delegate of Denmark, Mr. Nielsen.

4.1 Mr. NIELSEN (Denmark):
Mr. President, if you will allow me, I shall quite briefly comment on paragraph 90, which concerns investigations in the marine sciences. It is not evident from the text before us, to what extent the activities of Unesco in this field will be co-ordinated with the work proposed and planned by the International Council of Scientific Unions, through its Special Committee on Oceanic Research. I take it that, nevertheless, it is the intention that the work in this field will be carried out in the closest co-operation with those scientific circles which are concerned with the work of exploring the sciences of the sea. In particular, I wish to draw your attention to the very great help which Unesco can offer to the Special Committee on Oceanic Research in approaching Member States adjacent to the Indian Ocean, where the programme of ICSU is to be launched, with a view to obtaining their agreement that investigations should, without any diplomatic delay, be authorized on the continental shelf of the countries adjacent to that ocean. That is a question where Unesco, being an international and intergovernmental body, could very much help ICSU, which is a non-governmental organization.
4.2 The scope of this investigation is very far-reaching and, as you know, the Indian Ocean is one of the least explored parts of the seas, where exploration on purely scientific grounds may well advance the use which mankind can make of the resources of the sea. It is for this important reason that I wish to stress our desire that Unesco should, as far as possible, go to the limits of its powers to assist the exploration of that part of the ocean, which is planned for the years 1961-1963, by the International Council of Scientific Unions, through its Special Committee.

5. The PRESIDENT:
Thank you, Mr. Nielsen. The Director of the Department of Natural Sciences will reply.

6.1 Mr. AUGER (Secretariat) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the Secretariat entirely agrees with Mr. Nielsen that Unesco's collaboration with the International Council of Scientific Unions is indispensable. This collaboration, which dates from the very inception of Unesco, is not likely to cease; on the contrary, it must continually develop and the fact that the International Council of Scientific Unions has set up a Special Committee on Oceanographic Research is bound to lead to extremely close co-operation between Unesco and the International Council of Scientific Unions in the very important matter of the exploration of comparatively unknown seas, such as the Indian Ocean.
6.2 The Director-General can assure Mr. Nielsen that the Secretariat will, as far as its budget permits, give every possible assistance to ICSU's Special Committee on Oceanographic Research, which deals with questions of the sea. Its work will be co-ordinated with Unesco's regular marine science research programme, which is carried out under the guidance of the International Advisory Committee on Marine Sciences. This Advisory Committee and the ICSU Committee work in perfect harmony and the co-operation of the two organizations should be most effective.
7.1 The PRESIDENT:
Any other comments? Project 2.4 - Contribution to Scientific Research, contained in paragraphs 84 to 96, is adopted.
7.2 Project 2.5 - Regional Activities, contained in paragraph 97. Any comments? Adopted.
7.3 Paragraph 98, Staff Establishment. Adopted.
7.4 Paragraph 99, Budget for the Natural Sciences Chapter. Comments? Adopted.
7.5 We come now to Chapter 2A - Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. Since this may present interest to certain delegations, will anyone wishing to comment on this section, which includes paragraphs 100-104, please be prepared to join in the discussion? Any comments? Chapter 2A is adopted.
7.6 Chapter 3, Social Sciences, paragraph 105, the Introduction. Any discussion? Adopted.
7.7 Project 3.0 - Office of the Director, in paragraph 106. Any discussion? Adopted.

7.8 Project 3.1 - Co-operation with International Organizations, contained in paragraph 107. Any comments? Adopted.
7.9 Project 3.2 - Improvement of Social Science Documentation, paragraph 108. Any comments? Adopted.
7.10 Project 3.3 - Statistics relating to Education, Science and Culture and Mass Communication, contained in paragraphs 109-111. The Conference is reminded that it will be asked to take a decision at the end of the discussion on this Report, regarding the text of the recommendations mentioned in paragraph 110, and also in paragraph 148 which we shall take up later under Cultural Activities. These concern the adoption of international conventions and recommendations and will be taken up either later today or tomorrow morning. Any comments? If not, Project 3.3, Statistics relating to Education, Science and Culture, is adopted.
7.11 Project 3.4 - Promotion of Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences, contained in paragraphs 112 to 115. Is there any discussion? Adopted.
7.12 Project 3.5 - Promotion of International Understanding and Peaceful Co-operation, contained in paragraphs 116-119. Are there any comments? Adopted.
7.13 Project 3.6 - Promotion of Human Rights, which is contained in paragraph 120. Does anyone wish to discuss this? Adopted.
7.14 Project 3.7 - Promotion of Social Development contained in paragraphs 121-126. Any comments? Adopted.
7.15 Project 3.8 - Surveys and Evaluation Techniques, in paragraph 127. Any discussion? Adopted.
7.16 Project 3.9 - Social Science Co-operation Office, Cairo, in paragraph 128. Any comments? Adopted.
7.17 Staff establishment, in paragraph 129. Any comments? Adopted.
7.18 Budget for the Social Sciences Chapter, which is contained in paragraph 130. Adopted.
7.19 We now come to Chapter 4 - Cultural Activities. I call upon the delegate of France.

8.1 Mr. CAIN (France)(Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I do not wish to reopen the general discussion, which began in the Working Party, but I should like to put three questions in connexion with this chapter.
8.2 The first is the following. In paragraph 149, there is a project entitled "International Collaboration among Cultural Relations Services". This project does not especially concern the Department of Cultural Activities; it concerns all the Departments of Unesco. I wonder whether it would not be more appropriate to place it in Chapter 7, rather than in Chapter 4?
8.3 Furthermore, I note in paragraph 155, that the Director-General has undertaken during the execution of the programme in 1959-1960 to find the $20,000 necessary for the implementation of this project. I would like - and this is my second question - to ask the Director-General, since he can make such commitments, whether he could not do so in connexion with a matter which was debated at very great length in the Working Party and, subsequently, in the Programme Commission itself: I refer to the matter of subventions to non-governmental organizations.
8.4 The Director-General was able to make available the sum of $16,585, which appears on page 35 of the document before you, and it was therefore possible, in certain very special cases, to meet requests which had been made in accordance with the rules and by the required date. On the other hand, some requests from non-governmental organizations, owing to mistakes, were not forwarded in time and therefore had to be turned down.
8.5 I believe that many of us would have wished these refusals to be slightly less categorical and would have liked some of the organizations to be given a little hope. I am thinking, in particular, of an organization like the International Federation of Library Associations, which has nothing but a subvention of $1,750. Its President, Mr. Bourgeois, whom many of you know, since he has been a delegate of Switzerland at earlier sessions of the General Conference, wrote a letter requesting that this subvention be raised to as much as $5,000.
8.6 Similarly, the International Federation for Documentation has requested that its subvention of $1,750 be increased to $5,000. Certainly, such an increase would be very useful to both these bodies.
8.7 The same would be true, I should say, of the International Council for Philosophy and the Humanistic Studies, on whose behalf you have admittedly made a considerable effort, first at New Delhi, then again this year, but the task of this body is immense, its activities extremely varied and, in fact, it is entirely responsible for carrying out part of Unesco's programme.
8.8 I would even go so far as to say that if, during the next two years, the Director-General should be in a position to make funds available, I wish that he would undertake to allocate them to these organizations, just as he has undertaken to find $20,000 for international relations and exchange in education, science and culture. We should like him to enter into a similar commitment now.
8.9 Finally, I should like to draw your attention to one last point: it concerns a committee you set up a few years ago, namely, the International Advisory Committee on Bibliography. An amount of $8,000 has been provided for contracts for this Committee in 1959. These are only contracts - that was the method you advocated - and not subventions, but they finance the publication of handbooks in different languages, which facilitate work in the various countries. Well, I should like to point out that, although you have a sum of $8,000 for 1959, you have nothing for 1960.
8.10 Once again, if the Director-General finds that he can effect certain economies, I should like him to make money available both for these contracts and for the international organizations to which I have just referred.

9. The PRESIDENT:
The Assistant Director-General, Mr. Thomas, will reply to the questions raised by the delegate of France.

10.1 Mr. THOMAS, Assistant Director-General (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the delegate of France asked the

Director-General three questions, which I have been requested to answer on his behalf.

10.2 The first question was why Project 4.4, which is set out in paragraphs 149 to 153 under the heading "International Collaboration among Cultural Relations Services" is included in the Cultural Activities Chapter, considering that it concerns all the Secretariat's programme activities, and not just this Department. I understand that the delegate of France asked why this project could not be included in Chapter 7 (Relations with Member States). The project concerned, which is rather limited in scope at present, did indeed come under "Relations with Member States" for the years 1957 and 1958 and its implementation was the responsibility of the Bureau of Relations with Member States. But, as this project was developing and was bound to have a more important place in the programme, it was deemed advisable to entrust it to one of the Programme Departments - this Department is obviously not the only one concerned, but a large part of its activities are closely connected with those coming under international cultural relations. Furthermore, the Director-General thought that the Director of the Department of Cultural Activities, being very experienced in that field and having been at the head of a large national cultural relations service, was particularly well qualified to give the project the wide scope he wanted it to have. Moreover, the Programme Commission has discussed the matter and, in its report, it proposes the same solution as that of the Director-General. I therefore think that it is for the Programme Commission to say whether it wishes to follow the suggestion of the delegate of France. In any case, the reason I have just given in reply to his question is the one that led the Director-General to choose this solution in his Proposed Programme for 1959-1960.

10.3 The second question of the delegate of France concerns subventions to international non-governmental organizations. It is correct that in connexion with the cultural relations project, and especially the inquiry which the Economic and Social Council requested Unesco to conduct, the Director-General, in view of the fact that the request came from an organ of the United Nations and the one responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the Specialized Agencies, undertook, since he could not raise the budget ceiling, to find the money required to implement this project. The delegate of France is asking whether the Director-General could not also undertake to find the money necessary to increase certain subventions. The Director-General replies that he will give the question sympathetic consideration, but that he cannot commit himself forthwith. Besides, I might mention that subventions are fixed by the Executive Board, not by the Director-General. What the Director-General could do is to try to find the additional amounts which the Executive Board may wish to have available.

10.4 Finally, the third question concerns the contracts for the Advisory Committee on Bibliography. Mr. President, the question is slightly embarrassing, because it does not seem to have been discussed by the Programme Commission; at any rate, it does not appear in that Commission's report. I do not even think - though my colleague, Mr. Salat, may correct me - that it appears in the report of the Working Party. So a decision of the General Conference would be necessary to settle the question. But there again, the Director-General is quite willing to examine the question sympathetically if the Conference decides that it is solely up to him.

11.1 The PRESIDENT:

We shall take up the individual matters which have been discussed here, as we consider the projects in this chapter.

11.2 Chapter 4, Cultural Activities, paragraph 1.31, the Introduction. Any questions? Adopted.

11.3 Project 4.0 - Office of the Director, paragraph 132. Any discussion? Adopted.

11.4 Project 4.1 - Co-operation with International Cultural Organizations, contained in paragraphs 133 to 139, including resolution 4.12. May I at this point call attention to the Rapporteur's statement that item (vii) of paragraph 36 was transferred to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values? Any comments? Adopted.

11.5 Project 4.2 - International Exchange of Information, contained in paragraphs 140 to 143. Any comments? Adopted.

11.6 Project 4.3 - International Agreements, contained in paragraphs 144 to 148. I would like to point out that the Conference will be asked at the end of this discussion formally to adopt the text of the Conventions mentioned in paragraph 148. Does anyone wish to comment on this section? Adopted.

11.7 Project 4.4 - International Co-operation among the Cultural Relations Services, paragraphs 149 to 153. You will recall that the delegate of France has raised a question regarding paragraph 139. Mr. Thomas declared that it was for the Programme Commission to make this decision. Does the delegate of France propose that we refer this matter to the Programme Commission for reconsideration? We shall therefore accept it as it stands. Any other comments? Project 4.4 is adopted.

11.8 Project 4.4A - Report and Recommendations on International Relations and Exchange in Education, Science and Culture, contained in paragraphs 154 to 155. It has just been brought to my attention that this title should be amended to read "exchanges" rather than "exchange". You will also recall that the delegate of France asked a question on this point, to which Mr. Thomas replied. Is there any other comment? Adopted.

11.9 Project 4.5 - Unesco Library and Reference Service, contained in paragraph 156. Any discussion? Adopted.

11.10 Project 4.6 - Preservation of the Cultural Heritage of Mankind, contained in paragraphs 157 to 160. Any comments? Adopted.

11.11 Project 4.71 - Maintenance and Adaptation of Traditional Cultures, paragraph 161. Any comment? Adopted.

11.12 Project 4.73 - Production of Reading Materials, contained in paragraphs 162 and 163. Any discussion? Adopted.

11.13 Project 4.75 - Development of Libraries and Museums, contained in paragraphs 164 to 167. Any discussion? Adopted.

11.14 Project 4.81 - Culture and International Understanding, in paragraphs 168 to 169. Any comments? Adopted.

11,15 Project 4.82 - History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind, contained in paragraphs 170-172. Comments? Adopted.
11,16 Budget for the Cultural Activities Chapter, given in paragraphs 173-174. Adopted.
11,17 Chapter 4A - Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, contained in paragraphs 175-185. Has anyone a comment to make? Adopted.
11,18 Chapter 5 - Mass Communication, Introduction, paragraph 186. Any comments? Adopted.
11,19 Project 5.0 - Office of the Director, contained in paragraph 187. Any comments? Adopted.
11,20 Project 5.1 - Public Information and Promotion of International Understanding, paragraph 188. Any comments? Adopted.
11,21 Project 5.11 - Press, paragraphs 189-193. Any discussion? Adopted.
11,22 Project 5.12 - Visual Media, paragraphs 194-198. Does anyone wish to discuss this? Adopted.
11,23 Project 5.13 - Radio, paragraphs 199-200. Any comments? Adopted.
11,24 Project 5.14 - Public Liaison, paragraphs 201-203. Any comments? Adopted.
11,25 Project 5.15 - Commemoration of Anniversaries of Great Personalities; contained in paragraphs 204-206. Any comments? Adopted.
11,26 Project 5.2 - Free Flow of Information, paragraphs 207-213. Any comments? Adopted.
11,27 Project 5.3 - Clearing House and Promotion of Mass Communication Research, paragraphs 214-218. Any discussion? Adopted.
11,28 Project 5.4 - Improvement of Means and Techniques of Communication, paragraphs 219-222. The Rapporteur would like to comment on paragraph 222, with reference to a question of translation.

12. Mr. MATE (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Programme Commission:
With regard to paragraph 222, I would point out that the French translation does not conform to the English original. In accordance with paragraph 3 of document 10 C/72 the Secretariat will make the necessary alteration.

13,1 The PRESIDENT:
Does anyone else wish to comment? Project 5.4 - Improvement of Means and Techniques of Communication is adopted.
13,2 Staff Establishment, paragraph 223. Any comments? Adopted.
13,3 Budget for the Mass Communication Chapter, paragraph 224. Any comments? Adopted.
13,4 Chapter 6, Exchange of Persons, Introduction, paragraph 225. Adopted.
13,5 Project 6.0 - Office of the Chief, in paragraph 226. Adopted.
13,6 Project 6.1 - Clearing House and Advisory Services, contained in paragraphs 227-228. Any comments? Adopted.
13,7 Project 6.2 - Fellowship Programme, paragraphs 229-231. Any discussion? Adopted.
13,8 Project 6.3 - Promotion of Exchange of Persons for International Understanding, contained in paragraphs 232-233. Any comments? Adopted.
13,9 Project 6.4 - Exchange of Workers, contained in paragraphs 234-236. Any comments? Adopted.
13,10 Project 6.5 - Exchange of Young People, paragraphs 237-238. Any discussion? Adopted.
13,11 Project 6.6 - Exchange of Teachers, paragraphs 239-240. Any discussion? Adopted.
13,12 Paragraph 241, Staff Establishment. Adopted.
13,13 Budget Summary, paragraph 242. Any comments? Adopted.
13,14 Chapter 7, Relations with Member States. Project 7.1 - Assistance to National Commissions, contained in paragraph 243. Any comments? Adopted.
13,15 Project 7.2 - Publication and Study of Reports of Member States, contained in paragraphs 244-245. Any comments? Adopted.
13,16 Project 7.3 - Participation in the Activities of Member States, paragraphs 246-251. Any comments? Adopted.
13,17 Project 7.4 - Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, paragraphs 252-253. Any comments? Adopted.
13,18 Project 7.42 - Co-operation with the Special Fund, paragraphs 254-256. Any comments? Adopted.
13,19 Project 7.5 - Bureau of Relations with Member States, paragraph 257. Any comments? Adopted.
13,20 Project 7.6 - Regional Office in the Western Hemisphere, paragraph 258. Any discussion? Adopted.
13,21 Budget for the Chapter on Relations with Member States, paragraph 259. Any discussion? Adopted.
13,22 We now have a few supplementary items to take up, which, as I indicated at the beginning of this plenary meeting relate to all the chapters. Voluntary Contributions to a Special Account for the Implementation of the Programme of Unesco, contained in paragraphs 260-262. Does anyone here wish to speak? Adopted.
13,23 The next item concerns studies by the Executive Board of the Major Problems Facing the Organization with regard to the Execution of the Programme, and the Future Development of its work within the Framework of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, contained in paragraphs 263-266. Any comments? Adopted.
13,24 We now come to the last item in the Report - Documents and Publications Service, Annex I and II of document 10 C/5 Rev., contained in paragraphs 267-268. Any comments? Adopted.
13,25 I shall now put to the vote the adoption of the Report, as amended, after which we shall have the general discussion.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
13,26 The results of the voting are: 62 in favour; none against; one abstention. The Report of the Programme Commission (document 10 C/72) is adopted.
13,27 May I say that I never thought that I should live to see the day when Unesco, or any other international body, would take up a matter as complicated as this and dispose of it so quickly. I am very grateful to you for your attention and help in bringing about this result.
13,28 We proceed now to the general comments on this Report. I call upon the delegate of Paraguay.

14,1 Mr. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA (Paraguay) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, we wish to make

a few comments, in logical order, on the international aspect of Unesco's co-operation with the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. This is a matter of particular interest to us, in view of its importance for the future of mankind.

14.2 It is quite obvious that education is capable of removing the hindrances and obstacles to the process of evolution, inasmuch as it enhances and improves Man's natural gifts; thus, all the other factors contributing to a nation's prosperity are partly dependent upon the spread of culture and the degree to which the people are cultured.

14.3 But however widespread, culture alone cannot solve economic and social problems. Hence the plan to embark at once on a study of economic systems; hence, also the fundamental importance of concerted action with the United Nations, which will have to be organized in the social and economic fields. With this goes a new activity: economic welfare. That is, the improvement of the material conditions of underdeveloped countries, on which we must concentrate our efforts in future.

14.4 Unesco will indeed be able to help these countries to extricate themselves from the unhappy situation in which they have been placed as a result of the fall in the value of basic exports, galloping inflation and its consequences, depreciation of currency, economic depression, and social malaise. For it is not true that salvation lies in independence and self-sufficiency, without any outside assistance. Isolated, left to their own devices, the underdeveloped countries are incapable of solving their problems.

14.5 We, the countries of Latin America, make this appeal in full consciousness of our economic interdependence, the similarity of our social and economic problems and the convergence of our ideas and interests. We are all in the same boat; the same fate awaits us all. Thanks to our humanistic traditions, a common heritage from the West, the evolution of the American situation is identical with that of Europe, on the other side of the Atlantic.

14.6 An underdeveloped country has a right to receive assistance from prosperous, economically advanced countries and need not feel in any way humiliated on that account. Such assistance is given in the spirit of mutual support which prevails in the civilized world; it is based on the idea that it is our duty to come to the help of our fellow-men in peril or distress, a concept recognized by the canonists as a natural law and embodied in the penal legislation of many countries, including France.

14.7 Today, it is becoming an international rule. The Marshall Plan was inspired by the idea that "Qui peut et n'empêche, pèche" (Whoever can help is duty-bound to do so.) Loisel's maxim, according to Politis, so admirably expresses a fundamental and universal need that it should become a "mot d'ordre", a byword, profoundly respected by all civilized men and inspiring and guiding every government.

14.8 Thus, Unesco's co-operation with the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, which the United Nations General Assembly decided, last December, to establish, is of the greatest importance for the future evolution of world economy.

14.9 I shall conclude by emphasizing one aspect of international economic co-operation which should be developed; I refer to the establishment of groups of experts, technicians and scientists, trained to study and resolve problems connected with the promotion of basic economy, productivity and commercial expansion. I refer also to the provision of advisory services, for private concerns as well as government departments, in order to ensure economic development and social progress in underdeveloped countries.

14.10 These additional measures (possibly accompanied by credit facilities or the contribution of capital and foreign currency) are a very important factor in the task of hastening and completing the development of countries that are backward or have recently acceded to their independence.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Caballero de Bedoya and now call upon Mr. Bocobo, of the Philippines.

16.1 Mr. BOCOBO (Philippines) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, I shall not speak for more than three minutes. The Atlantic Charter has proclaimed four freedoms. The Philippine delegation humbly submits that there is a fifth freedom - freedom from ignorance. Our great Organization can be justly proud of what it has already done towards delivering millions of men and women from the darkness of ignorance, that great enemy of democracy.

16.2 The prevention of discrimination in education is part of this task. In June last, the International Labour Organisation approved a convention and recommendation concerning the prevention of discrimination in the field of employment. As I took a modest part in the ILO's discussions, I hope that our great Organization will be able, in due course to approve a convention and recommendations for the prevention of discrimination in education. In this respect, our Organization has a far greater task to accomplish than the ILO, for, whereas the latter endeavours to promote equality of opportunity in the matter of material welfare, our Organization aims at promoting such equality in the intellectual sphere.

16.3 Discrimination in education is a very serious matter, for it extinguishes the light of the soul. More splendid than the act of God when he set the stars in place to light the heavens was the flame of soul he kindled in Man. The great Indian thinker, Rabindranath Tagore, said that, for God, the flame of the soul of Man burns brighter than the stars. But, unfortunately, Mr. President, in this age of enlightenment, there are still rulers who wish to extinguish the flame of the soul of Man.

16.4 Voltaire said that tyranny never sleeps. Nor, Mr. President, does racial prejudice, or any other kind of prejudice, ever sleep. Thus, the task before us, is a difficult one, but it is a noble and generous task.

17.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of the Philippines.

17.2 A very long document which contained many difficult projects and proposals, was disposed of with dispatch and in a manner which reflected great credit upon this Organization. I think this indicates that the Working Parties and the Programme

Commission had an opportunity to thrash out, to argue and to talk out these several questions in a very democratic manner, so that we were in a position today, in considering such a volume of material, to carry out our assignment and responsibilities in a very quick and efficient manner. This reflects credit upon the Organization but also on its constituent parts, the Working Parties and the Programme Commission, and it indicates particularly, that we have had the highest type of leadership from Mr. Beeby of New Zealand. His great dedication and devotion to this Organization was shown here in the most extraordinary fashion. I wish to thank all of you for what you have done, and particularly Mr. Beeby, for his great contribution. I wish also to thank the Rapporteur; his initial exposition opened up the entire argument and presented the report in such a fashion that we were prepared to plunge into the heart of the discussion.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

TWENTY-FIRST PLENARY MEETING

3 December 1958, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Tamon MAEDA (Japan)

CONTENTS

International Standardization of Educational Statistics . . . 262
International Conventions Concerning the International Exchange of Publications 262
Special Report of the Programme Commission on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes for the Economic and Social Council 262
Third Report of the Administrative Commission: Headquarters questions 269

INTERNATIONAL STANDARDIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, we have now to deal first of all with item 15.3.1 of the agenda. The text of the relevant Recommendation is to be found in document 10 C/11 and is dealt with in paragraph 110 of the Report of the Programme Commission (document 10 C/72) which was adopted yesterday. Does any delegate wish to speak on this question? If not, we shall take a vote on it. I should like to remind you that in this case a simple majority is required for adoption.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

1.2 The Recommendation is adopted by 50 votes in favour, none against, with one abstention.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

1.3 We pass on to item 15.4.1 - Adoption of the Draft Convention Concerning the International Exchange of Publications, and the Draft Conventions Concerning the Exchange of Official Publications and Government Documents between States. The texts of these Conventions appear in document 10 C/12, amended by paragraph 148 of the Report of the Programme Commission (document 10 C/72), adopted yesterday. Does any delegate wish to speak on this matter? If not, I should like to take a vote on the two Draft Conventions separately. According to Article IV.B.4 of the Constitution, a two-thirds majority is required to adopt these Conventions. I shall first put to the vote the Draft Convention Concerning the International Exchange of Publications, Annex I of document 10 C/12, as amended by paragraph 148 of document 10 C/72.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

1.4 The first Draft Convention is adopted by 43 votes in favour, none against, and 5 abstentions.

1.5 I shall now put to the vote the Draft Convention Concerning the Exchange of Official Publications, and Government Documents between States, Annex II of document 10 C/12, as amended by paragraph 148 of document 10 C/72.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

1.6 The second Draft Convention is adopted by 50 votes in favour, none against, and 4 abstentions.

SPECIAL REPORT OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION ON THE APPRAISAL OF UNESCO'S PROGRAMMES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

1.7 Now we proceed to item 15.8.5 (document 10 C/77 Rev.). I should like to ask the Rapporteur, Mr. de Hoog of the Netherlands, to present this Report to the Conference.

2.1 Mr. de HOOG (Netherlands), Special Rapporteur of the Programme Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to submit to you the Special Report of the Programme Commission concerning item 15.8.5 of the agenda, "Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes for the Economic and Social Council".

2.2 As you have gathered from the report you adopted yesterday, the Programme Commission had decided at its first meeting to appoint a Special Rapporteur for this item of the agenda, and the Commission's Bureau later decided that the Commission's discussions and recommendations on this point would be be the subject of a Special Report for consideration by the General Conference in plenary meeting. You will find this Report in document 10 C/77 which should have been distributed to you this morning.

2.3 I would like, if I may, to preface this Report by a few brief general remarks. The first is that every speaker, both in the Working Party which studied the question in greater detail and at the full meeting

of the Programme Commission, was in favour of Unesco's sharing in the consideration of the programmes of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, as recommended by the General Assembly and undertaken by the Economic and Social Council.

2.4 If the pertinent paragraph of the draft resolution contained in this Special Report is unanimously adopted by the Conference - and there is no reason to doubt that it will be adopted - Unesco will have given a clear-cut confirmation of its faith and confidence in an international community based on the United Nations Charter, and, besides setting an example to the other members of the United Nations family, will have helped to formulate an overall plan to meet the real and pressing needs of mankind.

2.5 My second remark relates to the nature of the discussions which have ensued both in the Working Party and in the Programme Commission. Those discussions were not plain sailing. The working paper prepared by the Director-General (document 10 C/10), is of a high order - a fact emphasized by nearly all the speakers - and our difficulties, therefore, do not originate there. They stem primarily from the fact that, while discussing an appraisal of Unesco's future programme with a very specific and very limited purpose in view - that of giving the Economic and Social Council a general picture, without any formal obligation on the Organization's part, of the development of Unesco's activities during the next five years - the delegates were unable, in the main, to refrain from thinking in terms of an appraisal pure and simple; in other words, of the formulation of a general plan for our Organization's future. For example, in examining the policy of subventions to be followed in respect of non-governmental organizations or regional centres and institutes, or in seeking to answer the question of whether or not other Major Projects should be initiated in the early future, what was considered was the general policy which the Director-General should follow, rather than the projection of that policy in a report addressed to another organization. While that fact probably rendered our discussions more difficult, it also, I feel, made them more convincing.

2.6 My third remark is linked with the previous one. It was generally recognized that, while the preliminary study contained in document 10 C/10 was of a high standard, it needed amplification in two very important respects if it was to become completely valid. In the first place, as regards its sections on future prospects, the Director-General and the Executive Board were urged to make an effort of creative imagination so as to follow more closely the lines emerging in the development of activities during the past few years and project them more sharply into the future.

2.7 Secondly, it was felt that the appraisal should not merely relate to what Unesco is at present doing or proposes to do in the near future, but should indicate the shortcomings and gaps existing in the present programme. Completed in this way, the appraisal would not only acquire far greater value for the Economic and Social Council but would constitute - and this is most important - an excellent basis for the harmonious and balanced development of the Organization's programme. I would like to express the hope, Mr. President, that the General Conference will be able, in the Organization's own interests, to continue at its next session the study it has initiated this year at the Economic and Social Council's request.

2.8 With your kind permission, Mr. President and fellow delegates, we will now take a quick glance at the Report before you, issued as document 10 C/77 Rev. I shall try to give you a brief account of its most salient and important points.

2.9 The first point I should like to mention is that the Commission was presided over by Mr. Beeby - this being, of course, a guarantee that its work would be carried out with real efficiency and that its discussions would proceed in a genial manner. I should also point out that the Programme Commission - like the Ad Hoc Working Party, for that matter - did not consider the contents of the twelve chapters in the document relating to the Organization's various areas of activity; it took the view that when the Director-General and the Executive Board came in 1959 to appraise programmes for the Economic and Social Council, they would find valuable guidance in the Programme Commission's report on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (that is, in document 10 C/72, which you adopted yesterday) and in the reports of the other working parties set up by the Commission.

2.10 In studying this question, the Commission concentrated mainly on the technique of appraisal, giving special attention to the questions raised in that connexion in document 10 C/10 and in the Introduction and Conclusions of the Annex thereto. At its final meeting, the Commission took note of the views expressed by various delegations during the general discussion and the meetings of the Working Party, and added its own comments which you will find in Section II of its Report under "General Discussion", beginning with paragraph 8. The Commission then proceeded to express its views on the recommendations which it now submits to the General Conference in plenary meeting. You will find these recommendations in Section III of the Report.

2.11 I would like to dwell on some of the points in Section II (General Discussion).

2.12 In the first place, I think I should mention that a possible consultation with Member States had been suggested at one stage in the Working Party, and that the Commission discussed the matter.

2.13 After due reflection, the Commission decided to discard the idea of any formal consultation with Member States; but it was pointed out, on behalf of the Director-General, that those States would have two opportunities of expressing their views on the appraisal documents - the first before, during and immediately after the General Conference, on the basis of the preliminary study in document 10 C/10, and the second when the Director-General submits his draft report for the Economic and Social Council to the consideration of the Executive Board. The document will automatically be distributed to all the Member States, like all other Executive Board documents. This will be in the spring of next year.

2.14 Another point I would like to stress is contained in paragraph 11: the Commission discussed at length the areas of work to be covered by the appraisal. By and large, the areas listed in the Annex to document 10 C/10 were accepted, with certain modifications which the Commission felt to be important. For example, the first title "Development of international

co-operation", was amended, on the proposal of the delegate of Thailand, to read: "Development of international understanding and co-operation".

2.15 A second important change in the designation of these areas of work is mentioned under (b), and relates to area No. 5. It concerns the title in the original document, "Aid to scientific research". The Commission, on the proposal of the French delegation, decided to alter it to "Aid to research in the various branches of science".

2.16 Lastly, the title of area No. 9 was also amended, so as to read: "Free flow of information and improvement of communication media". This amplification of the title was based on a recommendation by the Programme Commission.

2.17 However, it is understood - and the Commission expressed definite views on this score - that the Director-General and the Executive Board will give further close consideration to the wording of these titles, now that the areas of work have been defined in this way by the Programme Commission.

2.18 I shall now turn to Section III of the Report, containing the Commission's recommendations. It is on this section that the plenary meeting is now asked to rule.

2.19 We begin with paragraph 17, which I think I should read to you so that you may have a clear picture of the point at issue: "The Programme Commission recommends that the General Conference take note of the report of the Working Party (Annex I to this document) and of the suggestions and comments made in Section II of the present report". Such, Mr. President, is the Programme Commission's first recommendation to the General Conference in plenary meeting.

2.20 The second is as follows: the Programme Commission "also recommends that the General Conference decide that the appraisal of Unesco's programmes should cover the following twelve areas of work: (1) development of international understanding and co-operation; (2) improvement of documentation; (3) school education; (4) out-of-school education; (5) aid to research in the various branches of science; (6) applied social sciences; (7) preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind; (8) mutual appreciation of cultural values; (9) free flow of information and improvement of communication media; (10) techniques of international training of specialists; (11) human rights; (12) development of National Commissions".

2.21 Following these recommendations, you will find in paragraphs 20 and 21 the final draft resolution summing up the whole of the discussion we had on the subject; I shall now read it:

2.22 "The General Conference,

Having taken note of resolution 1094/XI adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, of resolutions 665/C/XXIV and 694/D/XXVI adopted by the Economic and Social Council concerning the appraisal of the programmes of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies for the period 1959-1964, and of the comments presented on this subject by the Co-ordination Committee of the Economic and Social Council,

Noting with satisfaction the Director-General's preliminary study of the appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council (document 10 C/10 and Addendum),

Approves the measures adopted by the Executive Board at its 49th, 50th and 51st sessions, to ensure Unesco's full co-operation in the implementation of the decisions of the Economic and Social Council;

Invites the Director-General and the Executive Board to carry out in 1959, within the period and in accordance with the procedure established by the Executive Board, and with due regard for any developments that may take place within the competent organs of the United Nations, an appraisal of Unesco's programmes;

(a) Following the methods adopted in the Director-General's preliminary study;

(b) Due regard being had to the principles contained in resolution IV.3.21 adopted by the General Conference at its eighth session; and

(c) Taking account of the observations and recommendations formulated by the Programme Commission and its various bodies during the present session of the General Conference with regard to the principles set forth in the conclusions of the preliminary study; and with special reference to the following directives:

(i) Unesco, in preparing and implementing its programme, should establish the closest co-operation with international non-governmental organizations specializing in the various sectors of education, science and culture;

(ii) When adopting new Major Projects, Unesco should take into consideration the urgent needs of the interested Member States and the resources available, and should be guided by past experience and progress achieved in the execution of the Major Projects now in progress;

(iii) Unesco should concentrate its efforts successively on certain particular fields of activity;

(iv) Unesco should limit the duration of its obligations in respect of regional centres and institutes by concluding in regard to them agreements - renewable if necessary - upon the expiry of which the main financial responsibility would be transferred by agreement either to the Member States concerned or to other institutions.

Requests the Director-General, when making an approximate estimate of the costs involved in the implementation of a planned development of the programme, to base this estimate on the following factors and to indicate their relative importance in so far as the requirements of comparability with the other Agencies will allow:

(a) The cost of projecting into the period 1961-1964 the programme as approved by the tenth session of the General Conference;

(b) The extra cost of implementing additional or expanded programme items recommended in the course of the appraisal;

(c) The savings resulting from reducing or discontinuing programme items whose continuation at the present level is shown in the course of the appraisal to be no longer justified; and

Invites the Director-General to transmit to the Economic and Social Council the appraisal of Unesco's programmes, to circulate this appraisal to Member States, and to report to the General Conference, at its eleventh session, on any observations and recommendations that may have been made by the Economic and Social Council as a result of the discussion of the general report on the appraisal of the programmes of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies".

3.23 I have the honour, Mr. President, to ask you to put the various recommendations in Section III of this Report before the plenary meeting of the General Conference, for its approval.

3.1 The PRESIDENT:
I thank the Rapporteur, Mr. de Hoog, for his very precise and detailed report on the position of the Programme Commission in regard to this question.
3.2 I think the questions raised in the Report may involve giving wider scope to Unesco's activities and will shed light not only on the present position of Unesco but on its future activities, I should therefore like to invite delegates to make comments on this Report.
3.3 I call upon Mr. Navratil, delegate of Czechoslovakia.

4.1 Mr. NAVRATIL (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Czechoslovak delegation, in presenting draft resolution 10 C/DR/10, wished to draw the Conference's attention to the responsibilities and duties which it considers to be incumbent on the Organization, as the supreme international body for education, science and culture, as regards the social, moral and cultural effects of the release of atomic energy, that prodigious discovery of human genius, and the consequences which would flow from its misdirection.
4.2 This draft resolution was submitted to the Programme Commission, which decided, following a motion presented by the United States of America under Rule 75 of the Rules of Procedure, to adjourn consideration of it for the term of the tenth session of the General Conference. The reason advanced for such adjournment is the same as that mentioned in the Director-General's note to the draft resolution in document 10 C/5 Rev. Addendum III, namely, that the proposal seems to fall within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The Director-General added, however, that certain aspects of it are in keeping with Unesco's programme.
4.3 The Czechoslovak draft resolution duly recognizes the work of scientific institutions in the field of atomic energy, and especially of the work of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation which was set up under resolution 913/X adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 3 December 1955. It also notes the conclusions reached in the Committee's report to the effect that "radioactive contamination resulting from explosions of nuclear weapons constitutes a growing increment to world-wide radiation levels" and that (I quote from the Committee's report) "even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to produce deleterious genetic, and perhaps also somatic, effects". The Czechoslovak draft resolution goes on to welcome the initiative taken by certain Member States for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and recommends that the General Conference invite the other Member States to support this initiative, with its ultimate prospect of a ban on the use of nuclear and mass extermination weapons.
4.4 It is true that the United Nations is considering the technical and political aspect of this problem and of international arrangements for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests; but there is no duplication with with its programme in the present case, since, to my knowledge, it has not so far adopted a resolution having the same object as the Czechoslovak draft resolution.
4.5 My delegation is not pressing for the latter's inclusion in the programme of plenary meetings of this session of the General Conference, for it has no desire to introduce a controversial subject into the Conference's final deliberations. Nevertheless, we feel obliged to raise this point, in view of its crucial importance for the future activities of our Organization, now on the threshold of this new phase in its history.
4.6 We are faced by a capital question - whether, and how far and in what form, Unesco should concern itself with the particularly grave problems confronting mankind on the universal plane. Our point is that the United Nations set up Unesco to act as the supreme body for education, science and culture; but how can it carry out its functions if it ignores man's gravest problems, such as that of the harmful consequences of scientific progress?
4.7 This is the question which the Czechoslovak delegation puts to the competent bodies and individuals in Unesco, having particularly in mind the Organization's future activities. Czechoslovakia, in reassessing the importance and moral influence of our Organization, asks itself this question too. On the reply to this question will depend the adaptation of our work to the concrete realities which Unesco's activities should reflect. The Czechoslovak delegation requests that its statement be included in the records of this plenary meeting.

5. The PRESIDENT: I
I thank the delegate of Czechoslovakia. I now call upon Sir Edward Boyle, delegate of the United Kingdom.

6.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):
Mr. President, I have very much pleasure in supporting the resolution which was so very ably outlined to us by the delegate of the Netherlands, as Special Rapporteur of the Programme Commission. The initiative of the General Assembly of the United Nations in calling for an appraisal by the Economic and Social Council of the work of each of the Specialized Agencies, has been welcomed in the United Kingdom. We have also learned with pleasure that it is Unesco's Director-General who, working in close co-operation with the Executive Board, has been the first to make a positive response to this initiative. It seems to us in the United Kingdom that such an appraisal as this, if carried out in a manner designed to lay the foundations for sound and considered programmes, would be of great advantage and great assistance. Indeed, in no instance is such an appraisal more needed than in respect of Unesco, which deals in the intangible values to which finance ministers, and perhaps ministers of most governments, find it difficult to apply a generally agreed standard and system of measurement. I should hope, too, that such an appraisal would be widely studied by members of parliament and by public opinion in our Member countries. I recall that the last time we debated the work of the Specialized Agencies in the United Kingdom, in the House of Commons, was on an afternoon immediately following an all-night sitting; there was not a very large attendance.

I should hope that such an appraisal as this might give an occasion for a longer and a more successful debate.

6.2 I am therefore very happy to note the terms of the draft resolution to which I have pleasure in according the full support of the United Kingdom. It is my hope that the work of the appraisal so promptly begun by the Director-General and the Executive Board will be carried out with the closest attention to the terms of this draft resolution. If so, the appraisal will help us all in our respective countries to make the background, and indeed some of the foreground, of Unesco's work better understood by public opinion. It can also help us to explain, to those in each of our countries who have responsibility for national finances, just how the financial resources are assigned to this objective; why more emphasis is placed on one part of the programme than another; where savings can be made on activities which have proved disappointing; and what additional work Unesco could advantageously take on if its resources were increased.

6.3 In short, I should like to congratulate the Director-General and the Executive Board on the speed and on the manner of their approach to this appraisal exercise, and I should like to support this draft resolution which will give them excellent guidance on completing a task which can prove of the very greatest value to our Organization.

6.4 Now I have listened with interest to what the delegate of Czechoslovakia had to say. My only comment on his remarks would be this: the United Nations General Assembly has before it at this moment a report from the Scientific Committee on Radiation. I know that careful consideration is being given by all countries represented in the General Assembly to just what resolution should be moved in the light of this important report; I do think, therefore, that we must be very careful indeed, in Unesco, not ourselves to adopt any contentious resolution or behave in any way that will result in some inconsistency between our proceedings in Unesco and the proceedings in the General Assembly. I think that is the only comment I would like to make on what the Czechoslovak representative has just said.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Sir Edward and have the honour of calling upon Mr. de Alba, delegate of Mexico.

8.1 Mr. de ALBA (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, my delegation attaches great importance to the document submitted to our consideration, for the Commission has replied with great tact and ability to questions that were in the air and to certain aspirations in the minds of some of the members who would like to see Unesco's work assume a concrete and more definite character. As to the charges of dispersal of activities, the Working Party on Appraisal and the Programme Commission have answered them through the medium of this lucid and down-to-earth document - which we should not, however, treat with inflexible rigidity, for many of the ideas expressed in it, and even those which have just been presented to this gathering by the delegate of Czechoslovakia, can find a place in Unesco's work if these appraisals of the programme are applied in a broad and elastic manner.

8.2 Space is given, in summary form, to most aspects of the work to be developed by Unesco. We, while agreeing with the document as such, would like to suggest that its means of application be extended to cover certain contingent fields which could not be included in a document of this type.

8.3 For example, there is a phenomenon which has become evident during the course of these meetings of the General Conference - anxiety to achieve something definite and concrete during the Conference, to the degree of focusing attention almost entirely on the Programme and Administrative Commissions and overlooking some of the other functions of a cultural, technical, philosophical and scientific nature which should rightly be given consideration at these Unesco Conferences, as the forum most suitable for this to be done.

8.4 And here the non-governmental organizations could render Unesco a signal service by taking it upon themselves - during the intervals or intermissions in the work of the Conference, when there are no plenary meetings where activities are necessarily reduced to the formulation of documents and resolutions - to organize seminars and round tables at which ideas would be exchanged and individual principles advanced, such as might later serve as the framework for Unesco's general cultural programme.

8.5 This is not a matter which calls for any changes in what we are here about to approve. The General Conference, without sinning against administrative requirements, could, I suggest, allow itself to be the occasion for other meetings arranged for the purpose of exchanging ideas at a higher and broader level, the strictly administrative considerations being then, to some extent, set aside. We have seen for ourselves the organization and resounding success of the round table of Nobel Prize winner notabilities - "stars", we might say - who held several outstandingly important meetings in this very hall, with repercussions in Paris and throughout the world. Why not consider the possibility of some of the non-governmental organizations recognized by Unesco making themselves responsible for organizing conferences, exchanges or round-table discussions during each General Conference while the working commissions are discharging their admittedly very time-consuming tasks? This is a matter, I feel, which comes within the scope of the proposal that we are examining at this moment.

8.6 Appreciative reference is also made to co-operation with the other international agencies. I would like to recall, in this connexion, the fact that the United Nations organized the atomic science conferences which took place in Geneva on its direct and strictly exclusive responsibility. I submit that both Unesco and the International Atomic Energy Agency should have had a share in these, for the subject comes within the scope and competence of each of them.

8.7 I believe, too, that the two Geneva conferences - even if regarded as purely exploratory - yielded significant and striking results, and submit that in order to systematize this work and assemble all this information in the interests of scientific research - as specified by our programme in various connexions - the Programme Commission, as well as the Executive

Board and Secretariat of Unesco, should consider how Unesco and the Vienna Agency could take part in, and perhaps even make themselves responsible for organizing, these atomic conferences which have so far been very successful but have proceeded in a rather inchoate and exuberant manner, as witness the fact that at the last one 6,000 studies and papers were presented of which only 5 or 10% could be dealt with, the general mass being left for publication in the records.

8.8 I feel that the time has come when Unesco could assume a leading and guiding rôle as regards these atomic conferences, in concert with the Vienna Agency.

8.9 With regard to the training of international technicians, the Vienna Agency, at every meeting held, complains of the lack of technicians in the fields of nuclear science, physics and mathematics, and pleads the extreme urgency of establishing fellowships to enable the underdeveloped countries to become familiar with this rugged and difficult territory. And it is precisely here that Unesco can co-operate with the Vienna Agency and make itself jointly responsible with it to the United Nations for conducting this work and organizing those conferences; My impression is, in fact, that the United Nations has created much concern and alarm among scientists on account of the broad and general manner in which it has so far conducted operations in this field. However, if the desired results are to be achieved and consolidated, it is essential to have the participation of the specialized technical bodies which, as their very names imply, ought to be brought in to strengthen the limited and - if we may use the term - amorphous efforts of the United Nations.

8.10 A place of honour is occupied, in our programme, by everything relating to Unesco's work in the field of human rights and the application of the principles governing that wonderful Declaration of ten years ago. Here again, I feel, there is plenty of scope for action by Unesco in support of these rights, and for their concrete application in so valid a field as respect for the national minorities in various countries - great care being taken, in this respect, to ensure that those minorities are not prejudiced by persistent educational procedures which often result in education imposed by a majority on a minority. On the other hand, if the principle set forth in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is observed, both the national minorities and the countries or regions under trusteeship should receive equal assurance that human rights will be applied as regards education and as regards children and young people.

8.11 I throw out these suggestions as pendants to the document which we are now studying; I feel that these side-aspects are all apposite to this document which we are about to approve, and hope that they will be taken into account and also included in the record of this meeting, so that consideration can be given to possible ways of applying them in the interval between one General Conference and another.

8.12 For all these reasons therefore we hope that, in applying the programme which is being submitted to us this morning, it will be recognized that a certain elasticity is needed in order to explore new avenues and discover new channels whereby Unesco can impress itself as the most authoritative centre of culture within the United Nations family.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. de Alba. I call upon Mr. Maxwell Rabb, delegate of the United States of America.

10.1 Mr. RABB (United States of America):

Mr. President, I should like to join my fellow delegates in commending the Report presented by Mr. de Hoog. The appraisal, to which the Director-General, his staff and the Programme Commission have given such careful thought, helps all of us gain a clearer view of the challenge before us, of the means at our disposal, and of the obstacles in our way. Yesterday afternoon the delegate of the Philippines commented incisively upon Unesco's rôle as an advocate of a fifth freedom, he referred to the "Freedom from Ignorance".

10.2 In considering the scope and the trend of the Unesco programme for the next few years, the concept of the delegate of the Philippines might well serve as a guiding concept, for it seems to me that Unesco is dealing with two kinds of ignorance. The first is man's ignorance of his environment, of the world around him, of the seasons and the tides, of the soil and the sea, of the space around his globe. The second is man's ignorance of himself and of his fellowmen, of his emotions, of his instincts, of his attitudes and of his fears. At this Conference we have attempted in several ways to deal with man's ignorance of his environment. We have stressed the need for action at the highest intellectual level of scholarship and research. This is illustrated by our efforts to stimulate additional research on problems of arid zones, on the humid tropics, and on the problems of oceanography. Perhaps it is in this area, overcoming ignorance of his environment, that man has made the greatest progress to date.

10.3 At another level, we have approved the beginning of surveys of basic educational needs, to be carried out in Africa, the Middle East and in Asia. These efforts look towards the improvement of primary, secondary and technical education - the basic tools by which man overcomes the ignorance hampering his progress. In an earlier statement at the Conference, I expressed the hope that the nations of the earth might undertake the elimination of illiteracy in a single generation; I hope we will not regard this suggestion as an idle dream. If the nations of the world would apply to this task the same imagination and effort that they are now applying to the elimination of malaria, the goal might indeed be achieved. The responsibility for mobilizing this attack on ignorance, on a world scale, rests squarely on Unesco.

10.4 The other type of ignorance with which Unesco must deal is of a different order - man's ignorance of himself and of his fellowmen. Recently, in an article in the "New York Times", the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, described this type of ignorance as the tragic paradox of our age: man's inability to master himself, at a time when he is acquiring mastery of the universe. Our progress at this Conference on this problem has been limited; we have made a beginning in such projects as the study of the effects of rapid industrialization on rural societies, and in the extension of social science teaching and

research in areas of the world where social science is a new discipline. The Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values is still another attempt to overcome man's ignorance of his fellowmen, and thus to help him overcome certain basic fears and prejudices which have marked man at each stage in history when he has come into contact with people of cultures different from his own. In this connexion, the delegate of France, Mr. Julien Cain, has reminded us of the place of philosophy and humanistic studies in our attempt to deal with this area of man's ignorance.

10.5 Our efforts to increase mutual understanding as one solution to man's ignorance of his fellowman rest squarely on the constitutional duty to contribute to peace and to security. Unesco is committed to the discovery of peaceful solutions to human problems, and its Constitution rejects violence as a method of achieving any human goal. We in the United States subscribe to this concept with deep sincerity and conviction. We believe that peace is promoted, not by endless repetition of the word peace, but by the deeds of men and by the motivation behind those deeds. If peace is to be promoted through international efforts, such as those of Unesco, one further condition is necessary - this is the condition of free communication among peoples.

10.6 In this Conference we have referred to the free flow of ideas and of information as "the doctrine of the open mind". By this we mean the free flow of ideas and information without qualification of any kind. Unesco has demonstrated that it can be a powerful force in helping to remove many types of barriers to freedom of communication. But only the Member States themselves can open or close the channels of communication to their own peoples. Communication is not free if textbooks are twisted to present only a single point of view to the youth of a nation; communication is not free if libraries are non-existent or inaccessible to the public; communication is not free if customs barriers prevent the movement of educational, scientific and cultural materials across national boundaries; communication is not free if any nation interferes with the transmission of radio signals. All these matters lie at the heart of Unesco's work. We can take satisfaction in progress achieved, yet, whatever our satisfaction with our work at this Conference, it is clear to all of us that there is a tremendous gap between Unesco's objectives and its means.

10.7 If we regard the means at our disposal, only in terms of the $26,000,000 Unesco will have for its use within the next two years, and only in terms of the Secretariat in Paris, then our task would be without bright hope. It is only if all of us, Secretariat and Member States alike, view these means as but a part of the whole that our task becomes manageable. We must add to these resources located in Paris the efforts of the Member States themselves, of our governments, of our National Commissions, our non-governmental organizations, and our teachers and scholars and scientists. For Unesco's task is one which transcends national boundaries or the views of a single State. It is a task to which all men can make a contribution and from which all men can derive a reward. For our part, we in the United States believe that the promise of Unesco justifies a steadily increasing individual and national effort, as experience gained and as the value of programmes have demonstrated. We are prepared to support a growing, expanding programme in order that the fifth freedom, "Freedom from Ignorance", will not be an idle dream, but an obtainable goal.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Rabb and have the honour of calling upon Mr. Julien Cain, delegate of France.

12.1 Mr. CAIN (France):

We are all very happy, Mr. President, that this discussion has ensued on the Report before us and that it was able to develop on the lines we have just seen.

12.2 The fact is that at the previous meetings we had been led to vote, without discussion, on a number of resolutions which had been studied in the working parties and in the Programme Commission itself. No major discussion had occurred here. However, the normal course of events would have been for exchanges of views of a high order to have been initiated from this rostrum, and in the present case the speakers who have preceded me have in fact placed the discussion of the Special Report before us on a very high level.

12.3 The reason for this may be that the work we have embarked upon was very well prepared - a circumstance for which we must thank the Director-General and the Secretariat, who have presented us with an excellent document, carefully thought out in its various sections, which has enabled a very concrete discussion to take place within the Commission. During that discussion, very tolerantly presided over by the Chairman of the Programme Commission, we were able to make certain changes which we considered important; the delegate of the United States has been good enough to remind us that we were thus able to introduce, in particular, a very important amendment to the item concerning aid to research, which is a capital one, and that we were able to extend the coverage of that aid to the whole of the sciences, without differentiating between natural sciences, human sciences and social sciences.

12.4 It is therefore clear that we were able to work with a great deal of confidence; these three meetings were to my mind the most interesting of this Conference, and the Rapporteur has given us a completely true and faithful picture of what transpired. But the fact I want to stress above all is that the work we have done is an example of collaboration between Unesco and the Economic and Social Council, and that we have thereby proved that we were able to reply to the specific questions put to us. This is a precedent to which we should adhere from every point of view and from which we can - and should - draw practical consequences. We shall undoubtedly be able to take advantage of it to draw attention to the smallness of the means at our disposal, and it will, in particular, be a useful weapon for our representatives to use when the question of the appropriations made available to Unesco for technical assistance comes up for discussion.

12.5 The document shows beyond a doubt that wide vistas are open on all sides. The stress has been laid on essentials, to the exclusion of detail. These twelve items are something we must ponder over. The National Commission should also get to know and

study them. They will be able to derive inspiration in them, and our representatives - I repeat, those who speak in our name at the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations - will be able to say that Unesco is ready and willing to tackle the vastest problems, and does not work in a vacuum.

12.6 In conclusion, I would like to say that the two discussions which took place during the three days when the Programme Commission met, together with the discussion which is now coming to a close here, are happy moments in the history of this tenth session of the Conference; that Unesco has here, we are convinced, performed a highly useful operation of self-analysis, and has opened channels toward future progress.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Mr. Cain for his statement. I call upon the honourable delegate of Liberia.

14. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after studying the reports of the two major Commissions and the Report of the Working Party on the Appraisal of Unesco's work, my delegation is convinced that there is need for a revamping of the administrative machinery of Unesco. We hold the view that the Executive Board acts and makes recommendations to the Director-General and the General Conference on the basis of the findings of these survey committees, which in most instances are approved by the General Conference. This means, therefore, that Unesco is run merely on the decisions of eight or ten individuals of the Executive Board. This fact is very important to my delegation, especially so, since there are regions of the world that are not represented on the Board. My delegation, therefore, would like to suggest that the procedures of the administrative machinery of Unesco be altered so as to augment the Executive Board to about 30 or 40 members, so that all major regions of the world shall be represented on the Board. In that event, the General Conference would be held at intervals of three years rather than two years. We feel that such a procedure would make for a truer representation of the membership of Unesco in the running of the Organization.

15.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of Liberia. Is there no other speaker who wishes to make any comment?

15.2 Since there is no other speaker, I should like to proceed to the voting. The Report consists of three parts. Sections I and II, the Introduction and the General Discussion, will be voted on together.

15.3 Is there any opposition to these two Chapters? Adopted.

15.4 We come now to Section III - Recommendations of the Programme Commission. I should like to put to the vote, first, paragraphs 17, 18 and 19.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

15.5 Paragraphs 17, 18 and 19 are therefore adopted by 52 votes in favour, none against, and one abstention.

15.6 We proceed to vote on the next item, paragraphs 20 and 21.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

15.7 Paragraphs 20 and 21 are adopted by 54 votes in favour, none against and one abstention.

15.8 In concluding the business I should like to pay tribute again, on behalf of the General Conference, to the Chairman, Dr. Beeby, for his excellent work; my deep thanks go also to Mr. de Hoog for his admirable presentation of the Report.

THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION: HEADQUARTERS QUESTIONS

15.9 We come now to items 16 to 20 of the agenda (documents 10 C/73 Rev. and Corr.). The Report will be presented by Mr. Baugniet, delegate of Belgium.

16.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, as Mr. Illá, Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission, has had to leave the Conference, the task of presenting the Report to you revolves upon the Commission's Chairman.

16.2 The Administrative Commission held 24 meetings, between 6 November and 2 December. You have already taken decisions on the Commission's first two reports - the first concerning the right to vote of China, which you adopted at your meeting of 10 November, and the second concerning methods of financing the budget and the provisional spending level, which was submitted and adopted on 12 November. The present report thus covers the various questions which had been submitted to the Commission other than the two dealt with in the two previous reports.

16.3 For a special reason which you will understand immediately, I shall ask you to begin by considering the section of the Report relating to the Permanent Headquarters, covering the concluding paragraphs of document 10 C/73 Rev., from paragraph 130 onwards, and also the Corrigendum to that document which was distributed to you this morning. The point is that some of the resolutions which the Conference will be adopting on the reports of the Headquarters Committee and the Administrative Commission on the subject of this Report may involve slight changes in some of the decisions which will be submitted for your approval. I think, therefore, that the wise course would be to begin by examining this section of the Commission's Report.

16.4 The Report of the Headquarters Committee was submitted to the Commission by its Chairman, Mr. Parra Perez; and the Commission was unanimous in wishing to express the Organization's thanks to the French authorities who had to deal with the construction of the new Headquarters building for their generous assistance. The Commission also expressed its satisfaction with the work of the Headquarters Committee and with the Committee's report to the General Conference, which it approved with certain amendments, as set forth in the Commission's report. Some delegations nevertheless criticized the decoration and certain equipment of the Headquarters building, which they felt did not exactly meet the needs of the Secretariat.

16.5 As regards the completion and financial status

of the Headquarters project, the Commission noted that construction and equipment would be completed, as recommended by the Headquarters Committee, within the budget ceiling of $9,010,000 approved by the General Conference, at its ninth session, in New Delhi. The Commission then adopted the draft resolution which you will find listed as No. 32, and which "requests the Director-General, as soon as he is in a position to do so, to submit a final statement of Headquarters expenditure" either to the Headquarters Committee, if you decide to maintain it, or, failing that, to the Executive Board.

16.6 Before asking you, Mr. President, to move the adoption of this resolution, I would like to draw attention to paragraph 142 of the document under consideration, which deals with the proposal made by the Director-General and the Executive Board that the Committee be continued. The Commission noted that "until the construction, equipment and decoration of the Headquarters building were completed, a number of problems might still arise, including those relating to finance, which could best be dealt with by the Headquarters Committee, affording the Director-General such advice as he may deem appropriate to seek". The Commission unanimously adopted, in consequence, a draft resolution - No. 36 - proposed by the Director-General, whereby the Committee's mandate would be extended until the eleventh session of the General Conference. Subsequent to the Commission's adoption of this draft resolution, however, another was submitted by the delegation of the United Kingdom (set forth in document 10 C/DR.73), which was referred by the General Committee to the Administrative Commission. It provided that the responsibilities hitherto carried by the Headquarters Committee should in future devolve upon the Executive Board. It was discussed by the Commission at its meeting yesterday afternoon and withdrawn after a discussion which, nevertheless, led to the Commission's deciding by 27 votes to none, with 8 abstentions, to recommend that the General Conference reconsider the composition of the Headquarters Committee with a view to reducing its size.

16.7 The General Conference therefore has to decide, Mr. President, whether to continue the Headquarters Committee, and, in that event, whether its size should be kept unchanged or reduced.

17.1 The PRESIDENT:

In conformity with Mr. Baugniet's request, I should like to ask the opinion of the General Conference with regard to paragraph 143, containing draft resolution No. 36, for the extension of the mandate of the Headquarters Committee until the eleventh session. Is there any opposition? Adopted.

17.2 We have now to consider paragraph 144 of document 10 C/73 Rev. Corr., which reads: "A proposal submitted by the delegation of the United Kingdom subsequent to the adoption of draft resolution No. 36, that the responsibilities hitherto carried by the Headquarters Committee devolve in future upon the Executive Board, was, after discussion, withdrawn. As a result of the discussion of the proposal, however, the Commission decided, by 27 votes to none, with 8 abstentions, to recommend that the General Conference reconsider the composition of the Headquarters Committee with a view to reducing its size". Are there any other proposals concerning the reduction of the size of this Committee? Is there no opposition to this point? I then take this recommendation as adopted.

18. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

I think there is some misunderstanding. As the Conference has just decided to extend the Headquarters Committee's mandate, it now has to rule on whether it should be reduced in size. However, as the Conference has been asked whether there are any proposals on this score and there has been no reply, I think it can be taken that the Conference has no proposals to make as regards the size of the Committee, and that the Nominations Committee should therefore present proposals with a view to filling the present twenty seats on the Committee.

19. The PRESIDENT:

Is there any further suggestion as regards the size of this Committee? I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

20.1 Mr. COWELL (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, as the United Kingdom was responsible for raising this matter, it would be in order for the United Kingdom to intervene at this point. After the Administrative Commission had decided, without opposition, to reduce the size of the Headquarters Committee, we can hardly let the matter go by default here at the General Conference itself, in plenary session. Our idea in making this proposal was that the work of the Headquarters Committee is now very considerably reduced; we all see some of the results of it around us, and we hope that the problems which will arise in the future will be small and will not require the full attention of as many as twenty members of this Conference. Our thought was that perhaps a committee of about eight would be the right size; the Chairman would be independent and you would then have seven voting members, if indeed any votes were ever necessary. I think the amount of controversy likely to occur in future is not very great and that, with eight members, business should be conducted very efficiently. I do not know whether, in order to save the time of the General Conference, the United Kingdom ought to take it upon itself to suggest who those countries might be; that is a task which perhaps the Director-General would prefer to undertake. But if we are asked to do so, and as I have the floor, I would for the sake of illustration suggest the names of the countries who, in the opinion of the United Kingdom, might best do it. I might say in explanation, that the United Kingdom has had the honour of being chosen to serve on this Committee from its beginning until its end, but, having voted the proposal to reduce it, we think we should be the first victims of the reduction, and retire. The first name that occurs to us, obviously, is that of Venezuela, whose distinguished representative here has been the Chairman of the Committee; all those who have had the pleasure and the honour of serving under him will, I am sure, be very glad to see him reappointed to conduct the business until the end.

20.2 In a similar way, I must mention our colleague from Australia by name, because he is well known to the General Conference. Mr. Gardner Davies has been the Rapporteur of the Headquarters Committee, and it would therefore be very appropriate to retain Australia on the Committee, and likewise Italy, who has served as the Vice-President of the Headquarters Committee. Those three names, I think, will encounter no opposition or no difficulty. Then, of course, the country who has provided the building and has yet to be paid for it, France, is obviously one of the countries; and that makes up half the membership. For the rest, it seems to the United Kingdom that, as a Committee of the General Conference, it would be preferable if its members were drawn as far as possible from those countries who have been the delegates resident in the building, who know very well many of the problems which are likely to arise, and from first-hand experience would know, as we say in England, "where the shoe pinches". From that point of view, we would propose the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Arab Republic and Japan. Except for the first four names we claim no special wisdom and certainly no privilege in suggesting the names. It is entirely for the General Conference to decide, but we have sought to effect a reasonable geographical distribution and to produce an efficient Committee. I hope very much that, although the United Kingdom has failed in its modest effort to refer the work to the Executive Board, it will succeed in getting agreement to reducing the size to eight members - if possible, the names which I have suggested.

21. The PRESIDENT:

A suggestion has been made by the honourable delegate of the United Kingdom that the number of the Committee be reduced to eight. Since it would not be appropriate for this meeting to decide on the names of the countries - a matter which should be dealt with by the Nominations Committee - I should like to confine our deliberations to the size of the Committee, bearing duly in mind the considerations of both geographical distribution and efficiency. The meeting will therefore take the decision only as to the size of the Committee. The proposal has been made that the size of the Committee be reduced to eight members. If there is no alternative proposal, and this motion is seconded, I shall put it to a vote. The delegation of Belgium has seconded the motion. I call upon the delegate of Liberia.

22. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):

Mr. President, my Government would very much like to see a reduction in the number of members on the Headquarters Committee, for we believe that by so doing the expenses of Unesco could be reduced. However, as there are so many hereditary members on the Committees and Commissions, I think that this Commission should be augmented to at least ten or twelve, so as to give others a chance to put forward their views.

23.1 The PRESIDENT:

The motion put forward by the delegate of Liberia that the membership of the Committee be ten has been supported by the delegation of Argentina. In conformity with the Rules of Procedure, I shall put this motion to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

23.2 The motion is therefore rejected by 18 in favour, 27 against and 8 abstentions.

23.3 We shall now put to the vote the motion of the delegate of the United Kingdom that the size of the membership of the Headquarters Committee be reduced to eight.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

23.4 The motion is adopted by 36 votes in favour, 3 against, and 19 abstentions.

24.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

I thank you, Mr. President, for having put to the Conference the points it was required to consider in connexion with the extension of the Headquarters Committee's mandate, and I would now ask the Conference to revert to paragraph 133 of the Administrative Commission's report, and to draft resolution No. 32, concerning the financial measures which should be taken in respect of the completion of the building. I would ask you, Mr. President, to be good enough to move the adoption of draft resolution No. 32.

24.2 This resolution will need amendment, in consequence of the Conference's decision to continue the Headquarters Committee, by deletion of the words "if the General Conference decides to maintain it or, failing this, to the Executive Board". The resolution would therefore read: "Requests the Director-General, as soon as he is in a position to do so, to submit a final statement of Headquarters expenditure to the Headquarters Committee and to include that statement, with such further information as he may deem appropriate, in his regular financial report to the eleventh session of the General Conference".

25.1 The PRESIDENT:

In view of Mr. Baugniet's statement, I should like to ask your opinion concerning paragraph 133, which contains draft resolution No. 32. In the light of the information given by the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, I should like to put to the vote the original draft, with the amendment suggested by him.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

25.2 Paragraph 133, as amended, is adopted by 43 votes in favour, none against, and 8 abstentions.

26.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

I now draw your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to paragraph 134 of the report: "The Commission noted that loan negotiations were in progress with the French Government to finance the completion of the Headquarters project within the budget ceiling"(mentioned in the resolution you have just adopted) "but that an advance of funds might be required for this purpose pending the outcome of these negotiations. Consequently, upon the proposal of the Director-General, amended by the delegations of Australia and the United Kingdom, the Commission unanimously adopted the following revised text of paragraph (d) in the draft resolution relating to the Working Capital Fund... in

place of the text proposed by the Executive Board". The text adopted is reproduced in the document in paragraph 134; it is part of draft resolution No. 11 on the Working Capital Fund. I do not ask the Conference to vote on this text at present; it will do so when it comes to decide on resolution No. 11. I would merely ask you to note what the Commission has done in this matter.

26.2 I now come, Mr. President, to the examination of the regulations on the utilization of the premises and installations of the Conference Building and of the offices of the permanent delegations, and the scale of rental charges.

26.3 The Commission adopted the Report of the Director-General on this subject as presented in document 10 C/45, Annex IV in accordance with the resolution adopted at the New Delhi session, with the exception of paragraphs 13, 14 and 15. These latter were replaced by a new text - adopted by 22 votes to 12, with 4 abstentions - which provides for the reimbursement of the interest due to the French Government for financing the construction of the third building, instead of the payment of a flat rent; the text of these regulations is set forth in paragraph 135. The regulations, with the amendments to which I have just referred, were adopted by 25 votes to 3, and the Commission then unanimously adopted draft resolution No. 33, which had been submitted by the Headquarters Committee and relates to the financial arrangements provided for in the regulations drawn up by the Director-General.

26.4 I would therefore ask you, Mr. President, to inquire of the Conference whether it has any comments to make, and then to move the adoption of draft resolution No. 33.

27.1 The PRESIDENT:

Are there any comments on this resolution? I should like to put to the vote draft resolution No. 33.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

27.2 The resolution is adopted by 47 votes in favour, one against, and one abstention.

28. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Would you also be good enough, Mr. President, to ask the Conference to rule on the amendments proposed by the Administrative Commission to the regulations approved by the Director-General, and set forth in paragraphs 135 and 136 of the Report which I have the honour to present?

29.1 The PRESIDENT:

If there are no comments on paragraphs 135 and 136, I shall put them to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

29.2 Paragraphs 135 and 136 are adopted by 40 votes in favour, 1 against, with no abstentions.

30. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission went on to examine the question of the possible construction, on the Headquarters site, of an underground garage. The subject is referred to in paragraphs 138 and 139 of its Report. While recognizing the desirability of providing adequate parking space in the Headquarters precincts, especially in view of the wishes of the City of Paris, the Commission felt that the information before it on the possibilities of financing the construction of an underground garage did not permit the General Conference to reach a decision in the matter. The Commission accordingly adopted the draft resolution proposed by the Headquarters Committee, with the simple addition of the words "if he deems it appropriate" in the final paragraph. The text is given as draft resolution No. 34. The Commission adopted it by 43 votes to none, with 2 abstentions, and I would be grateful if you, Mr. President, would ask the Conference to vote on draft resolution No. 34.

31.1 The PRESIDENT:

I put to the vote resolution No. 34.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.2 The resolution is adopted by 43 votes in favour, none against, with 5 abstentions.

32.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then went into the question of the allocation of premises in the additional building; this point is dealt with in paragraphs 140 and 141 of its Report. The Commission recognized that the space available in the additional building would be unlikely to meet the probable needs of the Secretariat, permanent delegations, the United Nations and international non-governmental organizations. It noted the recommendation of the Headquarters Committee that international non-governmental organizations previously accommodated at Unesco House should continue to be accommodated at the Permanent Headquarters, at least until 31 December 1959. It then invited the Programme Commission to consider the position of the international non-governmental organizations which might well be thus deprived of accommodation, and to take the necessary steps to grant them, by way of compensation, an increase in the amount of their subventions so as to enable them to cover the rental charges they would have to bear owing to accommodation no longer being available for them at Unesco House. The Programme Commission has taken note of this recommendation by the Administrative Commission and, I understand, has taken the necessary steps to meet its point. The measures proposed were approved by the Conference yesterday, in plenary meeting.

32.2 I should be glad, Mr. President, if you would ask the Conference to approve paragraphs 140 and 141 of the Administrative Commission's Report - a vote being, perhaps, dispensed with as unnecessary.

33. The PRESIDENT: Are there any other comments? Adopted.

34. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

There is one last paragraph, in the same section of the Commission's Report, which should be brought to the attention of the Conference and on which it should express its opinion: "The Commission took

note of the recommendation of the Headquarters Committee that the Director-General set up an advisory committee to give him expert advice on a continuing basis in matters concerning the acceptance of future offers of works of art, the choice of furniture, and the preservation of the Headquarters buildings and the works of art already installed. On the proposal of the delegation of Australia, the Commission expressed its hope that, in considering the acceptance of gifts, the Director-General would find it possible to accept works of art from regions of the world whose art was not yet represented in the Headquarters building".

This final observation concludes what I have to say on the section of the Commission's Report relating to the Headquarters Committee.

35.1 The PRESIDENT:

I would request the Conference to take note of this paragraph.

35.2 I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Baugniet for his very efficient work and his excellent presentation of the proceedings of the Commission.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

TWENTY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING

3 December 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Mohammed EL FASSI (Morocco)

CONTENTS

Third Report of the Administrative Commission (continued): Financial, legal and related questions 274

THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION (continued): FINANCIAL, LEGAL AND RELATED QUESTIONS

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The twenty-second plenary meeting is open. I call upon Mr. Baugniet, Chairman of the Administrative Commission, to continue his presentation of the Report, which he began this morning.

2.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, gentlemen, we will turn, if you permit, to the financial and budgetary questions, dealt with in document 10 C/73 Rev., Section B, the sixth and subsequent paragraphs. The first question we considered was the scale of contributions of Member States for 1959-1960. The Director-General's representative indicated to the Commission the changes made in the United Nations Scale of Assessments since the ninth session of the General Conference. In the light of the information supplied to it, the Commission discussed the manner in which the Unesco scale for 1959-1960 should be drawn up.

2.2 It was generally agreed that, as in the past, Unesco's scale should be based upon the United Nations scale, suitably adjusted to take account of the difference in membership in the two Organizations. The Commission considered the question whether the scale should be drawn up in such a way as to provide for three decimal places, and heard from the Director-General's representative the reasons why the United Nations Committee on Contributions had recommended against such a procedure. The Commission also considered whether it should fix a minimum percentage for Unesco contributions and agreed to follow the procedure adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, whereby the Unesco minimum percentage would be the figure resulting from the conversion of the United Nations minimum into a Unesco assessment. As a result of this discussion, the Commission presents to the General Conference draft resolution No. 1, reproduced in paragraph 11 of its Report (document 10 C/73 Rev.). I shall therefore ask the President to call for comments on paragraphs 6 to 11 of Administrative Commission's Report, to request the adoption of these paragraphs, and then to take the vote on resolution No. 1.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on draft resolution No. 1? We shall put this resolution to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

3.2 Resolution No. 1 is adopted unanimously.

3.3 I would now ask you to approve that section of the Administrative Commission's Report constituted by paragraphs 6 to 11 inclusive.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

3.4 That section of the Report is adopted unanimously.

4.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

As a result of the adoption of resolution No. 1, the scale of contributions for 1959-1960 will be that shown in document 10 C/27, Part I, Annex II, Corrigendum 1.

4.2 During the discussion on the scale of contributions, the delegation of Korea drew attention to the very large increase in the percentage for Korea which the United Nations Committee on Contributions had recommended to the General Assembly. The increase was about 61%. The delegations of the various Member States not members of the United Nations pointed out that they had no opportunity of discussing the percentages proposed for them by the United Nations Committee on Contributions. It was suggested that the Director-General should draw the attention of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination to this matter. For this reason the Commission submits to the General Conference draft resolution No. 2.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Before taking a vote on this resolution, I call upon the representative of Korea.

6.1 Mr. RIM (Korea):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Republic of Korea and the Korean delegation, I wish to take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude to all the Member States and to Unesco for the constructive assistance and privileges which Unesco

has granted to Korea, through which the Korean Government, and the Korean National Commission for Unesco have been able to achieve magnificent work for the progress of science, education and culture.

6.2 Referring to paragraph 13 of the Report, the Korean delegation is most grateful to the Director-General and the Administrative Commission for taking into consideration the Korean proposal on the contribution scale.

6.3 The reason for which the Korean delegation drew the attention of the Administrative Commission to this question is this: Korea is one of the oldest countries in Asia, with four thousand years of history and culture behind it; however, in terms of democracy in the Occidental sense, Korea is too young to advance without your co-operation. Economically speaking, Korea is one of the underdeveloped countries, and is in the process of development. In addition, since Korea's unexpected disaster of 1950, she has confronted many crucial problems which have not yet been solved.

6.4 In spite of these factors, the increased percentage for Korea is the highest of all Member States which are not members of United Nations. Mr. President, we are here partners in a joint effort to lay the foundation for the international understanding and peace which are the aims of Unesco. The Korean delegation would therefore appreciate your offer of constructive co-operation in this matter.

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does any delegate wish to speak on draft resolution No. 2? We shall then take the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

7.2 The resolution is adopted by 44 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

8. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission, (Translation from the French):

We now come to the question of the currency of contributions. I would remind you that this point is dealt with in paragraphs 14 and 15 of the Report. The representative of the Director-General explained that the resolution proposed by the Director-General, and recommended by the Executive Board for adoption by the Conference, followed the same lines as the resolution adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session. Several delegations stressed the importance of allowing Member States to pay their contributions in their national currencies, and the Assistant Director-General stated that, when the letters of assessment were dispatched in 1959-1960, special attention would be drawn to the provisions in the resolution which gave such facilities to Member States. It is in the light of these considerations, that the Commission submits draft resolution No. 3 to the General Conference.

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? Then we shall take a vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

9.2 Resolution No. 3 is adopted unanimously.

10.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Paragraphs 16 and 17 of the Report deal with the collection of contributions. The Director-General's representative informed the Commission that the contributions payable by Uruguay for 1955 and 1956 had been received and that consequently, at the time of discussion, only three Member States - Bolivia, China and Paraguay - had still failed to pay their contribution and were unable to vote at the present session of the General Conference by virtue of the provisions of Article IV, C, 8(b) of the Constitution. I think I am safe in stating that Paraguay has since paid its contribution and is no longer one of the States in arrears.

10.2 As regards the special arrangements made by the General Conference at its eighth session for the payment of arrears of contributions by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland over a period of years, the Commission noted that all the instalments due up to and including those for 1958 had been received. It reviewed the question of the currency of payment of these instalments, and it recommends to the Conference the adoption of draft resolution No. 4 which provides that the annual payments due for 1959 and 1960 shall be payable in accordance with the resolution governing the payment of contributions to the 1959-1960 budget. Draft resolution No. 4 is therefore submitted to the Conference for its approval.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comments to make on this draft resolution? We shall therefore put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

11.2 Resolution No. 4 is adopted unanimously.

11.3 Paragraph 18 remains to be adopted.

12.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Paragraph 18 deals with the Director-General's Financial Report and the Report of the External Auditor on the accounts of the Organization for the financial period ending 31 December 1956.

12.2 The Commission decided to recommend to the General Conference that these two reports be received and adopted. However, some delegations drew the Commission's attention to certain transfers which had taken place from Part II to Part III during the course of the financial period under consideration, and expressed reservations with regard to this procedure. The Conference must therefore decide whether to receive and adopt the reports for the financial year 1956.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comment to make on these two questions? If not, we shall consider the reports adopted.

14.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered the Financial Report and Statements as at 31 December 1957, and the Report of the External Auditor for the same financial year.

14.2 The representative of the Director-General informed the Commission of the death of Sir Frank Tribe,

Comptroller and Auditor General of the United Kingdom, who had been the External Auditor of Unesco for the past six years. The Commission associated itself with the tribute paid to the memory of the late Sir Frank Tribe.

14.3 The Commission proposes that you approve the two reports for the financial year 1957.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): No comments? Approved.

16. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Financial Statement as at 31 December 1956, together with the Report of the External Auditor. It took note of this Report and of the resolution adopted by the Executive Board at its 49th session, and proposes that you approve the Report and instruct the Director-General to transmit it to the United Nations.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): No comment? Adopted.

18. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission also considered the Report of the External Auditor on the Statement showing the status of allocations to Unesco under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, as at 31 December 1957. It decided to submit to you a resolution approving this Report and instructing the Director-General to transmit it to the United Nations. This is draft resolution No. 5, on which I would ask the President to invite your decision.

19.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does any delegate wish to speak on draft resolution No. 5? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

19.2 Resolution No. 5 is adopted unanimously.

20.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission considered various documents relating to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, beginning with a report on the results of the management survey of the Secretariat (document 10 C/31).

20.2 The Commission paid tribute to the work done by the experts - Messrs. Frochaux (Switzerland), Bender (Netherlands) and Emmerich (United States of America). After an exchange of views on the desirability of establishing a post of Director of Administration, on the appropriate level of such a post, and on areas in which the experts' study could be pursued further, the Commission decided to recommend that you adopt draft resolution No. 6.

21.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? I am putting it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

21.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

22.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then took up Part I of the proposed programme and budget, entitled "General Policy".

22.2 The Commission's discussion centred upon the problem of reducing documentation of the General Conference. Although the Commission was unanimous in agreeing that the number and volume of documents should be kept to the minimum consistent with efficiency, there was considerable opposition to the proposed suppression of records of the General Conference in two of its working languages. The Commission nevertheless decided, by 22 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions, to recommend that the summary records of subsidiary organs of the General Conference should not be printed in the Records of the General Conference. The adoption of this recommendation by the General Conference would involve the suspension of Rules 55 and 59 of its Rules of Procedure, in so far as they require the distribution of the summary records of subsidiary organs of the General Conference in all the working languages employed by the Conference. Such suspension would need to be approved by a two-thirds majority, in accordance with Rule 81 of the Rules of Procedure.

22.3 The Commission also examined a number of recommendations made by the Reports Committee in document 10 C/9 (Part III) regarding the printing of the reports of Member States. In accepting, by 42 votes to none, with 3 abstentions, the proposal that these reports be reduced in size by the use of abstracts, the Commission wished to emphasize that particular care should be exercised in preparing the abstracts.

22.4 The Commission approved the Executive Board's recommendation that the General Conference adopt a rule, for inclusion in its Rules of Procedure, providing that estimates of cost would be submitted by the Director-General to the General Conference before the latter approved the preparation and production of new documents.

22.5 Lastly, the Commission agreed to recommend to the General Conference that the initial comments of Member States on the proposed programme and budget be presented to the Executive Board and the General Conference in condensed form, their definitive comments and/or resolutions still being presented in extenso.

22.6 For this purpose, the Commission proposes that you adopt draft resolution No. 7. I would draw the President's attention to the fact that paragraphs 1 and 2 of this draft resolution require a two-thirds majority.

23.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Before taking the vote, may I ask if any delegate wishes to make any comment on the matter dealt with in draft resolution No. 7? We shall then put this draft to the vote, on the understanding that, if it is to be adopted, the resolution must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the members voting; this applies particularly to paragraphs 1 and 2, in accordance with Rule 108 of the Rules of Procedure, which is worded as follows: "No rule of procedure may be suspended unless suspension is provided for under an

existing rule or unless the motion for suspension is adopted by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting."

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

23.2 The draft is adopted, with the requisite two-thirds majority, by 53 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions.

24. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission approved Part I of the proposed programme and budget,, with the exception of the question of documentation, by 36 votes to none, with 8 abstentions. I should like the President to submit paragraph 34 of the Commission's Report for approval.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Does anyone wish to speak on paragraph 34? Adopted.

26.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered Part III of the proposed programme and budget, entitled "General Administration". It discussed at length the Director-General's proposal, in Part III, Chapter 1A, to establish a post of Director of Administration.

26.2 Some delegations opposed the proposal on the grounds that the post was unnecessary and the additional administrative costs unwarranted. Others, while agreeing to the establishment of such a post, considered that, if the incumbent was to have the necessary authority, it should be at the Assistant Director-General level, and that the function could be performed by one of the existing officials at that level.

26.3 Yet others were of opinion that the matter should be studied again by the Executive Board and the Director-General and that new proposals should be submitted to the General Conference at its eleventh session.

26.4 The Assistant Director-General urged the Commission, in the event of its deciding to recommend further study by the Executive Board and the Director-General, to agree in principle to the establishment of the post as provided in Chapter 1A, and not to exclude action until the eleventh session of the General Conference.

26.5 On the proposal of the delegation of India, the Commission decided, by 38 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions, to recommend that the General Conference adopt draft resolution No. 8.

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Has any delegate any comments to make on this draft? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

27.2 The resolution is adopted by 49 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions.

28.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission decided to adopt Chapter 1 (Office of the Director-General), Chapter 2 (Bureau of Programme and Budget), Chapter 4 (Bureau of Personnel) and Chapter 5 (Bureau of Conference Planning and General Services).

28.2 With regard to Chapter 3 (Bureau of the Comptroller), the Commission considered a request from the Comptroller that three clerical posts be restored, on the grounds that he would be unable to handle the increased work load in 1959-1960 with a staff below its current level. The Commission decided, by 31 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions, to approve Chapter 3, with the addition of three clerical posts, together with an increase of $17,630 in the budget estimates for that Chapter, it being understood that the budget ceiling would be unaffected by this change.

28.3 I would therefore ask the President to seek the approval of the Conference for paragraphs 41 and 42 of the Administrative Commission's Report.

29.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Has anyone any comments to make on paragraphs 41 and 42 of the Administrative Commission's Report?

29.2 I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

30. Mr. ZHUKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, I should like to speak on a point of order. I do not understand why some paragraphs of the Administrative Commission's Report are being put to the vote. Now, for instance, we are being asked to vote on paragraphs 41 and 42. What exactly will our vote mean? That we are voting on those parts of the proposed programme and budget which are referred to in these paragraphs, or that we confirm the decisions taken by the Administrative Commission? This Commission has already adopted its Report and has thus approved the decisions embodied in it. Paragraphs 41 and 42 give particulars of the number of votes by which the Commission adopted each particular Chapter. Then why do we have to vote on them now? What exactly will our vote mean in legal terms? That it will alter the results of the vote taken in the Administrative Commission, or that we are approving this or that Chapter of the proposed programme and budget. Or does it mean something else? I should like to have this point made clear, Mr. President.

31. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Before calling upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, I feel I should emphasize that if the General Conference adopts a viewpoint at variance with that of the Commission, the Conference's views will prevail. Obviously, the Commission studied all the questions thoroughly, and voted on them so as to submit to us the majority's viewpoint, but we here have the duty of going over each question again and engaging in a final vote so as to adopt the resolutions in final form. I now call upon Mr. Baugniet to give you further explanations.

32.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

I do not think I have anything further to add to the explanation just given by the President. I believe it is customary to adopt a report paragraph by

paragraph and that that is the meaning of the vote - or the approval you are being requested to give.
32.2 Accordingly, if there are no other comments, I ask you to adopt these paragraphs.

33. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): No comments? Paragraphs 41 and 42 are adopted.

34. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The Commission considered Part IV, entitled "Common Services", and decided, by 26 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions, to approve it, as amended by document 10 C/5 Rev. Corr. I (paragraph 43 of the Commission's Report).

35. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak? Paragraph 43 is adopted.

36. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The Commission then considered the question of the Gift Shop, the establishment of which was proposed in document 10 C/5 Rev. After hearing from the Assistant Director-General an explanation of the purpose and proposed method of operation of the Gift Shop, the Commission decided to recommend that the General Conference adopt draft resolution No. 9.

37.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
37.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

38.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The Commission considered the administration of the Working Capital Fund, and in this connexion first took up the question of living accommodation for members of the Secretariat. The Assistant Director-General explained to the Commission the Director-General's proposals involving a loan from a bank up to $900,000 repayable over 20 years; for a construction project, and use of the Working Capital Fund up to $500,000 for direct loans and up to $100,000 to make advances against repatriation grants. The Commission also had before it the Executive Board's comments and recommendations on the Director-General's proposals.
38.2 Several delegations were opposed to use of the Working Capital Fund for granting loans to the staff.
38.3 Others queried the wisdom of embarking upon the proposed construction project and feared a repetition of some of the difficulties encountered in the course of the construction of the Headquarters building. The Commission heard a statement by the President of the Staff Association, who stressed the seriousness of the housing situation.
38.4 In the light of the opposition of most delegations to use of the Working Capital Fund, the Assistant Director-General informed the Commission that the Director-General would explore the possibility of coming to some arrangement with the Organization's bankers.
38.5 The delegation of Switzerland considered that not all possible solutions to the housing problem had been fully explored, and hoped that any further study by the Director-General would not be limited to those so far proposed. It presented a draft resolution which, with certain amendments, was adopted by the Commission by 35 votes to none, with 3 abstentions. This draft resolution - No. 10 - is now submitted to the General Conference for approval.

39.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? No one? I will put it to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
39.2 The draft resolution is adopted by 54 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

40.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The Commission then went into the matter of the Working Capital Fund. It first examined the question of the level at which the Working Capital Fund should be maintained for the period 1959-1960, and heard additional explanations as to the use that had been made of the Fund during the past five years. It noted that, as the result of budget surpluses and the Unesco Coupon Schemes, additional funds had been made available to the Organization and had to a large extent obviated the need for drawing upon the Working Capital Fund to finance budgetary expenditures.
40.2 After hearing these explanations, some delegations moved that the amount of the Working Capital Fund should be reduced to $2,000,000, but, on being put to the vote, this motion was rejected by 20 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions.
40.3 The Director-General's proposal to maintain the Fund at a figure of $3,000,000 was adopted by the Commission by 30 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions. The Commission thus proposes that you adopt draft resolution No. 11, the provisions of which are similar to those of the resolution presented on the same subject to the Conference at its 1956 session. Draft resolution No. 11 is reproduced in paragraph 54 of the Report before you.

41.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
41.2 The resolution is adopted by 50 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

42.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission) (Translation from the French):
The Commission then took up the draft Appropriation Resolution for 1959-1960. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that, in its opinion, the general increase in the budget was the result of a considerable and unjustified

increase of administrative and common service costs, and that it accordingly felt obliged to vote against the draft resolution under consideration in the Commission.

42.2 The Assistant Director-General assured the Commission that the words "and other relevant resolutions" in paragraph (e) of the draft resolution permitted the Director-General to incur obligations with respect to projects listed in Parts II and III of document 10 C/68 Add. He also assured the Commission, in connexion with paragraph (f), that any balance would be used for the programme approved by the General Conference.

42.3 With regard to paragraph (g) of the draft resolution, the Commission recommends that the Executive Board and the Director-General be invited not to make transfers from Part II to Parts I, III and IV of the programme and budget.

42.4 I would therefore request the President to call upon the Conference to adopt the Commission's recommendation reproduced in paragraph 58 and to adopt draft resolution No. 12.

43. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this question? I call upon the delegate of the Philippines?

44.1 Mr. BOCOBO (Philippines) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President, the delegation of the Philippines is pleased to note that in Chapters 4 and 4A of the proposed programme sums have been set aside both for cultural activities and for the appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. In these undertakings we can discern the loftiest mission of our great Organization. Mutual understanding of the religions and philosophical systems of different parts of the world can break down the barriers of prejudice which divide the peoples.

44.2 For instance, the whole world should know that the Korean teaches tolerance, as we can find out for ourselves in Sura 2, paragraph 22. Likewise, all men should understand the rationalism of Buddhism, since, according to the Buddha's teachings, no one should accept Dharma or the gospel out of mere reverence, but all should put it to the test, just as gold is tested by fire. The basic tenets of Buddhism are not so very different from those of other religions. For instance, it teaches that suffering, which is an integral part of life, is caused by the desire for selfish pleasures.

44.3 The world should also understand that the wealth of Vedas and Upanishads of India can give greater depth to the philosophical concepts on which the culture of other parts of the world is based.

44.4 Lastly, the philosophy of Confucius, which has wielded so strong an influence over the lives of more than half a billion people, should be more widely spread. I should like to quote to you a few of Confucius' typical sayings. In one place he says: "Learning undigested by thought is labour lost. Thought unassisted by learning is perilous." In another: "The superior man thinks of virtue. The mean man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of principles, but the small man thinks of the favours he can receive". Elsewhere he says: "Those who only know the truth do not reach to the heights of those who love it".

44.5 These writings, Mr. President, and these works on religion and philosophy constitute an imperishable monument to man's spiritual and intellectual aspirations. Although they originated in different parts of the world, they have all sprung from a common fund of human thought and feeling. All this heritage of religion and philosophy should sweep forward like a stream, bearing the riches of moral and spiritual excellence down to the valleys of culture, so as to enhance the dignity and nobility of human life.

44.6 It is lamentable that this stream of pure, fresh and cleansing water should have been dammed up by the walls of prejudice and intolerance, so that it has not been able to reach all parts of the earth. To break down these walls, Mr. President, is the sacred mission of our great Organization, from which it must not turn aside.

45.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the Chairman of the Philippines delegation for the lofty thoughts he has just expressed. Before putting paragraph 58 and draft resolution No. 12 to the vote, I should draw attention to a small typing error in the English text of the draft resolution: under Part V (Undistributed Appropriation) the 1959 figure should read $599,167 instead of $359,167.

45.2 Does anyone object to the adoption of paragraph 58, reporting the Commission's recommendation that the Executive Board and the Director-General be invited not to make transfers from Part II to Parts I, III and IV of the programme and budget? No objection? Adopted.

45.3 We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolution No. 12.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

45.4 The resolution is adopted by 46 votes to 9, with 2 abstentions.

45.5 I call upon Mr. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General.

46. Mr. ADISESHIAH, Assistant Director-General: Mr. President, since paragraph 58 of the Report has been adopted, I wish to state, on behalf of the Director-General, that this paragraph was set forth at my request as a recommendation and not as legislation. The Director-General will attempt to carry it out, bearing in mind any subsequent decisions the General Conference may take with regard to Part III of the budget.

47. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Baugniet.

48.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French): The Commission turned to the question of administrative costs. A point stressed by many delegations during the discussion of Parts I, III and IV of the proposed programme and budget, and of the Director-General's report on the results of the Management Survey of the Secretariat, was the need for keeping down the costs of the Organization's administrative services.

48.2 In the light of various comments frequently made in the Commission, the latter decided to include the question of administrative costs on its

agenda. Some delegations considered that administrative costs should be reduced. Others, while agreeing that they should be kept to a minimum, pointed out that administrative services were essential for the proper implementation of the programme and that what was required was a proper balance between administrative costs and programme operations.

48.3 It was generally recognized that the crux of the question was the definition of administrative costs, on the one hand, and of programme operations on the other; so far, there had been no such definition.

48.4 In the light of this discussion, the Commission drew up draft resolution No. 13, which it submits to the General Conference for approval.

49.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

49.2 The resolution is adopted by 54 votes to 3.

50.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission considered, in the course of several meetings the various legal questions referred to it, beginning with proposals for amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, submitted by the Executive Board in implementation of resolutions adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session.

50.2 The Commission considered certain proposed amendments to Rule 10A, paragraph 2, and to Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, as well as to Article 3.4 of the Financial Regulations. The amendments in question, set forth in paragraphs 5 and 7 of document 10 C/38, were rendered necessary by a decision of the General Conference at its ninth session, the effect of which was to alter the time-limits for the transmission of certain important proposals relating to the proposed programme and budget submitted to the General Conference, or to the budget ceiling proposed by the Director-General. The purpose of the proposed amendments to Rule 10A, paragraph 2 of the Rules of Procedure and to Article 3.4 of the Financial Regulations was to secure co-ordination of the time-limits for submission of proposals relating to the budget ceiling and to amendments to the proposed programme, on the one hand, and for the dispatch of the proposed programme and budget to Member States, on the other.

50.3 The proposed amendments to Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure reflected the desire expressed by the Executive Board that different time-limits be established for the submission of proposals for fixing the budget ceiling and of proposals for amending the programme, in such a way that Member States might know of the various proposals for amending the programme before the final date fixed for the submission of proposals concerning the budget ceiling. The Commission considered a report of the Legal Committee on these proposed amendments, and approved it. The Commission accordingly recommends that the General Conference adopt the proposed amendments to Rules 10A, paragraph 2, and Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, as well as Article 3.4 of the Financial Regulations. These amendments are set forth in draft resolutions Nos. 14 and 15.

51. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Has anyone any comments to make on draft resolution No. 14? I call upon the delegate of France.

52.1 Mr. FRANCOIS (France) (Translation from the French):

The French delegation considers that draft resolution No. 14 contains two provisions of basic importance for the work of National Commissions; but, in its opinion, these provisions are contradictory.

52.2 The first is set forth in paragraph (a), reading "Replace Rule 10, A, paragraph 2, by the following ...". The draft resolution extends the time-limit, which the various States now have for consideration of the proposed programme and budget drawn up by the Secretariat and the Executive Board, from two to three months. We cannot but adopt this paragraph, as it gives National Commissions more time for their study of the final proposals.

52.3 It is customary in the French National Commission for each of its working committees to give very close study to the proposals made in each department; that is a prerogative to which our National Commission is firmly attached, and there is no doubt that this first provision works out to the advantage of Member States. But in the amendments to Rule 78, (page 23 of the English text), we find that the time-limit for the sending of Member States' proposals for amendments to the draft programme involving a budgetary change, is extended from six to nine weeks.

52.4 We likewise find that States are obliged to send, three weeks earlier than before, any proposed amendment of any importance, and any resolution entailing a budgetary change. If we consider how this affects a country such as France, we can see that, in practice, France will not be able in future to submit any amendments of any kind; for if the time-limit is nine weeks and the General Conference opens early in November, all proposed amendments would have to be sent in before 1 September. Now the text before us simply states that we shall receive documents in any case by 1 August. I do not see how, between 1 and 31 August, it will be possible for us to get together any working committee of the National Commission, for in France - and in many other countries, too, I think - August is traditionally a holiday month.

52.5 If we go back to the six-week time-limit, we shall be able, between 10 and 20 September, to convene working committees and to arrive at conclusions which will thus be of great value. Accordingly, we wonder to what extent the amendments submitted to us will not have the effect, purely and simply, of robbing National Commissions of their right to examine and criticize the Secretariat's proposals. I therefore have the honour, on behalf of the French delegation, to request that the six-week time-limit, contained in the existing Rules and always applied hitherto, be simply restored.

53.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone else wish to speak on this question?

53.2 Before the vote is taken on the amendment

proposed by the French delegation, I call upon the Assistant Director-General.

54. Mr. ADISESHIAH, Assistant Director-General: Mr. President, I have no comment to make on the amendment proposed by the delegate of France, who wishes to change Rule 73.2 from nine weeks to six weeks; that is for the General Conference to decide. But I do wish to give you one piece of information on the statement made by the delegation of France. Rule 10.A, which you will be adopting in draft resolution No. 14, states that the draft programme and budget must be in the hands of Member States and Associate Member States at least three months before the opening date of the Conference. If the opening date of the Conference is 5 November, then three months before that would mean 5 August. The draft programme and budget should be in the hands of Member States at least by 5 August, but this does not mean that it will be in your hands on 5 August; you will see in a report which you will receive tomorrow, that the Director-General is proposing to see that you receive the draft programme and budget on 15 June. I therefore want to assure the Conference that we will not take advantage of this Rule by sending the draft programme and budget at the last possible moment. However, having said this, I should go on to say that the proposal made by the delegation of France, that we return to the six weeks' rule rather than that of nine weeks, is something that you will have to decide on. If you make that change, there are some consequential changes upon which the Legal Adviser will advise you after you have made the decision.

55.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Is the French delegation satisfied with the Assistant Director-General's explanations? ... I shall put to the vote the French delegation's amendment to the effect that in draft resolution No. 14, (b), paragraph 2, line 4, the words "nine weeks" be replaced by "six weeks".

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

55.2 The amendment is adopted by 34 votes to 19, with 6 abstentions.

55.3 We shall now vote on the whole resolution. Mr. Baugniet has asked us to vote on draft resolutions Nos. 14 and 15; but we shall first vote on draft No. 14, as just amended by us.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

55.4 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

55.5 I now call upon the Legal Adviser.

56.1 Mr. SABA, Legal Adviser, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I would draw the attention of the General Conference to the fact that, as the Chairman of the Administrative Commission very clearly explained to you, the point of the Executive Board's proposal to fix different time-limits for the submission of amendments to the proposed programme, on the one hand, and of proposals for the budget ceiling, on the other hand, was to enable Member States to submit their various programme proposals before proposals concerning the total budget ceiling.

56.2 As you are aware, unless proposals for increasing the total budget ceiling are submitted within a prescribed time-limit, Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure operates and it becomes impossible to give effect to any amendments to the programme that may be presented by a particular Member State. Accordingly, do you not feel that it is necessary to preserve this difference between the time-limit for the submission of proposed amendments to the programme, on the one hand, and the time-limit for the presentation of proposals concerning the budget ceiling, on the other? And since you have reduced the time-limit for the submission of amendments to the programme from nine weeks to six, you could perhaps cut down the time-limit for proposals concerning the budget ceiling to four or three weeks.

57. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): In fact, the Legal Adviser is proposing a new amendment to the draft resolution.

58. Mr. SABA, Legal Adviser, (Translation from the French):

Paragraph 5 of the new Rule 78 is the one in question, Mr. President: "Proposals concerning the budget ceiling". If the General Conference wishes to adhere to the general principle of the proposal made by the Executive Board, the main point of which is that different time-limits be established to enable proposals concerning programme amendments to be borne in mind when the budget ceiling is being fixed, then I think it necessary to substitute the words "three weeks" or "four weeks" for "six weeks" in paragraph 5.

59. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Before putting this amendment to the vote, I shall ask the Chairman of the Administrative Commission for his opinion.

60.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have a feeling that we are merely improvising. And improvisation may lead us into error and to a result quite the opposite of what was intended. I would therefore ask the Conference to reflect on this question and also to take into consideration the proposals drawn up by the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions, on the basis of which a resolution is to be submitted to the General Conference tomorrow. It embodies a whole series of proposals concerning the presentation of the budget, its communication to Member States, and the receipt of amendments to both the proposed programme and the proposed budget ceiling. If you take a definite decision on this question today, without due regard to the consequences of the amendment adopted, you run the risk of not being able to give effect to the proposal which the Joint Commissions are going to submit to you tomorrow, although it reflects the wishes of all the delegations, which do in fact want to have more time.

60.2 The proposal to be submitted to you tomorrow provides for "timing" which will enable an exchange of views to take place between the Director-General, Member States and National Commissions, both as regards the approval of amendments to the proposed

programme and budget and as regards the fixing of the budget ceiling; it also contains a recommendation to the effect that the Conference should perhaps be held somewhat later than 5 November, to allow of a further extension of the time-limit Member States wish to have in order to keep each other informed of these various amendments.

60.3 All the proposals before you today are based on the time-limits laid down in the draft resolution now submitted to you for approval. If you alter these time-limits, you run the risk of being unable to implement the proposal considered by the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions.

61. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of the United Arab Republic.

62.1 Mr. FIKRY (United Arab Republic)(Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I do not think that I have much to add to what has just been said by the Chairman of the Administrative Commission. But I see that the vote we have just taken on draft resolution No. 14 is being called in question.

62.2 May I make a proposal designed to allay the fears of the French and other delegations, bearing in mind the promise just made by the Assistant Director-General? A moment ago he promised that the proposed programme and budget would be submitted not on 5 August, but on 5 July. The draft resolution to be submitted tomorrow even gives the date of 15 June. Now this is the proposal I should like to make: instead of reducing the time-limit provided for in the new Rule 78, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure, from nine weeks to six, let us amend paragraph (a) of the draft resolution, by changing the time-limit from three to four months, since the Assistant Director-General promised just now that the proposed programme would be submitted to Member States four months before the opening of the General Conference.

63.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

In fact we now have several amendments before us. To begin with, when the Assistant Director-General said that the proposed programme could be sent out on 15 June, I asked the French delegation for its opinion, and it maintained its views that a vote should be taken. We proceeded to this vote, which resulted in a majority in favour of the French amendment. Accordingly, despite Mr. Baugniet's explanations, I do not think we have to revert to that question. All that we have to do now is to tie in what has been decided with the very sensible proposal just made by the Legal Adviser to the effect that the words "four weeks" should be substituted for "six weeks" in paragraph 5 of the new Rule 78. We must now vote on a procedural motion in order to decide whether you wish to go back on your initial vote and start the discussion afresh.

63.2 To begin with, then, I put to the vote a procedural motion: do you wish to go back on the vote which has been taken?

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

63.3 The amendment of the French delegation is maintained by 25 votes to 13, with 21 abstentions.

63.4 I call upon the delegate of Japan.

64. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, we have taken a vote and I do not think we can go back on it. The French delegation asked for the time-limit specified in paragraph 2 of the new Rule 78 to be reduced from nine to six weeks, which means restoring the status quo; and this has been adopted. The Legal Adviser now proposes very logically, that we should also shorten the six-week time-limit to four or three weeks. When the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions was convened, we, also, thought it was logical to adopt that procedure. However, if the time-limit is shortened too much, the delegations of very distant countries such as Japan and some of the Latin-American States, will have no knowledge of all the proposals submitted before they arrive at the General Conference. So I think that, as we have taken a decision to maintain the status quo (i.e. a time-limit of six weeks in the first case), we should not alter the other time-limit either.

65.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Does anyone else wish to speak? Does anyone wish to sponsor the proposal made by the Legal Adviser, so that it can be put to the vote? The delegate of Iraq. Is there any seconder? No one? Then the status quo with regard to the six-week time-limit mentioned in paragraph 5 is maintained.

65.2 We now turn to draft resolution No. 15, which I shall put to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

65.3 The resolution is adopted by 50 votes, none against, with one abstention.

65.4 Mr. Baugniet, would you please proceed.

66.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission examined the draft amendments to the Constitution, the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference and the Financial Regulations, on the basis of proposals submitted to it by the Executive Board. The Commission noted that the Legal Committee had reported that the amendments to Article IV, paragraph 8(a) of the Constitution, as approved by the Executive Board, had been communicated to Member States within the time-limits stipulated in Article XIII of the Constitution, and that the Legal Committee further considered that this amendment did not involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organization or new obligations for the Member States and would therefore become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority.

66.2 The Commission approved, and recommends that the General Conference adopt, the proposed amendment to Article IV, paragraph 8(a) of the Constitution, as set forth in document 10 C/40. It also approved and recommends with only one vote against as regards sub-paragraph 1(f) and one abstention as regards sub-paragraph 2(i), that the General Conference adopt the revised Rule 81 of its Rules of Procedure, with the drafting change introduced by the Legal Committee.

66.3 The Commission approved the proposed new paragraph 3 of Article 14 of the Financial Regulations, with a consequential drafting change introduced by the Legal Committee, and recommends its adoption by the General Conference. This means that the General Conference has to vote on draft resolutions Nos. 16, 17 and 18. I would remind delegates that draft resolution No. 16 requires a two-thirds majority for its adoption.

67.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on draft resolution No. 16? I shall put it to vote on the understanding, as the Chairman of the Administrative Commission has just emphasized, that a two-thirds majority is required for its adoption.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

67.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

67.3 We shall now take a vote on draft resolution No. 17.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

67.4 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

67.5 I shall now put resolution No. 18 to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

67.6 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

67.7 The Conference must also vote on paragraph 71 of the Report. If there is no objection, I take it that this paragraph is adopted.

67.8 Mr. Baugniet, please continue.

68.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, we now pass to staff questions.

68.2 The first question which the Commission discussed comes up at each session of the General Conference, as it is one of the most important questions for this Organization. That is the question of geographical distribution. The Commission considered the Director-General's report on the measures he had taken in implementation of resolution 28 adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session.

68.3 While most delegations recognized that further progress had been made towards achieving better geographical distribution, it was generally agreed that the situation was still far from satisfactory.

68.4 Draft resolution No. 19, which was adopted by the Commission by 26 votes to 6, with 5 abstentions, is now submitted to you for approval.

69. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I first call upon the delegate of India.

70.1 Mr. HUSAIN (India):

Mr. President, my delegation has sought permission to take the floor, because the resolution on geographical distribution now before the Conference was proposed in the Administrative Commission by the Indian delegation together with five other delegations. At the time of the discussion of this resolution, unfortunately, not even half the members of the Commission were present, because at the same time the election of the Director-General was in progress. My delegation therefore feels that it is their duty to place before the Conference the reasons which prompted six delegations to propose this resolution, and to request the delegations who were absent on that occasion to agree to join us in passing this resolution.

70.2 The second reason for my delegation taking the floor is to explain our position with regard to the changes which have been made in this resolution. Two additions were made, both of which are welcome; but, unfortunately, there were also two deletions.

70.3 The Administrative Commission deleted the clause of the draft resolution (document 10 C/ADM/21) which authorized the Director-General to include in the point system posts hitherto considered "non-geographical", except that they should count at half-value. It was a pity that this clause was deleted. It was not a new idea; in fact, this suggestion first originated in the Administrative Commission and it was recommended to the Executive Board by the Director-General. The main reason why the Indian delegation suggested that the recommendation of the Director-General be accepted was the fact that about 60 language posts are held principally by nationals of four countries: France, the United Kingdom, Spain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and of these, the first three are already highly over-represented. As against this, it is to be noted that in the United Nations the language staff comprises 42 different nationalities. We see no reason why what has been achieved in the United Nations should not be done in Unesco, and if that is not done, these posts should in all fairness be included in the point system. In order to save the time of the Conference, my delegation is not suggesting an amendment to the resolution before us, but we would like earnestly to urge the Director-General to examine what can be done to extend the distribution of these posts, failing which we shall take up the matter at the next General Conference.

70.4 The second deletion made by the Administrative Commission, Mr. President, were the words in clause (b) asking the Director-General to examine various suggestions made during this session for reducing the over-representation of certain countries in the Secretariat. The clause as it now stands asks the Director-General to examine the suggestions for increasing the representation of countries at present unrepresented or under-represented. The deletion, in the view of my delegation and other co-sponsors of the resolution, was entirely illogical, because these are two sides to the same question. You cannot increase representation of those unrepresented or under-represented, without first reducing the representation of those over-represented; one without the other is, from a practical point of view, impossible. While again, to save the time of the Conference, my delegation is not proposing an amendment to this resolution, we feel that it is necessary to clarify the issues involved and to give a clear directive to the Director-General as to how he should act under the proposed resolution.

70.5 Certain delegations voted against this resolution in the Administrative Commission, because they regard geographical distribution as of secondary importance - one of the many factors and not the most important one; for them the main criteria for selection are merit and the necessity of securing the highest standards of competence. To accept this is to admit that staff of such qualifications can be recruited only in certain parts of the world, an idea which has been disproved by fact. On no account, Mr. President, must the Secretariat lay itself open to the charge of being a stronghold of colonialism.

70.6 In the minds of those seeking better geographical representation, the motivating idea is that the Unesco Secretariat, as an international Secretariat, should be a faithful reflection of the international Organization it serves. The principle of geographical distribution is not that of grabbing a few posts here and there, but that the Secretariat should be enriched by the experience, the background, the culture and the distinctive psychological and emotional responses which each Member nation could furnish. Every Member State should have the satisfaction of making a contribution of its own genius to the evolution of our Organization. Indeed, it was in order to safeguard this principle of universality that provision was made for staff members to return to their countries on home leave every few years.

70.7 It is not the intention of the delegations interested in this question to blame those responsible for recruitment. The present situation has arisen as a result of the recent addition of new Members and the rapid initial recruitment when Unesco was established. But there is no justification now, Mr. President, for perpetuating the privileged position of a few countries. The Director-General has already done a great deal during the last five years to broaden geographical representation. The resolution before us pays a well-earned tribute to what he has been able to achieve so far, but much remains to be done. The position can be further rectified only by the Director-General himself, and to enable him to do so we need to give him more precise and specific guidance than has been given by the Constitution, so that it would be easier for him to ensure prompt and broad application of the principle of geographical distribution.

70.8 We are all aware that the present position is highly unsatisfactory. For example, it has on several occasions been pointed out that in the past Western Europe has had an inordinately predominant share of the posts of all grades. According to document 10 C/32, against the target points of 253, six countries in Western Europe are in fact enjoying 791 points, well over three times as many as they are entitled to. Among them they hold at present 155, out of a total of 333 geographical posts, or over 46 per cent of the posts. One of these countries has five times as many as it should have. Even more objectionable, these few highly over-represented countries belong to one cultural region. My delegation finds it difficult to justify this on grounds of efficiency and technical competence. Surely, the rest of the world, comprising 75 Member States, is not so devoid of talent that this position cannot be rectified.

70.9 In this connexion, what has caused us further concern is that fact that among these six West European countries, although all have been heavily over-represented during the last five years, two have had a considerable increase in the number of their appointments and, in the case of the third, the number of non-geographical posts has doubled. It would appear to us that there is little justification for this further increase.

70.10 It also appears that such good luck does not come the way of Asian and African countries. A very large number of countries of Asia and Africa, where two-thirds of the world's population lives, are either under-represented or not represented at all; fifteen of them have no representation at all, and six are under-represented; only seven are "in balance". The position of countries in Eastern Europe and of some in Latin America is also highly unsatisfactory. This is regrettable not only from the point of view of the countries concerned, but also for Unesco, in view of our present efforts to make the project of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values successful.

70.11 Now, what has the Director-General done, and what are we asking him to do in the resolution now before us? In accordance with the resolution on the subject passed at the ninth session, the Director-General was asked "to continue his efforts to improve the standards of competence and the geographical distribution of the Secretariat, in particular by applying a less rigid quota system for Member countries where it may have unduly restrictive implications for small contributor countries". The Director-General has not confined himself to the task of applying a less rigid quota system to assist small countries; he has gone much further and revised the scale of points for higher posts by making large additions to the previous scale. As it was not clear on what basis this had been done and why the increase was so steep, my delegation inquired and the Director-General informed the Administrative Commission that the new scale was arbitrarily fixed. It is felt by my delegation and others co-sponsoring this resolution that this drastic change is uncalled for, and the increase over the previous scale is excessive. The new scale of points creates disparities between various posts, more than is justified by fact. The revised scale works to the disadvantage of the middle countries, which were previously under-represented and now appear to be over-represented. We feel, therefore, that the revised scale needs to be modified and a more moderate revision made of the previous scale. We have also heard that the World Health Organization regards this system as unwise. What should be aimed at is a more flexible system which would help the Members contributing least, and would also not work against any particular group of Members.

70.12 Given a fairer system of assessing the entitlement of Member States, the next question is how better representation can be organized for unrepresented and under-represented countries. The Director-General has expressed the view that too few posts become vacant each year to allow for spectacular changes in geographical distribution. This would suggest that the first essential is to make more posts available by adopting measures to reduce over-representation of certain countries and by accelerating the turnover. This is no easy matter, because the Director-General has told us that among the 396 posts, 68.7% of the staff holds indeterminate contracts. This, and the fact that more than half the total number of posts are held by six countries, coupled with the continuance of the grant of indeterminate contracts, means "freezing" the present unsatisfactory situation with very little hope of improvement so long as our generation lasts. Yet no one has suggested voluntary retirement with compensation for those holding indeterminate contracts, no one has suggested that promotion should not be given to those holding indeterminate contracts. But what can be done, and we

earnestly suggest this to the Director-General, is that fixed-term contracts of those from over-represented countries should not normally be renewed and no new indeterminate contracts should be given to existing staff from over-represented countries until such time as better geographical distribution is achieved. When the Administrative Commission considered the amendment of Staff Regulations 4, 5 and 4.5.1, my delegation, together with the delegations of Iran and Iraq, suggested for this reason that we should authorize the Director-General not to give indeterminate contracts to persons belonging to countries which are already over-represented till such time as better geographical distribution prevails in the Secretariat. This was a necessary suggestion because, by amending Staff Regulation 4.5, we gave authority to the Director-General initially to give indeterminate contracts to Principal Officer and Director category staff, a power which he did not have before. Thereby we enlarged his powers and the scope for giving indeterminate contracts, while for purposes of improving geographical distribution, the acute need is for reducing the scope of indeterminate contracts. In resolution V.2.42 quoted in the preamble of the resolution before us, the Director-General was requested, under Regulation 4.5.1, not to make initial appointments from over-represented countries, unless it was in the interest of efficient administration of the Secretariat. My delegation would like to make the further positive suggestion that when the Director-General is compelled in the interest of efficiency to make outside appointments from over-represented countries, they should be made on a fixed-term basis and not on an indeterminate basis. We suggest, further, that in filling vacancies priority should be given to unrepresented or under-represented countries, and also that in cases of promotion priority should be given to nationals of under-represented countries. The delegations opposing these suggestions in the Administrative Commission talked much, in this connexion, of injustice and danger to the efficiency of the Organization. Now, I ask you, fellow delegates, who is being unjustly treated, the six highly over-represented West European countries or the other seventy-five Members of this Organization, or the fifty Member States who do not hold a single important post in this Organization? Can we talk of injustice to those who should never have been there in the first instance, and yet have enjoyed unmerited fruit for eleven years? And since 69% of the total staff hold indeterminate contracts, about which nothing can be done, we are therefore talking of only a small part of the remaining one-third or one-fourth of the total staff. I ask you, then, how is the efficiency of the Organization affected?

70.13 On many occasions during this session, Mr. President, and during previous sessions, we have been told by certain delegations to follow the UN practice in this, that and the other matter. It would therefore be well to ask what the UN has done in this regard. At its 11th session, the General Assembly passed a resolution which recommended: "that in future, in appointments to the staff of the UN Secretariat at all levels, appropriate preference be given to nationalities which form a disproportionately small part of the Secretariat". The Secretary-General of the United Nations has taken specific action both before and after this resolution was passed. For example, he stated before the General Assembly that: "When a candidate of an under-represented nationality met the requirements for a vacancy and appeared to be the best available, the Office of Personnel took certain procedural short cuts, such as reducing the period for which a vacancy was posted or even dispensing with the posting of a vacancy altogether". He also informed the General Assembly that: "Contracts were carefully watched and a candidate who was the best available, but came from a country already well represented in the Secretariat, generally received a fixed-term contract, the intention being that during that term a successor from a less well-represented country should be found. As the report showed, two-thirds of the appointments made in the United Nations during 1955-1956 were fixed-term contracts."

70.14 Indeed, since then the recruitment policy has been one of fixed-term contracts rather than permanent appointments; in fact the system of secondment from national civil services on a fixed-term basis has been evolved. And yet no one in the United Nations has raised the question of injustice and danger to the efficiency of the Secretariat. The Indian delegation would therefore like to suggest that this United Nations practice be followed in Unesco. We would like to suggest that the delegations who voted against this resolution in the Administrative Commission should join us in the support of the United Nations practice in this regard.

70.15 In addition to the question of over-representation of a group of countries, there are two anomalies which my delegation would like to bring to the notice of the Conference. The Republic of China, which has paid only a token of its contribution during the last eleven years and is not entitled to more than the minimum target points, is enjoying three times as many as are justified. The second case is that of the Union of South Africa, which has ceased to be a member but is nevertheless enjoying 18 posts, including a high-level post. It is wrong, in principle, that non-Member States should be represented at the expense of Member States. In the case of the Union of South Africa it is particularly unfortunate, because the Union of South Africa is well known to be opposed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the anniversary of which we celebrate today, and to the ideals of Unesco. Indeed, for the last eleven years it has defied the resolutions passed by the General Assembly on the question of racial discrimination. We hope that these two anomalies will be removed as soon as practicable.

70.16 All these suggestions, Mr. President, my delegation submits for the approval of the Conference, so that the Director-General, under the operative part of the resolution before us, may carefully examine them for necessary action.

70.17 In conclusion, it is most important that geographical representation should spread at a faster rate than it has in the past. During the last five years it has increased from 22 to 28 countries, but it is to be hoped that during the next five years double that number will be represented. The position in regard to Asian and African countries is also very unsatisfactory. In implementing this resolution the

Director-General should therefore be requested to take immediate steps to give representation to Member States at present not represented or under-represented, and more particularly to countries of Asia and Africa. We cannot stress too strongly the fact that the objectives of Unesco cannot be achieved in a satisfactory manner unless certain important regions and cultures of the world are represented here in the Secretariat. It is not only the financial contribution, but also the ancient cultural heritage and the contribution of large segments of humanity which are important for bringing about better understanding in the world, especially between the East and the West.

71. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the delegate of India for his extremely interesting statement. It contains some very apt suggestions; these will certainly be of great help to the Director-General in applying the resolution, which, I trust, will be adopted in a moment. Before putting it to the vote, I call upon the delegate of China.

72.1 Mr. CHEN Yuan (China):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegate of India went out of his way to attack China in the Administrative Commission. He again went out of his way to attack us just now. There is not the slightest justification for this. What are the facts?

72.2 There are four members of the Secretariat who are of Chinese nationality. In fact, there can be said to be, at most, only three and a half, as one of the four was born British, married French, and does not hold a Chinese passport. How can it be claimed that any country with only three and a half members, or even four members, is over-represented?

72.3 According to the criterion laid down in document 10 C/32, paragraph 10 (d), "a Member State with only two nationals in the Secretariat is regarded as 'in balance' even if the point value of the posts exceeds the target". Then, even if we suppose there was over-representation for China, the over-representation could not be more than two or one and a half. I cannot see, therefore, any justification for the Indian delegate singling out my country and stating that the situation is abnormal. I do not understand by what sort of calculation the Indian delegate arrived at the conclusion that China filled three times its entitlement of posts. If a Member State with two nationals is regarded as "in balance", how can four members be considered three times its entitlement? But the arithmetic of the Indian delegate is indeed beyond the comprehension of the ordinary intelligence. He said in the Administrative Commission that China paid only a token 4 per cent of its contribution. But China made a token payment of $50,000 both in 1956 and 1957, and increased its token payment to $60,000 in 1958. By whatever calculation you may use, you cannot arrive at the figure of 4 per cent of its contribution. And $60,000 is twelve times the minimum contribution of $4,000 which some Member States contribute. The minimum target in the table is eight points. Therefore, if there were over-representation for China, it could only be very slight.

72.4 What surprised us most was the Indian delegate's statement that the situation was inequitable and should be rectified. Did he advocate that members of the Secretariat who have served the Organization loyally, faithfully, competently, for eight years or more, should be sacked merely on the ground of geographical over-representation. It would be a sad day for Unesco, indeed, if such a policy were to be adopted.

73. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of the United States of America.

74.1 Mr. RABB (United States of America):

Mr. President, the delegate of India has made a very forceful and interesting argument and there is much in what he says, but there are aspects of this question that deserve analysis. Moreover, I feel that I can venture to speak with perhaps more freedom than others, since my own country is classed among those which are under-represented in Unesco's Secretariat. The views of my Government are well known, and were stated fully in the Administrative Commission. Briefly, my Government believes that definite progress towards a more equitable geographical distribution of staff has been made during the two years which have passed since the ninth session of the General Conference. We hope, and we are confident that further progress will be made; we agree that the principle of geographical distribution is an important one; we believe that a Secretariat composed broadly of staff members from many lands is of great importance to Unesco; that such a Secretariat will be an enriched one, capable of reflecting in its work the best from many countries, in terms of a broadened knowledge, experience and points of view. However, while geographical distribution in the matter of posts is a very important aspect of this, and cannot be minimized, examination will reveal that it still is one among other factors upon which the competence and vigour of the Secretariat and of Unesco itself depends. In my opinion, the basic and overruling principle here must be one that ensures that any person, regardless of his origins, be given equal consideration. This is the principle of equality of opportunity. The basic standard of selection should be merit, that is to say, integrity, efficiency and technical competence. Geographical distribution is an external standard, rising from an accident of birth; merit goes to the heart of the problem - the intrinsic, enduring work of the individual.

74.2 I feel that the Director-General can be relied on to make further progress in improving the geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat. However, I am sure that most delegates here, upon reflection, will agree that this progress will probably be slower than most of us would like, and that, as a matter of wisdom, it should be achieved in a careful and thoughtful manner. This calls for restraint and patience on the part of all concerned. Moreover, I do not think it wise that efforts to improve the geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat should be pressed to the point of denying the legitimate expectations of existing staff for promotion on the basis of merit. We must always remember that we have a means and an end; the end is Unesco and its noble purposes, the means is the Secretariat. The best way to ensure an effective means to achieve this end is to see to it that the most competent people are available for Unesco.

74.3 In conclusion, I would like to express the hope that we can reconcile both these factors: equality of opportunity and geographical distribution, for what we need in the end is a vigorous, vital Unesco.

75. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

76.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, having listened to a most helpful speech from the representative of the United States who rightly said that his own country was slightly under-represented in Unesco, I hope the Conference will forgive me if I say a few words on behalf of my country which is, admittedly, distinctly over-represented on the Secretariat.

76.2 May I say that this matter does give us, in Britain, quite a good deal of concern. We are fully aware of the situation, and for that reason, the British delegation will not vote on this resolution but will abstain. I would like to make one or two comments on the very thoughtful speech which we have heard from the representative of India. I think it was the Nineteenth century British stateman, John Bright, who once said that, in his view, the British Empire was a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes. Whether that was so or not, may I make it quite plain that we in Britain have no desire whatever that the Specialized Agencies in the United Nations should become a system of outdoor relief for supernumerary British officials. But there are one or two specific points which I would like to make in this context.

76.3 I feel that the historical origins of Unesco have led, as those of other organizations did inevitably lead, to the over-representation of certain Member States of which the United Kingdom was one. After all, Unesco is today still a young organization; in the total history of man fifteen years is a rather short time. Inevitably, I think, the historical origins of these organizations show themselves in the way that the staff is distributed.

76.4 The second point is that we in Britain entirely agree with the principle of fairer geographical representation. All we would say, as has already been said this evening, is that in moving towards more equitable geographical representation, we should not allow ourselves to commit any gross unfairness to faithful servants of this Organization, who have in some cases devoted their lives and their careers to the service of Unesco. Secondly, while I entirely recognize what the representative of India said - there must be very many people in very many parts of the world who can contribute to the efficiency of this Organization - I would plead that we should not lose too many perfectly efficient staff at once, in order to make place for different staff. The process of obtaining broader and fairer geographical distribution should be a gradual one, and we should not attempt to do it too rapidly. Of course this task must, in time, be implemented, but we must recognize it as a process which cannot be hurried beyond a certain point without our running great risks, both in terms of fairness to human beings and also in terms of the efficiency of the Organization. For my part, I have very great confidence in the fairness of the Director-General and his immediate advisers in this matter. I thought the representative of India made certain specific points about fixed-term contracts which were well worth considering and which no doubt will be considered by the Executive Board and the appropriate bodies of the Organization. But may I say that we fully recognize in Britain that we are over-represented at the present time, that we do want to achieve a fairer geographical distribution of posts, and the only reservations we make are that we should not attempt this at such a rate as to be guilty of unfairness to individuals or impair the smooth working of Unesco.

77. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of Brazil.

78.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the problem of fair geographical distribution in a Secretariat such as Unesco's inevitably each year, gives rise either to exaggerated hopes or to unreasonable disappointment.

78.2 By its very nature, the problem is an extremely complex one, centering as it does around human beings and not objects. And when we have to do with human beings surrounded by other human beings - for an official does not work cut off from his fellows - we cannot act hastily or ruthlessly. We need progressive measures, measures which are perforce slow and take into account not only the interests of nations, but also the equally sacred interests of individuals, women and children - in short, the official's whole family.

78.3 I speak as the representative of a country which, though always under-represented in the Organization, has been keeping a close watch for over ten years on the slow but continuous efforts of successive administrations to improve the situation and which, having daily experience of the difficulties of this problem, is well aware that we cannot expect too much of a resolution or ask too much of a Director-General. The adjustment will necessarily be progressive and slow, and the historical circumstances under which Unesco came into being in England and then rapidly settled down in France are sufficient to account for that serious initial lack of balance in the way already described.

78.4 But it was not to dwell on these points, with which you are all only too familiar, that I have taken the floor. It is because there is another aspect of the problem which I feel should be considered by the Conference and by the Director-General. True enough, it will be a long time before we can do away with this inequality of representation; but we can make an effort, and ask the Director-General and particularly the Secretariat to do the same - an effort which will enable us all, and especially those of us who regard ourselves as least well represented on the Organization, not to feel frustrated, for the very good reason that the officials of other countries serving in the Secretariat will consider themselves as representatives, not of their own particular countries, but of this whole family of nations.

78.5 It is all the same to me to know that the interests of Latin America are ably defended by senior Indian officials, and I hope that there are senior Latin-American officials in the Organization

who will always be equally zealous in upholding the interests of Asia. I feel that the Secretariat should be increasingly linked to its international origins, and that the hope should be increasingly cherished that each of its members will come more and more to feel himself or herself as the representative, not of a particular country or region within the Secretariat, but of the community of the Organization's Member States, all equally responsible for discharging our duties and realizing our hopes. This, I feel, is the purport of the assurances that the Director-General and the Secretariat can give this Conference, pending more satisfactory geographical representation, which can be brought about only with the passage of time.

79. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

80.1 Mr. ZHUKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I think that the representative of India has given a sufficiently clear and concrete demonstration of the importance of the problem of fair geographical distribution. I myself can only endorse all that he has said. But I should also like to emphasize how important the principle of fair geographical distribution is, particularly for our Organization. I consider in fact that that principle - or, to be more precise, the practical attainment of that principle - may be more important for us than for other international organizations.

80.2 Unesco is the organization working in the fields of science, education and culture. The logical conclusion to draw, then, is that specialists in these fields should be represented on the Secretariat - that is, specialists who are familiar with these fields of activity and know the forms taken by work in all these fields in the various parts of the world. This aim can be achieved only if all countries, the specialists of all countries, are represented on the Secretariat.

80.3 It would be wrong to assert, Mr. President, that one particular group of people should form part of the Unesco Secretariat and continue to work there all their lives. On the contrary, we feel that the Unesco Secretariat should constantly be replenished by an intake of new people from all countries of the world; this is a sine qua non for the efficiency of its work. On the other hand, people who have acquired experience of the work of an organization like ours should later return to their own countries, so that, with the experience and knowledge they have gained in the Organization, they may help their national bodies to serve the interests of education, science and culture more satisfactorily. The representative of Brazil spoke of the need for thinking of our children. Indeed, we must think of them, but perhaps not in the way that he meant. It has been noted by many persons who have written on international administration that when people spend their whole lives in a foreign country, particularly in organizations - in this connexion we can refer to the past experience of other international organizations - their children often have an artificial kind of education and are brought up rather like stateless persons, because they spend their entire life in a foreign country, in foreign surroundings.

80.4 It seems to me that we should note one more fact referred to in the Administrative Commission. An analysis of the figures given in the Secretariat's documents shows that the situation as regards the countries over-represented in the Organization unfortunately remains practically unchanged and that a whole series of countries which have been over-represented during the past ten years still remain over-represented - a situation in which we, regrettably, see no marked change. Some of the delegates who have spoken before me have advanced, as against the principle of fair geographical distribution, the principle of the Secretariat's efficiency. In the Administrative Commission, and here before the Plenary Conference, as well as in the Administrative Commission of the Executive Board, I have repeatedly had occasion to voice my objection to such a standpoint. As the representative of India rightly remarked, this attitude gives the impression that some countries, some parts of the world enjoy a monopoly in the matter of providing efficient staff for the Secretariat. We cannot approve such a situation, which is highly unjust. As for the principle of equal opportunity, I am afraid that if in this matter we apply it as it has been applied so far, the result will be that the doors of the Unesco Secretariat are open only to a few countries and not to all Member States.

80.5 We consider that this problem stands in need of solution. We do not say that it must be solved tomorrow; but undoubtedly much faster progress must be made, in solving it, than that recorded hitherto. At every session of the General Conference we discuss this question, and every time we come to the conclusion that it must be solved. But, to quote a Russian saying, "we are always back where we started". I should like to express the hope that the Director-General, the Secretariat and the Executive Board, acting on the resolution before us, will take the necessary steps to rectify the situation and that in future we shall not have to discuss it at such length and in such detail.

81. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the Assistant Director-General.

82.1 Mr. ADISESHIAH, Assistant Director-General:

Mr. President, we have had in this plenary meeting an extremely useful and representative discussion, which the Director-General will bear in mind in carrying out his responsibilities outlined in this resolution.

82.2 I wish to offer the following comments on behalf of the Director-General: first, as I said, we do not believe that there is any contradiction between the considerations of professional competence, integrity and merit, on the one hand, and geographical distribution on the other, in the Secretariat posts. Secondly, as has been pointed out by many delegates, the Director-General has tried in the last four years to improve the geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat, and the record is before you. Thirdly, you have said that you are not satisfied with the present geographical distribution of the posts in the Secretariat and the Director-General will exert himself, as he has done in the last few years, to improve as rapidly as he can the disequilibrium

that has been referred to in our discussion. He will carry out the re-examination of the weight given to the grades in the present point system, and place before the Executive Board a revised system for its examination and approval.

82.3 Having said all that, I feel I should comment on certain points which have been made by the Indian delegation. First, the forty-two countries representing the language posts in the United Nations should be compared with the ten countries who make up the language posts in Unesco, and not four. The larger number of language posts in the United Nations is due to the larger number of the Latin-American countries composing the Spanish section; and the Arab countries composing its Arabic Language Section, which the United Nations has but which does not exist here. Secondly, with reference to the indeterminate contracts being given by the United Nations and those being given by Unesco, I should point out that the United Nations had reached the figure of 90 per cent at its eleventh session when it made the decision to go slow, whereas we are still well under 70 per cent, as pointed out by the Indian delegate. Further, we do not give indeterminate contracts on initial appointment; all our initial appointments are by fixed-term contracts. With regard to the members of the Secretariat from China and the Union of South Africa, in addition to what the delegation of China said, I think I may safely say that they are officers who have been recruited in the past and are well known to you, and who are serving the Organization faithfully and efficiently.

82.4 Accepting all that has been said by the delegations, including the delegations of India and the Soviet Union, I would point out once more that the Director-General cannot be asked to do anything that would be contrary to Staff Regulations which are enacted by you and the Staff Rules which represent fairness and justice to the staff. It is not in denying indeterminate contracts to staff members who have earned them under the Staff Regulations and Staff Rules, that we can improve geographical distribution. It is rather, as has been pointed out by the Indian delegation in reference to the Montevideo decision, by not making initial appointments from countries who are at present over-represented in the Secretariat, unless the Director-General finds he must do so on grounds of programme requirements. For each such appointment the Director-General has to make a certification, and I have promised the Administrative Commission that, in the next report which the Director-General makes to the General Conference, he will report on the certification of those cases where he had to make initial appointments from countries which are over-represented in the Secretariat. It is, therefore, by investigating the question of initial appointments and by a more effective system of recruitment, already referred to by the Indian delegation and others, that we hope to win the continued and increasing co-operation of Member States, and that we hope to carry out the mandate that you will be entrusting to us in this resolution.

83.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I shall put resolution No. 19 to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

83.2 The resolution is adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions.

83.3 I call upon Mr. Baugniet to continue.

84. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, gentlemen, the Commission took up the report submitted to it on the desirability of providing a common basic training for candidates for international civil service and a specialized administrative training for candidates for certain categories of international posts. This report gave rise to a highly interesting discussion, in the light of which the Commission recommends that you adopt draft resolution No. 20, which it itself adopted by 20 votes to 1, with 26 abstentions.

85.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Does anyone wish to speak on draft resolution No. 20? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

85.2 The resolution is adopted by 40 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions.

86.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission considered the system of salaries, allowances and related benefits, beginning with the common system. The Assistant Director-General drew the Commission's attention to document 10 C/34, Part I, containing the Director-General's report on the action he had taken, with the approval of the Executive Board, in implementing resolution 32, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, with respect to the revised common system of salaries, allowances and related benefits. The General Conference is requested to vote on the introduction of one new benefit, payable as an element of the common system upon the death of a staff member, and on the adoption of a new cost-of-living index, established with the assistance of the International Labour Organisation.

86.2 After adopting the Director-General's proposals, by 40 votes to none, with 5 abstentions, the Commission recommended that the General Conference adopt draft resolutions Nos. 21 and 22.

87.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Has anyone any comment to make on these two draft resolutions? I shall put them to the vote together, as they both deal with the same question.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

87.2 Both draft resolutions are adopted unanimously.

88. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission, (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered the salaries of staff in the General Service category. The Assistant Director-General drew its attention to document 10 C/34, Part II, containing the Director-General's report on his review of the system for the establishment and review of local salaries, undertaken at the request of the Executive Board. Part III contains the Executive Board's comments and recommendations thereon, as a result of which the Director-General

withdrew the draft resolution contained in paragraph 50 of Part II in favour of that adopted by the Executive Board. In the light of the discussions which took place in the Board, the Commission recommends that the General Conference adopt draft resolution No. 23 in which the Director-General authorizes the Director-General in particular "to establish a new salary scale to be adopted effective 1 January 1959, but applied retroactively to 1 April 1958, based on the scale effective 1 September 1957, with 4% representing a portion of the present 9% temporary cost-of-living adjustment, added to each step of each grade", "to maintain the balance of the 9% cost-of-living adjustment paid to each staff member" and "to make during the two-year period beginning 1 January 1959, subject to the approval of the Executive Board, such further non-pensionable adjustments as may be necessary as a result of movements in the cost of living in Paris". This resolution, which the Commission asks you to approve, bears the number 23.

89.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comments to make on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

89.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

90.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission considered the Director-General's report and proposals regarding amendments to the Staff Regulations and the Executive Board's recommendations thereon. It took note of an additional provision which the Director-General proposed to include in the Staff Rules (under Promotion) following approval by the General Conference of the text which the Commission proposes it should adopt.

90.2 A proposal by the delegations of India, Iran and Iraq to include in the Commission's recommendations to the General Conference a provision authorizing the Director-General not to grant, in general, indeterminate contracts to persons from countries which are already over-represented till such time as better geographical distribution prevails in the Secretariat, was rejected by 19 votes to 5. This question was also taken up in the draft resolution concerning geographical distribution, which you approved a few minutes ago. The Commission accordingly recommends that you adopt draft resolution No. 24.

91.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comment to make on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

91.2 The resolution is adopted by 47 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

91.3 We also have to adopt paragraph 103. If there is no objection, I shall take it to be adopted.

92.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission considered questions relating to the Administrative Tribunal and recommends that you adopt the Director-General's proposal that the necessary arrangements be made for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organisation in respect of cases arising in the period from 1 January 1959 to 31 December 1960.

92.2 The delegation of the United States of America reiterated the views of its Government regarding the possible establishment of a single tribunal for all United Nations organizations and asked that the matter be given further study. However, it endorsed draft resolution No. 25, which is submitted to you for approval.

93.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comment to make on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

93.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

94. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Lastly, so far as this part of our Report is concerned, we considered social security questions, beginning with the extension of the Medical Benefits Fund to cover retired staff members. After a brief discussion, during which supplementary explanations concerning the Director-General's proposal were given, the Commission decided, by 25 votes to none, with 7 abstentions, to recommend the adoption of draft resolution No. 26, authorizing the Director-General to extend, for a trial period of two years commencing 1 January 1959, the Medical Benefits Fund to cover retired staff members.

95.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Does anyone wish to speak on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

95.2 Resolution No. 26 is adopted by 49 votes to 4.

96. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered the Director-General's proposal to continue the Staff Compensation Fund, originally created by the General Conference at its eighth session. The representative of the Director-General undertook, at the suggestion of the delegation of Australia, to arrange for study of the possibility of charging compensation payments to the Working Capital Fund, thus abolishing the Staff Compensation Fund. The Commission decided, by 35 votes to none, with 4 abstentions, to accept the Director-General's proposals and accordingly submits draft resolution No. 27 to the General Conference for adoption.

97.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Has anyone any comments to make on this draft resolution? I shall put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

97.2 The resolution is adopted unanimously.

98. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Lastly, the Commission took note of the Director-General's report on the United Nations Joint Staff

Pension Fund, and asks you to endorse its approval of the election of representatives of Chile, the Federal Republic of Germany and Turkey as full members of the Unesco Staff Pension Committee, and representatives of Cambodia, Poland and Spain as alternate members, for the period 1 January 1959 to 31 December 1960.

99.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): There is no objection to the approval of paragraph 111? It is approved.

99.2 Once again I thank the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, who has also served as Rapporteur of that Commission, for this extremely good Report; and I thank you all, gentlemen, for your attention.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

TWENTY-THIRD PLENARY MEETING

4 December 1958, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 292

CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. May I begin by reminding you that, on 11 December 1948, the Unesco General Conference, meeting in Beirut, was informed that, after extensive study over a long period of persevering and dedicated preparatory work, the General Assembly of the United Nations had just adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights and was asking the Specialized Agencies to bring that Declaration to the notice of all their members, and to make a start forthwith on the translation of its principles into practice.

1.2 The approval of the Declaration was hailed in addresses by several delegates, and the General Conference then went on to adopt forthwith a draft resolution instructing the Director-General to stimulate the dissemination of information about this important instrument and to ask the Programme Departments of Unesco to make the fullest possible use of this historic Declaration in their activities.

1.3 At a recent meeting, the General Committee came to the conclusion that it ought to advise that the General Conference solemnly commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration by asking the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and members of seven delegations representing the major cultural regions of the world to deliver addresses. If these proposals are agreeable to you, I shall accordingly call upon the representatives who have put their names down. I shall begin by asking Mr. Georges Palthey, Deputy Director of the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, to come to the rostrum as the representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

2.1 Mr. PALTHEY (United Nations) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman of the Executive Board, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honour for me to be the bearer of greetings and a message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Unesco General Conference at today's meeting in honour of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our present meeting place, the nearness of the Palais de Chaillot, the presence among us of men like Professor Henri Laugier who played a leading part in the drafting of the Declaration, the undiminished urgency of the human problems arising throughout the world, and the special Unesco spirit of which this assembly and these Headquarters are redolent, all combine to give special solemnity to this meeting in commemoration of that other tenth of December in 1948, on which the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the International Charter of Human Rights.

2.2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights contains few new principles. In most cases it does no more than codify the long-standing yearnings of mankind - for justice, for liberty, and, subconsciously, for escape from physical and spiritual frustration to a life of greater fullness and dignity - which have been the ultimate causes of all the great revolutionary and liberating movements throughout history. They found re-expression in modern times in the Eighteenth century, and were an active ferment throughout the Nineteenth, particularly in the revolutions of 1848, but right down to our own day, such recognition as was won for them was national only. Now, however, since 10 December 1948, Human Rights have become a factor in the building of the international community.

2.3 The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Constitutions of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations are woven of the same thought, and derived from the same ideals. Our aims are in every case identical and the pursuit of those aims is the essential task of our age. Does not the preamble of the Universal Declaration assert that recognition of the inherent dignity of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace? And is not that peace, to whose building all our organizations are dedicated, itself a means of creating a better world in which the human personality can achieve fulfilment, exploiting all its potentialities and enjoying all its rights? Thus there is nothing surprising in the fact that to trace the genesis of the Declaration is to recount the history of the United Nations.

2.4 The principles on which the society of the future must be based were laid down by President Roosevelt in 1941 in his famous message to Congress

- freedom of thought, freedom of belief, freedom from hunger and fear. The theme was taken up again in the Atlantic Charter, and provided the background, first at Dumbarton Oaks and later in San Francisco in 1945, to all the discussions and arguments which issued finally in the signature of the United Nations Charter, in which again it is echoed time and time again, so intimately are the Four Freedoms bound up with the ideals of the United Nations. Naturally, therefore, one of the first tasks set the United Nations, once brought into being, was to reduce these basic rights to writing and to consider appropriate measures for securing their proclamation and implementation throughout the world.

2.5 Thus the drafting of a Declaration was put at the head of the agenda, first by the United Nations Preparatory Commission in London in 1945 and later, in 1948, when the Economic and Social Council formed the Commission on Human Rights.

2.6 In April 1946, Mr. Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, opening the proceedings of the "nuclear" Commission on Human Rights, suggested that its task was to arrive at the basis for a declaration of fundamental rights to which all the United Nations could subscribe, and acceptance of which would become a condition precedent for the admission of new members to the international community.

2.7 The formally constituted Commission on Human Rights began its first session at Lake Success in January 1947, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the Chair, whereupon the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Henri Cassin, tabled a first draft of a declaration of human rights which, less than 18 months later, on 18 June 1948, was adopted by the Commission as an international declaration of human rights. Finally, on 10 December following, the text was adopted as a Universal Declaration by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2.8 The United Nations at once embarked on the drafting of covenants in connexion with the application of human rights, and two drafts were prepared, one dealing with economic and social rights and the other with civil and political rights. The difficulties which emerged during the examination of these drafts did not block progress and a series of studies were undertaken for the purpose of arriving at specific conventions open to all Member States. Conventions on genocide, on the political rights of women, on slavery, on the status of refugees, on the problems of freedom of information and of the nationality of married women are now in force. A convention on stateless persons has been adopted and it only remains to bring it into effect. Investigation of the question of freedom of information continues. For refugees, practical steps have been and are being taken, originally by the International Refugee Organization and currently by the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees and by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. For more than 10 years past, the International Children's Fund has been pursuing its relief activities for children and mothers.

2.9 All this, however, affords only a very incomplete picture of the activities of the United Nations family in this sphere. As much again is being done on the ideological side, and still more on the practical, by the Specialized Agencies. The Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization are taking their full share of the burden in their respective sphere, by trying to improve economic and health conditions, for large sections of the world's population sufficiently for the term "human rights" to become more than a meaningless catch-phrase.

2.10 The International Labour Organisation is still more directly involved in the implementation of the Declaration, having made a vigorous beginning on such important questions as freedom of choice of employment, freedom of association, the prevention of forced labour, social security, protection against unemployment and the improvement of working conditions.

2.11 But in all these activities directed to securing the triumph of human rights throughout the world, a place of special distinction has fallen to Unesco, which is honoured first indeed by the difficulty, but above all by the grandeur and nobility, of the task assigned it. Whereas the other Agencies seek to secure the implementation of human rights by legal, economic or scientific means, Unesco's aim is to free man from the shackles within his own soul and to give him that freedom of the spirit without which all other freedom is vain. One of your former Directors-General, Mr. Jaime Torres-Bodet, has said: "The Declaration of 10 December is not only a milestone in history: it is also a plan of campaign." It is also the philosophical basis of your sustained activities for education, for the advancement of culture and for the progress of science; it is the driving force in your battle against illiteracy, discrimination and prejudice. By doing the task set it, Unesco is a key factor in the achievement of the ideals of the great family of the United Nations for, as you, Mr. President, have reminded us, it is in the minds and hearts of men that peace is born.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on Mr. Brunsvick of the French delegation, who is to read you a message from Mr. René Cassin, sometime Chairman and member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

4.1 Mr. BRUNSVICK (France) (Translation from the French):

"Mr. President, Mr. Chairman of the Executive Board, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, I am greatly touched by your invitation to me, as one of the founders of Unesco and one of those principally concerned in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to speak at the plenary meeting of the Unesco General Conference set aside to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of this historic instrument by the United Nations General Assembly.

4.2 Unfortunately, I am forced, for the first time and to my great regret, to husband my strength and, after the ceremony jointly arranged on 3 December at the Sorbonne by the French National Committee and the French National Commission for Unesco, where I addressed an attentive and enthusiastic audience, I am obliged to ask you to hold me excused and to limit myself to a message to the members of the Unesco General Conference.

4.3 The purpose of this message is not to say what

Mr. Berthoin, the French Minister of National Education and President of the Conference, will tell you with far more authority than myself about France's fidelity to the great ideal which the Universal Declaration embodies.

4.4 It will do all I want, firstly, if it succeeds in confirming your faith in the indefeasible substance and in the power of the Universal Declaration and, secondly, if it manages to give you a new sense of the vast and beneficent task devolving on Unesco from the Declaration itself and for its propagation.

4.5 The experience of ten years has been enough to show that, if the principles proclaimed by the Universal Declaration are still far from full translation into fact, the reason is not that the document approved by the United Nations Assembly in 1948 does not meet the deep aspirations of mankind. Far otherwise, this document, produced by a few scholars and philanthropists, after the horrors of the Second World War, sought to give utterance to the protest of the world's conscience against the atrocities called forth by two deadly enemies of human dignity, Hitlerism and Racism. The unanimous support received by the Declaration from the representatives of the peoples of all continents - nations old or young, States underdeveloped or otherwise - shows that the improvement of man's lot is one of the perennial problems which all responsible men have most at heart. Since 1948 no nation has achieved independence and taken its place in our international Agencies without explicitly pledging its acknowledgement of human rights.

4.6 As yet, alas, the practical results achieved still lag behind the hopes engendered in the hearts of human beings. Too many individuals, in the social groups of which they are a part, still suffer oppression, hardship and often the effects of unjust prejudices. Nearly half the human race is still illiterate and undernourished.

4.7 The fault, however, does not lie with the Universal Declaration: rather does the Declaration convict us of tardiness, lukewarmness and inhumanity.

4.8 We therefore need to redouble our efforts, alike on the political, the social, the economic and above all the moral plane, to secure, as a first step to positive reforms of our institutions, the conversion of the outlook of individuals, groups, and rulers to one of ever fuller acknowledgement and respect of man's basic rights and liberties, without any discrimination whatever.

4.9 It is from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the challenge to this vast task comes to Unesco - delegates, officials, experts and members of National Commissions.

4.10 For we must bear in mind that it is in the schooling and shaping of individuals and institutions that the preamble of the Declaration places its first reliance for the promotion of the programme of action which the Declaration imposes.

4.11 Quite apart from the specific tasks falling to Unesco for the implementation of the right of each individual to schooling, training, intellectual creation and the benefits of science and culture, Unesco thus has a general and comprehensive task - the task of working to ensure that all human beings, young or old, shall know and appreciate the full scope of the Declaration's principles and shall understand not only the rights but also the duties and responsibilities falling to each and all.

4.12 I have much pleasure in acknowledging that Unesco's two Directors-General since 1948, Mr. Jaime Torres-Bodet and Mr. Luther Evans, have both been fully conscious of this high responsibility committed to Unesco. The Human Rights Exhibition and the initial publications on the subject are models which have made an unforgettable impression.

4.13 However, the work to be done and the obstacles of every kind to be overcome are on such a scale that none of us can feel we have done enough. I would remind you, as Mr. Torres Bodet once put it, that "So long as any right of any man is violated ....., so long as men anywhere still have to endure hunger and want, injustice and ignorance . . ., the document signed in Paris will seem a very far-off goal ....".

4.14 May Unesco then, under Mr. Veronese, its new Director-General, continue as in the past, not limiting its efforts to the zealous application of the Universal Declaration in the spheres within its immediate purview.

4.15 The authors of the Declaration look to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, transcending all frontiers and all shifts in policy to remain the faithful guardian of the spirit of the text and to spread that spirit among all the peoples of the earth."

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mrs. Pecson, delegate of the Philippines.

6.1 Mrs. PECSON (Philippines):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as we pause today, almost at the end of our labour in this General Conference, to dwell on the significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the occasion arouses in me feelings of gratification tinged with sadness, of hope mingled with misgivings.

6.2 In electing me, a woman, as member of the Executive Board, you have given added meaning to one of the rights in the Declaration which asserts the equality of man and woman. I am profoundly grateful for this recognition. Lone woman member of the Board in 1950-1954, I now join two other women in the new Board, to help redress the imbalance still existing therein. I pledge, of course, the very best I am capable of to help Unesco carry out its rôle in promoting universal understanding and the observance of the rights specified in the Declaration.

6.3 I join you in rededicating the work of Unesco to the task of translating into reality the ideals expressed in the noblest terms by the Declaration. When it was made ten years ago, the Declaration was hailed as ushering man into a new era of freedom wherein he could expect to live with dignity. Recognized and guaranteed in it is man's inherent worth as a human being. Aptly, therefore, has this great document been spoken of as the conscience of man put into words, to guide his conduct and that of governments in the beckoning adventure into the unknown.

6.4 But even as I take hope in seeing how beautiful the world ahead could be under the inspiration of this great Magna Carta, I cannot but be saddened by the picture of ignorance, superstition and misery that large areas of the earth present to us all. As a woman and a mother I cannot but feel a sense of

frustration at the distressing thought of the millions of children who are suffering from lack of education, ill-health and want. We should perhaps be thankful that the voice of conscience in the Declaration, though still feeble, may have served as one of the deterrents which prevented the outbreak of another world war during the last decade. But the nagging problems of ignorance, superstition and misery continue to plague hundreds of millions of human beings to whom any reminder that they live under the protection of the Declaration would seem almost a mockery. For how can they enjoy the declared rights if they are not freed first from the gnawing pangs of hunger? How can they value the freedoms so solemnly proclaimed, if they are not led out first from the darkness into which lack of knowledge and unreasoning credulity have cast them?

6.5 Between the high intentions expressed in the Declaration and the modest achievements of the last ten years there is still a wide gap which, in terms of understanding and peace through education, science and culture, seems to become still wider. This is not said by way of belittling Unesco's contribution to the promotion of peace and human welfare through observance of the human rights. Far from it, very far from it indeed; I would be the last person to minimize the value of Unesco's programme of action. But, in all candour, we should ask, and I ask now, why, despite the magnitude of the problems confronting the Organization, do we give Unesco, through its programme and budget, resources which are pitifully small? From all parts of the world we come to work here in Paris for one month, to approve a programme for two years which costs only one-tenth of what, according to my information, is the expenditure of the Municipal Government of the City of Paris for every year. Why, we may ask again, do we take so much time, in the face of great challenges, in establishing an International Fund for Education, Science and Culture to enable the Organization to start delivering massive blows against illiteracy and bad education, against misunderstanding and prejudice? This seems hardly to fit the occasion today, when we sing paeans to celebrate the triumph of freedom and human dignity so well expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights. If we are to endear this day in the memory of countless generations to come, let us reassert the spirit and substance of the Declaration. Let not Unesco merely ask for reports on how Member States celebrate this day. Let it endeavour to cut through the increasing encrustation of form in celebrating Human Rights Day and augment - because it has done so well already, I say augment - its action in the fronts against ignorance, superstition and want. On these fronts, ladies and gentlemen, the rights recognized in the Declaration can be won or can be lost. Here in this august body we can only resolve once again to promote respect for the rights which I hope fervently will amount to more than mere lip service to the welfare of humanity.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Vassev, of the Bulgarian delegation.

8.1 Mr. VASSEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it gives us the greatest pleasure to associate ourselves with the thoughts and sentiments expressed by all those who have welcomed, with sincere enthusiasm, the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

8.2 The war which recently afflicted the world and cost millions of men, women and children their lives ended in the complete collapse of its instigators, and the just condemnation of evil and violence.

8.3 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of the most important results of peaceful co-operation, in the post-war world, between States with different social and economic systems. Man is the most highly perfected creature of nature. It is now ten years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights came into being. Man is becoming increasingly insistent in claiming his right to work and to a better life.

8.4 The vital force of the principles solemnly proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been confirmed by the rise, over the past ten years, of new independent States, both great and small, casting off the fetters of colonialism. These new States are giving fresh impetus to the progress of our society towards a brighter and better future. The inspiring words which, in the Universal Declaration, define the rights of man, would lose their force and significance if those rights were not put into practice for the peoples of all countries.

8.5 We, in our small Republic, are putting into practice the clauses of our Constitution in which the fundamental rights of man are inscribed - freedom, the right to work, the right to social and cultural facilities - everything, in a word, for which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides.

8.6 Our country is a small one, with a population of only seven and a half million people. The State and society have made possible a more peaceful and brighter old age for all peasants, both men and women, who now receive an old-age pension. In the Republic of Bulgaria, Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is thus being put into practice as regards office and manual workers, and peasants alike.

8.7 In our country, illiteracy is being wiped out and, in accordance with Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, compulsory education is being instituted for all children, boys and girls alike, up to the age of 15, including children belonging to the national minorities.

8.8 Since our Organization is concerned with the development of man's cultural activities, I should like to give at least one example to illustrate how the right to cultural facilities is being applied in our country. Last Monday evening, hospitable Paris gave two of our opera singers an opportunity of appearing on the stage of the State Opera House: the Bulgarian tenor, Dimitri Uzunov, in the rôle of Rhadames, and the 29-year old bass, Nicola Gyaurov, in the rôle of Ramfis in the opera "Aïda". And since art has the power to overcome all passport and other restrictions, Uzunov is to fly in a few days' time to New York to appear at the Metropolitan Opera House; and Gyaurov is to sing at the Paris Opera for a third time, on 6 December, in "Faust". The biography of both these Bulgarian singers illustrates the history of the cultural development of our young Republic. Both

come from poor families, and the Bulgarian State has provided them with every opportunity for studying and developing their talent.

8.9 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we are all moved by the solemnity of this day's meeting to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At the same time, we must admit quite frankly that slavery still exists in the world, and that man is still subjected to discrimination and humiliation. However, the fact that this Conference has decided to prepare an international instrument directed against discrimination in education represents a step towards the application of the human rights proclaimed. To put the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into practice is the most important of the tasks now before us. Those who have applied and are applying those principles still more widely will earn the gratitude of posterity.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Mohammed El Fassi, head of the Moroccan delegation.

10.1 Mr. EL FASSI (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an event which should re-echo widely through the world. To the question whether, during the past ten years, those rights have been better upheld, the answer is not indeed an unqualified affirmative; but we can say that, despite the visible injustices against human dignity still being committed in the world, the notion of the transcendence of human rights has made its way into the mind of the common man of every people.

10.2 Evidence of this is to be found in the accession of so many new members of the United Nations to the Declaration; and the improvement of the social conditions of all peoples is another facet of the upward movement which marks the world recognition of human rights. Unesco's own work and the action taken by Member States of our Organization in support of its ideals, so as to allow of the emergence of a better type of humanity, are striking evidence of the Declaration's success.

10.3 Nevertheless, still more remains to be done than has been done already towards putting into practice all the principles embodied in the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The first and principal duty falls on teachers and educationists, as indeed the Preamble to the Declaration emphasizes, in the following terms:

10.4 "The General Assembly proclaims

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms...".

10.5 Yes, it is first and foremost in the schools that respect for human dignity must be implanted in the coming generation, and in doing this the teacher plays a part of capital importance. It was because of my appreciation of the importance of this means of instilling in the young love and fidelity to the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights that last year, as Minister of Education, I caused an address to be read in all the educational establishments of Morocco on the anniversary of the Declaration. One of my main points read as follows:

10.6 "On two occasions in less than a century and a half, man has thought the moment ripe to reaffirm his indefeasible rights. What does that mean, if not that those rights must often be reaffirmed because they are still often threatened? The forces of evil are still alive and win victories even among the most liberal peoples, sometimes even in the hearts of the most just and charitable persons.

10.7 If we relax for one moment, the attack is smashed home. It is not simply a defeat of justice by strength but of the righteous man by his own brute instincts. Thus we must be vigilant to defeat the forces of oppression not only in the world around us but within ourselves."

10.8 The triumph of this ideal can be secured only by making it beloved of today's children, who are tomorrow's men.

10.9 Of course, among us Moslem Arabs, the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have always been accepted and honoured. We can indeed claim that the chief innovation of Islam was this formal and unqualified recognition of human dignity, with the proclamation of the equality of men of all races in the Koran and the Hadiths (traditions) of the Prophet. With the Arabs serving as Islam's champions some individuals might have claimed superiority over other men, but the Prophet says categorically that Arabs are not superior to non-Arabs and no one can surpass his neighbour save in reverence for God. The equality of man and woman is a tenet of Islam. One of the "traditions" of the Prophet lays it down explicitly that, in law, women are equal to men.

10.10 The right to education - or more properly the duty to get education, which is Islam's view of the matter - is the same for men and for women. The actual passage laying down this obligation runs: "Talabu l'ilmi faridatoune ala kulli muslimin wa muslima"; (securing education is a duty for every Moslem man and every Moslem woman); in Arabic usage, the masculine "muslimin" would have sufficed to cover both men and women; but to leave no doubt that this is an innovation and a new right accorded by Islam to women, the explicit mention "muslima" is added.

10.11 Indeed, Islam's concern with the acquisition of knowledge and the importance of learning is proclaimed in many a verse of the Koran and many a tradition of the Prophet. We are bidden to seek learning from the cradle to the grave, to seek learning wherever it is to be had even if we must go to China for it - teaching us incidentally that learning is not the preserve of any single people, race or community but is to be found everywhere among mankind, and that no one should be too proud to seek it of others.

10.12 Again, the Koran teaches us that the learned have pre-eminence above those who have remained in ignorance: "those who know are better than those who know not".

10.13 Arabic and Moslem tradition is full of such maxims lauding the value of learning, and it was by holding to those principles that the Arab civilization

was able to achieve the brilliance which made it the heir of Greece, of Persia and of Byzantium and enabled it to preserve, extend and hand on to the modern world the achievements of all civilizations before it.

10.14 As regards the right to liberty, we catch the very note of Article I of the Universal Declaration in the great rebuke of the Caliph Omar to certain powerful Arab leaders who, drunk with victory, were straying from the principles of Islam and seeking to impose their lordship on new converts: "Since when do you think yourselves entitled to make men slaves when their mothers brought them into the world free?" This was said at the beginning of the Seventh century, and it is a notable honour for the Arabs to find it again at the beginning of this universal proclamation which all mankind has undertaken to honour and respect.

10.15 If I have taken leave to recall these fundamentals of the philosophy of the Arab and Moslem countries, it has been the better to show you how enthusiastically the peoples of that great community have welcomed and approved the world-wide proclamation of Human Rights. Moreover, it is scarcely necessary for me to remind you that a distinguished member of the Arab peoples, Mr. Charles Malik, played an active part in the drafting of the Universal Declaration, first as Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights and later as Chairman of the Third Commission of the United Nations General Assembly which was responsible for reviewing the draft Universal Declaration.

10.16 It now remains for us to hope yet again that the peoples will redouble their efforts to make the principles of this Declaration a living reality. And the first necessity is that all men enjoy freedom, the right which is the guarantee of all others, the frame of reference determining the attitude of one to another, and the true foundation of peace in the world, so that the understanding may reign between all men which a verse of the Korean demands:

10.17 "We have created you, making you peoples and communities of many kinds, that you may know one another, and the worthiest among you in God's eyes is he who most honours God."

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on Mr. Mate of the delegation of Ghana.

12.1 Mr. MATE (Ghana):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my country Ghana achieved its independence on 6 March 1957, and on 8 March 1957, two days after the attainment of independence, it entered the United Nations family under the sponsorship of the Government of the United Kingdom. This step was taken by Ghana as a testimony of its belief and faith in the objectives of the United Nations - the pursuit and maintenance of freedom, justice and peace in the world. My country is convinced that these fundamental objectives - freedom, justice and peace - can only have as a sure and solid foundation the maintenance of human rights as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

12.2 To us in Ghana, the family, particularly in its extended form, still remains the fundamental group unit of our society, and the working of the family group, including the contribution which the individual makes to it and the protection and assistance which he obtains from it, makes us fully appreciative of what the United Nations family stands for. I believe one can, with some justification, draw an analogy between the two family systems.

12.3 No family can work satisfactorily to maintain its best interests unless each of its members is prepared, and sets out, to do his best according to the accepted standards of the group. It is through the enlightened collaboration of the members of the family unit that the rights of the individual in it are safeguarded.

12.4 At this stage, I would like to enumerate a few directions in which I think nations within the United Nations family can help promote universal respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms. First of all, I consider it essential that each of the nations should make every effort to be loyal and faithful to the principles and ideals of the United Nations family and the various organs through which the Organization works.

12.5 There should be a systematic attempt by the people of each nation to learn about the ways of life of other peoples in the world. Such knowledge should be acquired with an open mind in order to enable each one of us to appreciate and sympathize with the peculiar circumstances that have shaped the history and way of living of other people.

12.6 Each nation should place due emphasis on education, in its broadest sense, as the one potent factor through which the understanding among the members of the human family may be achieved and the respect for human rights cultivated. In addition to providing for the arts and sciences, I consider it most essential that such education should make for the cultivation of those spiritual values which enable individuals to subordinate material interest to the attainment of moral ends and true human happiness.

12.7 Each nation should make a genuine effort to examine its way of life and attitudes towards other nations and peoples, and any attitude of self-righteousness should be avoided. There should be humble acceptance of our individual and national faults and weaknesses, and we should make a genuine and determined effort to overcome any such failings.

12.8 Whenever we come to celebrate Human Rights Day, we should use the opportunity for rededicating ourselves to the noble ideals enshrined in the Declaration in order to help promote freedom, justice and peace in the world.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. MacKenzie of the delegation of Canada.

14.1 Mr. MACKENZIE (Canada):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this year and this month the world is celebrating the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

14.2 I am pleased and honoured to be among those given the opportunity of speaking on this subject at this plenary session of our tenth Unesco Conference, for there is, perhaps, no other subject which is of more importance and of greater interest. Because

it was suggested to me that I should speak particularly to Article II of the Declaration, I would like to read it: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, brith or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty".

14.3 These are high ideals which set forth in sweeping terms some of the more important matters for which Unesco and the United Nations exist and work. Unfortunately, it is usually easier to set ideas down on paper, and even to get agreement about them, than it is to carry them out and to give practical effect to them in the lives of ordinary human beings; this, because of the very nature of man himself and of the contemporary world in which we live. While we may agree that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, human beings do differ markedly from each other and in many ways, particularly as between different groups, nations and races. Accepting this fact of difference, I believe that our objectives must be those of recognizing diversity, but striving at the same time for a degree of unity which makes social organizations like the community and the State both possible and effective. If you prefer concrete terms, we should set as our ideal "unity within diversity" and "diversity with unity".

14.4 I made mention of human nature and of the fact that human beings are different, which explains in part the difficulties that we have had in realizing in practical ways the high ideals set out in our Universal Declaration. A second and somewhat similar difficulty is due to the fact that individual freedom of action and the right of the individual to do what he likes, when he likes, and how he likes, must be considered in relation to his association with other human beings and the obligations he has to them in respect of their rights, their freedom of action, and their desires. It is a commonplace but none the less true statement, that we must pay for what we get in this world, particularly if what we get is important or valuable. I am one of those who put human freedom at the top of the list of human objectives and attainments, and I do not believe that human beings can enjoy the human rights described in our Declaration without the maximum freedom for the human individual. This freedom, if it is to mean anything, for me at least, includes the right to my own opinion and to the stating of that opinion, even though it be contrary to that of my Government and the majority of my fellow citizens. It must also include the right to live my own life in the way that I want to live it, even though this too means that I may not agree with the majority of my fellow countrymen. But having said this, I would want again to join with it the necessity for an acceptance of responsibility for the conduct of one's own affairs in one's relations with others, so that this responsibility and acceptance of looking after one's self may make the achievement of personal freedom for myself and others a real possibility; but this is not an easy or a simple thesis, philosophy, or way of life, for some measure of conformity on the part of all of us is essential if society and the State are to function and to serve human beings as they should and as they must. And so for me, the measure of a good society and of the ideal nation State is the extent of the personal liberty it allows to its members and the degree to which these members, in turn, willingly and without compulsion co-operate together for social and national ends and aspirations.

14.5 We in Canada, being human, are far from perfect, and I suspect that you can find among us examples of all of the ills and evils which are common to human beings everywhere else. But I am proud of my country, not particularly because of its physical size or its potential wealth, but because I believe it is trying to work out in practical and peaceful ways some of these things I have been trying to express - that is, unity within diversity, and the maximum freedom of the individual even though he be a non-conformist. This is perhaps inevitable with us because of the very nature and history of our country, representing as we do, on an equal basis, two great but very different cultures and languages, and containing within our borders representatives of practically every race and nation in the world. As an example, my own University of British Columbia, which is one of the youngest and newest in Canada, includes among its 10,000 students, more than 1,200 who are not Canadian citizens, and these 1,200 represent more than 60 nations. Now I like to think, and I do hope, that all of the high-sounding things that I have said and all the noble ideals included in our Declaration of Rights are given effect on the campus of our University and in our province and throughout our nation. But because of what I said earlier about human nature - which is generally good, bad or indifferent, wherever you find it - regrettably, there are bound to be exceptions to our desirable aspirations, and unhappy situations which we all regret. But this for me is a continuing challenge - to the end that the ideals set out in the Declaration of Human Rights may in fact be realized, not only in laws and regulations, but in the daily lives of human beings everywhere.

14.6 It is, as I have said, fairly simple to write down and even to agree to lofty ideals. It is a much more difficult and complicated task to translate these into the daily practices and habits of ordinary human beings in towns, villages and countrysides throughout the world. In this, I believe Unesco has a special rôle to play because of her concern for education of human beings everywhere, for their appreciation of each other, for the tolerant understanding and acceptance of their differences, and for their respect and desire to share in the cultural achievements of other peoples. And so, while we must agree that our world is far from having achieved all of the goals set forth in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted ten years ago, the existence of this Declaration, and the interest of all nations in it, offer, I believe, the best evidence that some day these ideals will be realized for all human beings everywhere.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Finally I call on Mr. de Alba, head of the delegation of Mexico.

16.1 Mr. de ALBA (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before delivering my prepared address I wish to express publicly my delegation's thanks for the appreciative references, made from this rostrum by the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the spokesman of the French delegation who read Mr. Cassin's message, to my fellow-countryman, Dr. Torres Bodet, the present Secretary of Education in Mexico.

16.2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the final canalization of a flood of human aspirations which has flowed through many ages. In the struggle against tyranny, poverty and ignorance, each generation in succession left its own message of hope or promise of justice until the violence, savagery and destruction of the Second World War fertilized the soil with blood to set the ideals of political freedom and material advancement a-growing.

16.3 It is ten years since this same great-hearted and hospitable city of Paris saw the final shaping of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at the third General Assembly of the United Nations and its gifting to this and succeeding generations as compensation for the offences and bitternesses suffered during the Second World War. The Declaration is a gospel of peace, concord and brotherhood which we of this age should read daily to guide our acts, that life's journey may be less harsh.

16.4 In the Unesco General Conference we must concern ourselves principally with cultural rights. The right to compulsory elementary education free of charge is written large in Article 26 of the Declaration, which also makes it mandatory that technical and professional education be made generally available and that higher education be - as it should in a democracy - equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. In all these sectors Unesco has played its part towards the strengthening and implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and already has fruitful achievements to its credit.

16.5 On the targets and purposes of education in our age, Article 26 urges that education be directed to the development of the human personality and the enjoyment of the essential freedoms, and so conceived as to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and thereby further the maintenance of world peace. The education it describes is not egocentric, for it lays down duties towards our fellows and towards the international political community.

16.6 How far have these requirements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights been complied with? Mankind today is not without cause to blush and feel the prick of conscience at the lack of respect shown to the moral and philosophical imperatives of the Declaration we signed in Paris ten years ago.

16.7 Schooling and education are not activities pursued in isolation, but elements in the mainstream of each people's life as a national entity and as a member of the international community. Cultural rights come near the end of the Declaration, as though the drafters had had the notion that education and culture were dependent on the prior enjoyment in full measure of the physical, civil, economic, social and political rights laid down in the proceding 25 Articles. Human Rights cannot be split up or dissected: they must be mutual correlatives. They are interdependent, and together form a whole which links up with the philosophy informing the Declaration in its entirety. Ignorance is a form of destitution, an index of a low standard of living and a mark of servitude. In the Universal Declaration, every form of slavery, physical and moral, is condemned.

16.8 The authors of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, and the Fathers of Independence in the Spanish-American Republics, brought to their condemnation of slavery an impulsive but perhaps slightly impractical highmindedness. Hidalgo, the earliest hero of Mexican Independence, issued a decreee abolishing slavery throughout America in 1810; backed up, in the economic sphere, by the idea of restoring their land to the natives. The great Captain of the armies of liberation, as Walt Whitman called Lincoln, the stainless hero and martyr of the abolition of slavery in the United States of the Northern Continent, drove through his abolitionist amendment to triumph but, as he had no time to introduce it into the social structure, reprisals later broke out, followed by the mass exodus of former slaves to become homeless wanderers without means of livelihood.

16.9 Great social reforms must be accompanied by educational campaigns and vice-versa: those are conclusions which follow logically from the many passages of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights speaking of respect for the dignity of the individual.

16.10 In its first article the Declaration echoes Thomas Jefferson in laying down that all human beings are born free, equal in dignity and rights. For the harmonious reconciliation of the dignity of each individual and the rights of all individuals, the Declaration calls categorically for the aid of reason and conscience, that thereby brotherhood may be achieved between all the men upon earth.

16.11 It is a goal that can be reached only through a vitalizing education of the whole man, studious to develop all the faculties and manual aptitudes of each individual and to set him in the way of trusting, and inviting the trust of, his fellow man; that he may cherish a genuine reverence towards others. Article 26 of the Declaration calls for the promotion of understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and the furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. That is the historic mission which Unesco is carrying out by striving with ever-increasing determination for the achievement of harmony and co-operation between all the peoples of the earth. That is the road by which the coming generations will achieve freedom "from the threefold yoke of tyranny, ignorance and vice ", making a reality of the ideas expressed by America's Liberator, Simon Bolivar, in his eloquent message to the Angostura Congress 140 years ago, epitomizing the aspirations of the new Republics of the Western Hemisphere.

16.12 With this ceremony to honour the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Unesco is providing the clearest proof to this audience of distinguished personalities from all the world that as the humanists put it, no problem or concern of man is alien to it.

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the voices we have heard from every quarter of the globe still sound in our ears, tense with the same determination and vibrant with the same unconquerable hope.

17.2 We have heard the United Nations speaking in the name of hundreds of millions of men - the Philippines, Bulgaria, Morocco, Ghana, Canada, Mexico! Who could ever have foreseen that one day such accord, at once of the mind and of the heart, would be reached between peoples so diverse! And who could fail to see, behind the official formality of this ceremony, how stirred France is by the spectacle of an upsurge of the spirit of such irresistible strength beginning in this Paris meeting-room and bursting out beyond it, to lap every shore in the world, as though to herald the return to their own lands of the dedicated workers for a common cause, who are here today and who will, I am sure remain, our tried friends.

17.3 The deeper meaning and abundant promise of this movement of the spirit have been expounded by one of the most eminent jurists of our age, Mr. René Cassin, yesterday at the Sorbonne and today in the noble message you have just heard from him.

17.4 Although the main points have been excellently put by spokesmen whose eloquence matched the fervency that fired them, the whole question of Human Rights, and how they should be used in man's best interests, raises such problems that I have thought it fitting, as President of the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, to address you in my turn.

17.5 First and foremost, we need to restore the Declaration to its true context, which is ethical, and to see in its 30 Articles a turning point in the evolution of man's spiritual ideal - that ideal which, with so many awe-inspiring forces arrayed against it, seeks only to rise higher and aspire more greatly. In a word, the primary effect of this Declaration must be to contribute to the purification and uplifting of mankind's heart.

17.6 Of course, from the earliest time, this spiritual element, this surge of charity, has sought to find expression. The roll of honour of the struggle for human rights includes the prophets and apostles of the past who took their stand against tyrannies of all kinds; and the martyrs too, who, with the foreknowledge of imminent death, may have had a vision of the happiness of free men - a happiness still so far in the future - at a time when all too often their heroic sacrifice may have seemed useless to their fellows.

17.7 Sometimes too, a few leaders with absolute powers suddenly perceived the shame of abusing them, and some, the wisest and most virtuous, sought their title to fame by associating their name or reign with this or that new guarantee.

17.8 Magna Carta, the corner-stone of the political and personal freedoms which today are part of the British tradition, was followed by the Norwegian Landslov which, nearly seven centuries ago, conceded the privilege of justice to all the king's subjects; and that by the Polish law of 1430 preparing the ground for the well-known English "habeas corpus" which, with the religious freedoms granted in Bohemia, was to be the glory of the Seventeenth century. Then came the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, whereby the Philadelphia Congress established inalienable political rights. Finally, thirteen years later, the French National Assembly promulgated the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen which was to be the inspiration of all those called on to rebuild the structures of societies and States on better lines.

17.9 To this long tradition of aspirations, efforts and achievements a last link was added on 10 December 1948 to extend the chain passed down by dead men's hands. Indeed it extended it immeasurably, for we must be clear that this Universal Declaration from which the whole of Unesco's vast programme, with its tremendous possibilities, is derived - is not a mere enlargement to world scale of the agreements reached in other days between particular sovereigns and their peoples. It is in its nature rather than its scope that, without superseding them, it transcends immeasurably the models which may have inspired its devising. It outranks them too in its genesis, for it is the product not of a revolution but of a resolution.

17.10 Until 10 December 1948, economic, social and cultural rights had been more or less neglected. Then came the moment when the substance of all national contracts whatsoever, however far-reaching their teaching and influence, could no longer suffice to satisfy man's growing aspirations after complete fulfilment of his powers and gifts on a scale commensurate with the continuous political and sociological metamorphoses which are widening the world's horizons.

17.11 The fact is that human consciousness too, whatever some may think, describes a rising curve of progress in its needs and demands, which can transcend what had been thought to be the final heights. The raking spur of absolute values drives man on towards an ever loftier concept of what he should be, on which he perpetually seeks to model himself. It is this undeniable increase of scruple, laying new duties on the community, which gives our Declaration its quality not merely of outreaching but of transcending all that went before it. In truth, it expresses the keen longing for a brotherhood of man which shall be full and final and which would feel itself satisfied in nothing, if this time its demands did not comprehend all that human justice should concede.

17.12 This Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the crown of long striving and sign of a need born in the depths of man's being, has in reality become the most "live" and urgent subject in the world, for we have reached a moment when the men of our century, tempered by testing and grievous experience, need to feel that in this text they have, not a book of rules to which to turn, but the very essence of their most generous wishes and most natural aspirations - wishes and aspirations which they must respect and make respected for one and all. Either such a Declaration is nothing, or it means that we are all gripped by the need to establish a positive moral code for individuals and peoples. It is this which earlier speakers asked

us to think upon, and this which we must now reflect in our acts. The Declaration is not something which is self-sufficient, content to state a charter of human liberties whose rules can be disregarded to a greater or lesser extent by particular individuals according to the circumstances and the need. This was, of course, the position in other days and the description could well fit the concessions made by a government or a polity to strivings towards freedom.

17.13 Today there is no more question of such calculated action in terms of more or less self-interested benevolence. Man's clamour for his rights - with all the duties they create for his governors - comes not merely from the mouths of those seeking to break their fetters but from all of us together, and all mankind together is joined in the desperate appeal which each makes to each. In this rising clamour which echoes in our very hearts we will not hear only the age-old battering of angry waves against a rock which crumbles only grudgingly: the sound we long for for the future is the peaceful murmur of a sea at long last smooth and sun-kissed, on golden sands to which all can come.

17.14 That is the gleam, that the dawn to which man now seeks to travel. It is towards that shore that he is already making his way. Let us in Unesco be his guide and his support. It is our duty, and we should have the power, to do so.

17.15 That is why, in making France's contribution to the homage of the five continents which have fused their mighty dreams into this rule of life proferred to the world at large, the President of the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco has taken leave to voice his emotion, his hope and his faith.

17.16 May the memory of this moment and the recollection of the centuries which have distilled it from the sufferings of men waiting long for brotherhood implant in us the determination to work unwearyingly to hasten the coming of that concert of hearts and minds, where there are no more claims and concessions but understanding, help and love between equals.

17.17 Then at last the world may be able to live in peace, and man, a free and thinking being, will at last be worthy of the rights he has so keenly longed to win.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

TWENTY-FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

4 December 1958, at 3.50 p.m.

President: Mr. S.G. KHALIQ (Pakistan)

CONTENTS

Third report of the Administrative Commission (conclusion): International Non-Governmental Organizations . . 302
Report of the Joint Meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions 312
Membership of the Legal Committee, Reports Committee and Headquarters Committee 320

THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION (conclusion): INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. The PRESIDENT:
Ladies and gentlemen, the twenty-fourth plenary meeting is now open. This afternoon the Conference will first conclude its consideration of the Report of the Administrative Commission (document 10 C/73 Rev.). The only chapter remaining to be considered is Chapter F - International Non-Governmental Organizations, which includes four draft resolutions: 28, 29, 30 and 31. I call upon Mr. Baugniet, Chairman of the Administrative Commission, who will present to us these four draft resolutions and the observations of the Commission, beginning with paragraphs 112-116.

2.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Administrative Commission studied the questions relating to international non-governmental organizations. It first considered the policy to be followed regarding consultations with these organizations.
2.2 For that purpose, it examined the careful study made by the Executive Board, presented in document 10 C/7.
2.3 The delegations of Ecuador, the United Arab Republic and the United Kingdom expressed doubts as to the usefulness of collective consultations designed to associate international non-governmental organizations with the preparation of Unesco's draft programme.
2.4 The representative of the Director-General drew the Commission's attention to the fact that this procedure was based on the decision of the General Conference taken at its seventh session, and that it was on the whole satisfactory from the point of view of the Secretariat.
2.5 The representative of the Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations, recalling a resolution adopted unanimously by the recent Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Relationship with Unesco, urged that these consultations be continued.
2.6 Following on this discussion, and taking account of these various remarks, the Commission submits to you draft resolution No. 28, which "recommends to the Director-General not to envisage, in 1959-1960, collective consultations with the organizations without the prior approval of the Executive Board". Consultations will therefore be possible, but will be conditional on the Executive Board's previous authorization.
2.7 Thus you are called upon to take a decision on resolution No. 28.

3. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon Mgr Maroun.

4.1 Mgr MAROUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, allow me to draw the Conference's attention to a discrepancy between this resolution and another resolution contained in document 10 C/77, concerning the appraisal of Unesco's programmes.
4.2 Both resolutions deal with the same subject, namely collective consultations with non-governmental organizations during the preparation of the proposed programme. Two different, and perhaps contradictory, opinions are expressed in both these texts.
4.3 In the resolution concerning the appraisal, it is said that "Unesco, in preparing and implementing its programme, shall establish the closest co-operation with international non-governmental organizations specializing in the various sectors of education, science and culture". It is therefore recommended that, for the preparation of the programme, close co-operation be established between the Secretariat and non-governmental organizations.
4.4 On the other hand, in the draft resolution now under consideration, it is said that collective consultations with these organizations should not be envisaged in 1959-1960 without the prior approval of the Executive Board.

4,5 Mr. President, I consider that the General Conference cannot take two different decisions on the same subject. Perhaps these two texts should be harmonized. I do not think that they differ fundamentally. Doubts have been expressed with regard to the need or usefulness of collective consultations; there was no unanimity in the matter, but, as I pointed out during the recent consideration of the appraisal of the programmes, this usefulness was definitely underlined.

5. The PRESIDENT:
I would request Mr. Baugniet to comment on this point.

6,1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, when the Administrative Commission decided to submit to you, for your approval, resolution No. 28, which is now under consideration, it was unaware of the decision that had been taken or was about to be taken by the Working Party on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes; but, on rereading this resolution, I cannot see any difference between the two texts. The resolution which was read out to you by the Lebanese delegate and which you have already adopted says that "Unesco, in preparing and implementing its programme, shall establish the closest co-operation with international non-governmental organizations specializing in the various sectors of education, science and culture".
6,2 These consultations are desired by everyone, and no member of the Administrative Commission objected to such a procedure; on the contrary, everyone hoped that these consultations would be as numerous and frequent as possible. However, certain doubts were expressed with regard to "collective" consultations, i.e. the meeting of representatives of several non-governmental organizations with a view to the joint study of certain projects, and such collective consultations have simply been made conditional on the prior approval of the Executive Board. That is a secondary aspect of this important question - the consultation of non-governmental organizations - and I see no discrepancy between resolution No. 28 and the text already adopted by this assembly.

7. The PRESIDENT:
Thank you, Mr. Baugniet. Is this satisfactory to the delegate of Lebanon? I call upon the delegate of Lebanon.

8. Mgr MAROUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I apologize for again taking the floor. As the Chairman of the Administrative Commission has indicated, there is no fundamental difference or contradiction; the discrepancy is to be found only in the drafting, and it would perhaps be advisable to revise the latter in order to harmonize both texts as far as possible. That is the question. The Executive Board's prior approval of collective consultations certainly ensures that the Board will be able to observe the policy defined by the resolution concerning appraisal, but a slight change in the drafting might lessen the difference between the two texts.

9. The PRESIDENT:
Has Mgr Maroun a revised draft resolution to suggest?

10. Mgr MAROUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):
Considering the conclusions of the Working Party on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes, the Secretariat's opinion concerning these collective consultations, and the fact that the question of the advisability of these consultations is submitted to the Board for its consideration, it is clear that these consultations are fully justified. For these three reasons, I propose, that the Conference reject the Administrative Commission's draft resolution.

11,1 The PRESIDENT:
I would like to put to the vote the proposal of the delegate of Lebanon, that we reject draft resolution No. 28.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
11,2 The proposal is rejected by 3 votes in favour, 21 against, with 10 abstentions.
11,3 We now put to the vote resolution No. 28, together with paragraphs 112-116.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
11,4 Resolution No. 28 is adopted by 35 votes in favour, none against, with 8 abstentions.
11,5 I call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission to present paragraphs 117-119 of the Report and draft resolution No. 29.

12,1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, delegates, the Commission considered the recommendation of the Executive Board that in the course of a review of the directives governing relations with international non-governmental organizations which is to take place at the eleventh session of the General Conference special attention should be devoted to the classification of organizations co-operating with Unesco.
12,2 A wide exchange of views took place on the principles which should guide the Director-General and the Executive Board in the forthcoming review of the directives. After discussion of the document which had been submitted to it, the Commission decided to set up a drafting committee composed of representatives of Australia, Belgium, Switzerland, the United Arab Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who would submit a redraft of this document.
12,3 The new draft resolution was further amended after considerable discussion, and in view of these amendments the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics asked that their country be deleted from the list of Member States on the drafting committee. The Commission then adopted by 36 votes to none, with 13 abstentions, the draft resolution which is set out in the report as No. 29 and which it submits for your approval.

13,1 The PRESIDENT:
Any comments? Then we shall vote on draft resolution No. 29.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

13.2 The resolution is adopted by 42 votes in favour, one against, and 8 abstentions.
13.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission to present paragraphs 120-124 of the Report and draft resolution No. 30.

14.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission was then called upon to consider applications by international non-governmental organizations for admission to consultative arrangements. In the course of the general discussion, several delegations expressed the view that the Executive Board had made negative recommendations on a number of applications from organizations which seemed to meet fully the criteria laid down by the Directives, and asked that a representative of the Board be present to answer questions. The Chairman of the Commission consulted the Chairman of the Executive Board and the General Committee of the Conference and informed the Commission that the Executive Board had decided not to be represented at the meetings of Commissions and Committees by one of its members, as its views were expressed in the reports presented in printed form.
14.2 After a discussion as to the procedure to be adopted in considering the document submitted to it, the Commission decided by 28 votes to 16, with 6 abstentions, to follow the procedure suggested by the Chairman, whereby the applications whose acceptance had not been recommended by the Executive Board - i.e. those of the organizations set out in List B, paragraph 8 of the Recommendations of the Executive Board (document 10 C/42) - would be taken first, and individually, and the applications whose approval had been recommended by the Executive Board - i.e. those of the organizations mentioned in List A of the said Recommendations - would be voted on en bloc. By the same vote, the Commission accepted the Chairman's ruling that only one speaker - either a representative of the appropriate non-governmental organization, or a member of the Commission - would be allowed to speak in favour of the applications whose acceptance had not been recommended by the Executive Board.
14.3 Some delegations strongly protested against the procedure adopted by the Commission during the examination of applications, on the grounds that it led to discrimination. The delegation of Bulgaria announced its intention of intervening on this matter in the plenary meeting.
14.4 The following organizations, authorized by the General Conference to send observers, were allowed to make statements: Académie internationale de la céramique; International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children; Centre international d'études esthétiques.
14.5 After noting that the International Union of Students for the United Nations had withdrawn its application and after the Secretariat had replied to requests for additional information in the case of certain organizations, the Commission decided to propose to the General Conference, for its approval, draft resolution No. 30. I consider that, with a view to the proper organization of this discussion by the Conference, it would probably be desirable to consider each of the parts of this resolution - i.e., Part I, admitting several organizations to consultative arrangements, Part II, rejecting the applications by certain organizations, and Parts III and IV, recognizing that certain organizations do not yet meet the conditions required for admission to consultative arrangements.

15. The PRESIDENT:

Thank you. Any comments? I call upon the delegate of Yugoslavia.

16.1 Mr. MATIC (Yugoslavia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Yugoslav delegation has frequently expressed its opinion on the question under discussion. We consider it an important question and should like our opinion to be recorded on the present occasion.
16.2 This problem has been discussed at length. Compared with other problems relating to international co-operation, it seems, at least at first sight, to be of minor importance. In fact, it is a question of adding six international organizations to the long list of those already admitted to consultative arrangements with Unesco. Many organizations with consultative status are of considerably less importance than the six organizations which have given rise to so many discussions and which represent the students, youth, scientific workers, journalists and broadcasting organizations of East European countries in particular, but also of other parts of the world (although to a smaller extent). What is of importance to Unesco, and to all of us here, is the fact that these are the only organizations representing the youth, students, scientific workers etc. of Eastern Europe. In refusing to admit them to consultative arrangements, Unesco is isolating itself from these organizations and depriving itself of their experience, which, for better or for worse, will influence the world.
16.3 We consider that Unesco, as an international organization, and all of us, as members of Unesco, would be able to benefit from the admission of these organizations to consultative arrangements.
16.4 The question therefore arises: "Why has the Administrative Commission refused consultative status to these organizations, despite the numerous speeches we have heard here in favour of peaceful international co-operation?" This status has been refused - I regret to have to say it here - in the spirit of the cold war, to which this Conference has paid its tribute.
16.5 We are unable to accept as valid the arguments that these organizations are political and that it would therefore be incompatible with Unesco's aims to grant them consultative status. Can we even pretend that all the organizations which we have already admitted to consultative arrangements have no political trend? Why then - and I mention two instances chosen at random - was consultative status granted to the International Union of Socialist Youth and the Catholic International Association for Radio and Television, but refused, for instance, to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Broadcasting Organization? This difference in treatment can be due only to political prejudice.
16.6 I wish to emphasize, as I did on a previous

occasion, that no Yugoslav organization is a member of the international organizations whose status we are now considering. Our national organizations co-operate with them on a bilateral basis; they find this co-operation useful, despite the fact that they do not always agree with the organizations' policy. They co-operate with them just as they do with other similar organizations in other parts of the world. This co-operation is inspired by our policy, i.e. a policy of international co-operation based on equality and uninfluenced by ideological considerations. We consider that only so can we resolve problems common to the entire human family, and that war is the only alternative to this policy.

16.7 This is why, fellow delegates, the Yugoslav delegation again urges you in plenary meeting to approve the admission of these organizations to consultative arrangements, so that we shall not part from one another with the disagreeable impression that some of our decisions were strongly influenced by political bias, which should not be tolerated in our Organization.

17. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Bulgaria.

18.1 Mr. BACHEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Administrative Commission has, on the whole, done considerable work and we shall be able to approve most of its results.

18.2 The People's Republic of Bulgaria deeply regrets, however, that it cannot entirely approve all the Commission's recommendations and proposals, and that it is obliged to express its disagreement with certain parts of the Commission's report and submit to the General Conference certain observations concerning the procedure which the Commission occasionally adopted in the course of its work.

18.3 The part of the report we cannot approve is precisely the part we are now considering - namely, Chapter F, paragraphs 120-124 and 126-128.

18.4 The matter in question is Unesco's policy regarding non-governmental organizations which have already been admitted to consultative arrangements or which applied for such admission prior to the opening of the present session of the General Conference.

18.5 At its ninth session, the General Conference had instructed the Executive Board and the Secretariat to review the list of international non-governmental organizations and consider the applications by new organizations.

18.6 In order to carry out this task, the Secretariat had prepared documents, the volume of which, as you are aware, alarmed delegations and certainly contributed to the vote in favour of the resolution which we approved the day before yesterday concerning the limitation of Unesco's documents.

18.7 On the basis of this voluminous documentation, we were entitled to expect the Executive Board to make a detailed, judicious and objective analysis and give convincing reasons for its proposals. Unfortunately, the result is far from satisfying us. The Executive Board has simply communicated these documents to Member States and delegations in the form in which they were prepared by the Secretariat; the Board has submitted to us its decisions concerning international non-governmental organizations in a peremptory manner, without any comment or valid argument.

18.8 These decisions did not reflect in any way the real situation in this field; ignored the Directives concerning Unesco's relations with non-governmental organizations; and contributed nothing new or constructive in regard to its relations with certain international organizations which are representative of the masses, have an immense influence on all the continents in the world, and can thus facilitate considerably the extension of Unesco's activities and ideals among very large sections of the population of numerous countries.

18.9 The applications by these organizations which have considerably assisted in the popularization and even implementation of Unesco's programme have been rejected, while consultative status has been granted to organizations whose only merit is to have vaguely expressed their intention of co-operating with Unesco.

18.10 As we have not been informed of the Executive Board's discussions on this question or of the reasons for its proposals, our delegation has been able to judge the latter only in the light of the documents which have been presented to us and which we have carefully studied. What is even more astonishing is that the Executive Board refused to send one of its members to the Administrative Commission to provide it with the information and explanations not contained in the documents.

18.11 In our opinion, such a procedure is contrary to all democratic usages of international assemblies and affords further proof of the fact that the Executive Board did not, and could not, have any reasons justifying the recommendations which it thought fit to submit to us.

18.12 These recommendations simply reflected a preconceived attitude - already affirmed on several other occasions - of partiality for certain international organizations known for their hostility towards certain countries, and of bias against other organizations which apparently had failed to gain the Board's goodwill for the simple reason that they had not followed the policy of the organizations to which I have just referred. These organizations, which met with no understanding from the Executive Board, included such bodies as the International Broadcasting Organization, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, etc.

18.13 Our delegation was of opinion that, after the general discussion, the Administrative Commission had every possibility of remedying the Executive Board's errors.

18.14 The Commission should have reconsidered independently and impartially the Executive Board's proposals, carefully studied the voluminous documentation placed at its disposal, taken into account the experience already acquired in regard to Unesco's relations with the organizations concerned, and drawn accurate and just conclusions corresponding to the different points of view expressed during the discussion of the question. It did not do so.

18.15 This strange procedure - imposed by a not very democratic majority, which, it seems, feared nothing so much as the possibility of being persuaded

of the rightness and usefulness of admitting the organizations concerned to consultative arrangements - reduced the discussion of this question to a mere formality of no importance, and prevented a detailed, frank and honest debate.

18.16 Such a discussion could by no means create the serene atmosphere so necessary to our work, or lead to recommendations reflecting a spirit of mutual respect and understanding as well as the desire to assist Unesco in every way by reconciling opinions which often differ on the solution of certain problems, such as that of international non-governmental organizations.

18.17 Our delegation deeply regrets that the Administrative Commission was unable to perform this part of its task in a satisfactory and equitable manner.

18.18 A group of delegations virtually transformed this working method into a discriminative procedure; the consequences will be negative, not for the democratic international organizations whose applications were rejected, but for Unesco, which will be deprived of these organizations' help, influence, competence and human and material resources.

18.19 It is obvious that Unesco cannot remain indefinitely separated by a wall of mistrust, prejudices and political considerations from large sections of the peoples, among which the National Commissions will be unable to carry out activities for the implementation of our programme without the co-operation of the organizations concerned.

18.20 The logic inherent in the development of our Organization demands, and will impose, the changes that are necessary for us to arrive at an adequate solution of this problem. Moreover, the organizations concerned are intelligent enough to take a stand which is quite different from the narrow-minded attitude adopted towards them by certain delegations. They will undoubtedly be guided, not by resentment provoked by the incomprehensible attitude of certain delegations, but by Unesco's noble aims.

18.21 If our delegation has endorsed the proposals for the admission of a number of democratic international organizations to consultative arrangements, it is not because these organizations need such a status in order to exist or develop; the prestige they enjoy among millions of members is convincing proof of this; it is because we consider that closer relations between these organizations and Unesco would assist the latter's activities and help to strengthen its universality.

18.22 I should like to emphasize that the information which the Secretariat's representatives supplied to us - during the Commission's discussions - with regard to these organizations and their activities confirmed our opinion that these activities are, and can be, of great importance to Unesco.

18.23 Despite all the evidence, however, and despite the urgent reasons in favour of the admission of these organizations to consultative arrangements, the delegations which always oppose it, and for reasons quite unrelated to culture and science, succeeded in having these organizations' applications rejected.

18.24 All these delegations argued that Unesco, in its relations with international non-governmental organizations, should follow the policy adopted in this matter by the United Nations and the Economic and Social Council.

18.25 In our opinion, this arbitrary statement is completely unfounded and deserves no attention whatever. We should like to recall, however, that this argument was put forward only in connexion with democratic non-governmental organizations and was not given the same weight in the case of organizations of a conservative or even less recommendable nature. Further, even a cursory study of the list of non-governmental organizations already admitted to consultative arrangements clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of them have not been granted similar status by the United Nations.

18.26 To crown all, the majority prevented the views of the delegations which expressed the contrary opinion from being set out in the Administrative Commission's report.

18.27 As you may judge for yourselves, this procedure is anything but democratic; and it led several delegations to make protests, which were likewise excluded from the report.

18.28 Mr. President, I deeply regret having had to utter such bitter but frank words. At the conclusion of our work, I should have preferred to use the opportunity you have offered me in order to express my whole-hearted satisfaction with the results of the Administrative Commission's lengthy proceedings.

18.29 For the reasons I have just mentioned, this was not possible, and I am obliged to state that our delegation cannot approve the Administrative Commission's report without expressing reservations concerning Chapter F, paragraphs 120-124 and 126-128.

19. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the United States of America.

20.1 Mr. RABB (United States of America):

Mr. President, the delegation of the United States supports the recommendation of the Administrative Commission, that we reject the applications for consultative arrangements from the International Broadcasting Organization, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Scientific Workers and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. I disagree with the view of the delegate of Bulgaria that the majority vote in the Administrative Commission was "an undemocratic majority". It is difficult for me to understand this; a majority vote is a basic principle of democratic procedure.

20.2 The Executive Board recommended to the General Conference that these six applications be rejected, the External Relations Commission of the Executive Board recommended that these six applications be rejected. The recommendations of the Administrative Commission should be adopted by this General Conference, and the applications of these six organizations rejected because they are political and propaganda organizations. The record clearly indicates the nature of these organizations; they attack the decisions of the United Nations and seek to undermine the objectives of both the United Nations and Unesco. They do not serve the purpose of

bringing together all peoples in mutual regard and respect.

20.3 Some of these organizations were once granted consultative arrangements with the United Nations and with Unesco, but these arrangements have been terminated because of the abuse on the part of these organizations of the privileges extended to them. Let us examine the relationship of each of these organizations with the United Nations and with Unesco. The International Broadcasting Organization is a non-governmental organization, but is, in fact, an intergovernmental organization and, accordingly, does not qualify. The consultative status of the International Organization of Journalists with the United Nations was terminated in the year 1950, its consultative status with Unesco was terminated in 1952, and its application for reinstatement with the United Nations was rejected in 1957. The application of the International Union of Students for consultative status with the United Nations was rejected by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1950, and its consultative status with Unesco was terminated in 1952. And to proceed, the consultative status of the World Federation of Democratic Youth with Unesco was terminated in 1952, and its category (b) consultative status with the United Nations was terminated in 1950; its application for reinstatement to category (b) consultative status with the United Nations was rejected in 1951, in 1953, in 1954, and again in 1957. The consultative status of the World Federation of Scientific Workers with Unesco was terminated in 1950; its application for consultative status with the United Nations was rejected by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1948, and again in 1950. The consultative status of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers with the United Nations was terminated in 1950, and its application for reinstatement was rejected in the year 1957.

20.4 The policies and the activities of these organizations during the past few years do not reflect any substantial change, and the original reasons for the termination of their consultative status with the United Nations and Unesco remain valid. If these organizations were once again granted that status they would exploit their relationship with Unesco for political and propaganda purposes. These organizations do not meet the requirements of paragraphs 13 and 14 of the Unesco Directives adopted at the General Conference in 1956, which provide that a non-governmental organization, to be eligible for consultative arrangements with Unesco, shall "have aims and purposes in conformity with the general principles embodied in the Constitution of Unesco". It is apparent that these organizations operate within a narrow compass that would destroy the universality of appeal and the basis of amity that are inherent in the aims and aspirations of Unesco. The spread of knowledge, not political propaganda, is the keynote of Unesco.

20.5 For all these reasons, it seems to the delegation of the United States that these six organizations are not eligible for consultative arrangements with Unesco, and their applications should accordingly be rejected by the General Conference. My delegation will therefore vote for the recommendations of the Administrative Commission.

21. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

22.1 Mr. ZHUKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, delegates, I shall not dwell upon the characteristics of the organizations under discussion - particularly the six democratic international non-governmental organizations referred to by the preceding speakers - for in this respect I completely agree with what was said by the representatives of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

22.2 I think we all fully appreciate the importance of the work done by international non-governmental organizations with a view to the implementation of Unesco's programme and the fulfilment of the noble tasks prescribed by its Constitution. It must be emphasized, however, that no provision in the Constitution or in any other Unesco document enjoins that Unesco's activities must be carried out only through the channel of non-governmental organizations whose work meets with the approval of certain delegations or a large group of delegations. I consider that such a way of approaching the question would be completely wrong.

22.3 If Unesco is to be a universal organization, in which different points of view can be expressed - and it is only in these circumstances that it can accomplish fruitful work - Unesco must co-operate with different types of international organizations. Unfortunately, we are obliged to point out that this is now the second session of the General Conference at which we have had to draw attention to this matter, i.e. the fact that certain delegations do not, under any circumstances, wish to permit co-operation with international organizations which do not profess the same faith as themselves.

22.4 The United States representative stated that his delegation approved the Administrative Commission's proposal that the six international organizations concerned should not be admitted to consultative arrangements with Unesco. Unfortunately, I am bound to remark that none of the arguments adduced is objective, and that the method by which the United States representative endeavoured to convince us is by no means new. It is an old, threadbare method which consists in sticking a "political propaganda" label on all projects and organizations that are not to the liking of the United States delegation. We are told that these organizations engage in political propaganda; but we know that, for many years now, this term has been used by various newspapers, etc., and that this label is affixed to whatever it is desired to reject. I do not think that such methods should be used in Unesco.

22.5 Unfortunately, I doubt whether the procedure adopted by Unesco for the consideration of this question can be called objective. The Bulgarian representative has already described in sufficient detail how this question was examined by the Executive Board and the Administrative Commission. This is all further proof of the fact that they consider it, not objectively or in the interests of the Organization, but in the egoistic and political interests of certain countries. Democracy does not mean that the majority should gag the minority. I do not consider it democratic to refuse even to include the minority point of view in the Commission's report to the plenary meeting; I feel it is very far from democratic. It seems to me that certain of the delegations here are playing

at hide-and-seek, as it were; in the organs of the United Nations, they vote against the granting of consultative status to these organizations, and then they come here and say that the United Nations refused to grant such consultative status. Thus, in the United Nations, these very delegations, including the United States delegation present here, ensured the rejection of these organizations' applications for consultative status; but, here, they tell us that the United Nations refused consultative status to the organizations concerned. I consider it useless to play hide-and-seek here; the situation is perfectly clear to us all.

22.6 I do not think that all this justifies a refusal to allow international organizations to assist Unesco in the performance of its tasks, if they are able and willing to do so. Mr. President, I feel that Unesco should now abandon this game of hide-and-seek, take a step forward and admit these organizations to consultative arrangements; this would be in the interests both of international co-operation - genuine international co-operation, if that is what is really wanted - and of the Organization itself. The sooner our Organization settles this question, the better.

23. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Czechoslovakia.

24.1 Mr. HOFFMEISTER (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I fail to understand you: you often emphasize that you are representatives of Member States, or rather of the governments of Member States, and that you have received more or less strict directives from your respective governments.

24.2 Unless I am mistaken, governments are political institutions. Do you consider it logical on the part of political representatives to refuse the benefit of consultative status to certain organizations, simply on the pretext that they too are political organizations, although that is not true and although their statutes do not assign them political objectives? Their statutes, on the contrary, correspond almost word for word to the ideas expressed in our Organization's Constitution.

24.3 The United States delegate stated a moment ago that these non-governmental organizations were political and propaganda organizations; but I note that the word which is contained in the statutes of non-governmental organizations changes its meaning as soon as it is uttered by the United States delegate. Does the Unesco Constitution entitle us to make such a discrimination? I doubt it, and I regret that our Organization has decided to exclude from our debates young and active international non-governmental bodies, not even allowing them to send observers, and refusing to discuss with them problems with which they are quite familiar. This decision is all the more regrettable as it was taken in Paris, in the very centre of Cartesian rationalism, and probably in the name of that freedom to have and to express one's own opinion, which the United States delegate recalled to us the other day by quoting, so charmingly, Voltaire.

24.4 Further, you have approved the admission of organizations protecting dogs, cats and other animals, and organizations of police officers interested in singing and painting; but you have decided not to admit world youth organizations and students' organizations which desire to co-operate with Unesco and which represent an imposing number of young people as well as a source of dynamic energy that is of fundamental importance for the future, for the preservation of the world's eternal youth and for the progress of mankind.

24.5 Ladies and gentlemen, we are now concerned not only with the fact that our Organization has refused to recognize present-day realities - which is not very estimable - but also with your personal responsibility towards yourselves, towards your youth (perhaps your past youth) and towards your children - although I admit that the latter do not always agree with their parents. That is perhaps the only reason - not a very cogent one - for the attitude of the majority, but it was not even adduced.

24.6 I wonder whether you realize that, by refusing to meet the legitimate requests of young people, students, trade unions, journalists etc., you are repudiating the finest period of your human activities; you are refusing to allow young people to live with you, alongside of you; you are disavowing your own youth, the spirit of opposition you showed when you were in your twenties, your first loves, your first political successes, the wonder of your first philosophical studies, your discovery of achievements in the fields of art and thought; and yet several of you have reached the age when we think of our university days with a certain melancholy or even with a sorrowful smile.

24.7 Allow me, nevertheless, to express the hope that the day is not so far distant when goodwill and reciprocal understanding will prevail in our discussions. Today, when words, promises, prices and personalities are so unstable, we all have increasing need of clarity, logic and simple common sense.

25. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Denmark.

26.1 Mr. NIELSEN (Denmark):
Mr. President, we have heard expressions of views from a number of countries who especially support these six organizations on which we are concentrating our attention. I particularly refer to the intervention of the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Zhukov, whom we all respect for his sense of loyalty and for the measured and dispassionate manner in which he gave his views. I shall try to do likewise.

26.2 First of all, the Executive Board has been attacked on the ground that it did not wish to repeat before the Administrative Commission the reasons why the recommendation was made as it was. Since the Chairman of the Executive Board is not here, I feel obliged to tell you that there has, of course, been a division of opinion even in the Executive Board; it is quite natural that it should be so. And the reasons which the majority adopted as their views are given in the report which the External Relations Commission of the Executive Board gave to the Board, and which the Board has passed on to you for your consideration. This is my first point, and I take it that the action of the Executive Board in this connexion has been correct.

26.3 Now for the question itself. It has been said that we are rejecting these organizations on the grounds that they are favoured by governments of another political view. Fellow delegates, I take the view that we are here dealing with non-governmental organizations. I refer especially to the intervention of the representative of Czechoslovakia, and it is not quite clear to me whether these organizations can, in all cases, be characterized as non-governmental organizations. One of the chief motives for the point of view taken by the Executive Board is the wish to avoid a proliferation of those organizations for which consultative arrangements are granted on the grounds of political party colour, and in that respect I think it cannot be denied that this is one of the characteristics of those organizations. Let me call your attention to the fact that they are not the only ones to which this point applies. If you look through the lists of organizations which have not been recommended for consultative arrangements, you find such organizations as, for instance, the International Council of Social Democratic Women, or the United Union of Social Democratic Teachers. I think that no one would imply that the goals and the activities of these organizations are not in conformity with the aims and purposes of Unesco, but the reasons why these organizations were not recommended for consultative arrangements are exactly the same as those which apply to the six organizations in question: mainly, to repeat it once more, the wish to avoid a division, according to political party colour, of the organizations with which Unesco collaborates under consultative arrangements. And it is undoubtedly true that this applies to the six organizations in question; I know it from the fact that there have been groups in other countries who individually adhered to these organizations, but who found by experience that there was in these organizations room for only one political party view. This, I think, is the deeper reason for the fact that these organizations have not been considered to satisfy the requirements of the Directives given for the question of admission to consultative arrangements.

26.4 I am fully aware that those who favour the admission of these organizations may say that this or that organization has branches in countries where the political system is a different one, and that this shows that they are international in character. To this I would reply (this argument has not been made, but I would like to prevent it from being made), it is quite natural in those countries where information of political opinion is free, that there are groups who sympathize with the political views and political aspirations of such organizations as these, and therefore it is quite natural that there should be groups who are free to affiliate themselves with them if they so wish. This is the main point, and I would wish that those who attack Unesco on this score, as being politically dominated by views of a certain character, might try to understand the deeper meaning behind this position, which I think is defendable. It may be, in the course of development, that the character of these organizations will show that they are non-governmental, that they are not directed by governmental political views, that they are open to opinions other than the ones on which they, I think admittedly, are conducted. If that occurs one day, it might well be that we should yield to the appeals made to us to include them among the list of organizations to which Unesco grants consultative arrangements.

27. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom, Sir Edward Boyle.

28.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, as I understand the position, in draft resolution No. 29, the whole question of Unesco's relationships with international non-governmental organizations is to be submitted to the Executive Board for further study in the light of the remarks made during the General Conference. Therefore I shall not, I promise, detain you for very many minutes. However, as the delegates of the USSR and our friends continue to press the claims of a number of international organizations which have consistently been rejected both by the Executive Board and the General Conference, I am grateful for this opportunity of explaining that the support of the Board by the United Kingdom delegation is not, I hope, based on any irrational prejudice.

28.2 There are a number of reasons why the United Kingdom delegation is opposed to the award of consultative status to these organizations. The first is that we believe that these organizations are really misnamed, because whatever their titles may be, the fact quite clearly remains that their main purpose is to promote Marxist-Leninist ideology. When I say, to promote Marxist-Leninist ideology, I do not mean to use a term of abuse; we in the United Kingdom are by no means opposed to free discussion of Marxist-Leninist ideology. We have in Britain a Communist Party of about 25,000 members, about the size of half a fairly small parliamentary constituency. We have a daily Communist newspaper; we have one or two somewhat intellectual and interesting Communist quarterlies, and we have also in Britain one or two thinkers who have attacked Marxism very ably, from a distinctly sophisticated intellectual viewpoint. But we do think that there are real objections to admitting to consultative status a number of organizations that are, quite frankly, misnamed. I would seriously put the suggestion that it might be worth while for all these organizations to federate into something that might be called the International Council for the Promotion of Marxist-Leninist Ideology, and I think, in that case, the United Kingdom might be ready to take a rather more favourable view of their activities.

28.3 The second point I wish to make is this: these organizations claim that Unesco should admit them because, if they are kept out, Unesco is false to its mission, which is to promote the free flow of information. But after all, these organizations themselves, by their very nature as vehicles for the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, aim at suppressing any social doctrines opposed to that ideology. Their point is not so much to extend information as, so far as they possibly can, to aim at victory. An international organization dedicated to the preservation of liberty cannot surely admit those who are opposed to the liberty of expression. I listened with very great interest to the statement of the delegate of the USSR that the majority have no right to suppress the minority. I was very pleased to hear what he said,

but I could not help feeling that possibly one or two of his remarks may have made Lenin turn slightly in his mausoleum.

28.4 Thirdly, I would suggest that the claim of these organizations to universality is really unacceptable because, for an international non-governmental organization to be universal in the Unesco meaning of the word, it is not merely necessary to have members all over the world. Members of a non-governmental organization, if they are truly to be a universal organization, should be free to follow where any argument leads, and should not be restrained by the restrictions of any political ideology. We have international non-governmental organizations dedicated to the problems, for example, of education, natural sciences, social sciences and cultural activities. All these organizations must be able to pursue their objectives without being told that only the Marxist-Leninist view of these subjects is acceptable. I must say, when I see these bodies described as international bodies, I am sometimes reminded - if the delegate of the United States will forgive me drawing this analogy - of the famous remark of Mr. Huey Long, in Louisiana, when he said: "It's the easiest thing in the world to create a Fascist party, all you have to do is to call it an anti-Fascist party". I sometimes feel this when I see these organizations referred to as international organizations.

28.5 And finally, if we are told that the non-admission of these non-governmental organizations will create a bad impression, let us by all means agree that a full and fair account of the reasons for their rejection should be given to all their members. It would help rather than hinder mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence if the real reasons for Unesco's decision were calmly and dispassionately circulated for all to read who are interested. Unless this is done, we shall not make it plain what is indeed the truth, that these non-governmental organizations to which I have referred are not allowed to follow where the argument leads, are not able to enjoy the free flow of information, are not truly able to serve Unesco, and are therefore not qualified to be given consultative status by Unesco.

28.6 Mr. President, for the reasons which I have tried to explain as dispassionately as I can, we of the United Kingdom delegation support what was said by the representative of the United States and the representative of Denmark, and also the recommendations of the Administrative Commission.

29. The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have had an excellent explanation of the subject from a number of distinguished speakers. May I express the hope that this will be the end of this question, because we have a good deal of work still to do. I call upon the delegate of Poland.

30.1 Mrs. KAMINSKA (Poland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I should like to explain why the Polish delegation will vote against draft resolution No. 30. The United Kingdom delegate will excuse me if I continue to dwell on the matter. I should also like to inform him that I shall not under any circumstances request consultative status for any Communist party and that, in my opinion, the remarks he has thought fit to make do not seem completely inspired by the "Unesco" spirit.

30.2 Thus, if we vote against draft resolution No. 30, it is because we consider that the list contained in this document represents a restrictive choice in no way based on the requirements which must be met by non-governmental organizations requesting admission to consultative arrangements. We should have been in favour of such admission if the list had contained all truly representative international organizations whose objects conform to those of Unesco, and if the list had not been limited for reasons completely contrary to the nature of our Organization.

30.3 I do not wish to revert here to the arguments in favour of the universality of Unesco, an important if not essential condition on which the development of our Organization's influence depends. I shall confine myself to a few other remarks which are also of a logical nature, and I shall not follow the example of the United States delegate, who thought fit to adduce arguments dating back to a period which all of us had hoped was ended. One of the fundamental and purely formal arguments put forward in the Executive Board against the granting of consultative status to organizations such as the International Broadcasting Organization, the International Organization of Journalists, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Federation of Democratic Lawyers is that these organizations are not sufficiently representative, that it is not certain that their aims conform to those of Unesco, and, lastly, that they are not sufficiently well known and it is essential to obtain further information concerning them. I can well understand that the World Federation for the Protection of Animals is much better known and that it is becoming even unnecessary to mention it, owing to the obvious influence of its views with regard to the improvement of man's moral and intellectual level and the removal of the obstacles to international understanding that still subsist in the minds of men. The organizations to which I refer, and to which consultative status has been refused, are nevertheless known to Unesco, at least to the Secretariat, seeing that it maintains unofficial working relations with most of them; and I do not think that the Secretariat, with its sense of responsibility which we all acknowledge, would endeavour to obtain the co-operation of groups without influence or prestige. If this co-operation has already existed for several years, it is because it is proving fruitful. Regarding the aims of these organizations, I should like to add that they can be ascertained in yet another manner: the activities in Unesco of a certain number of Member States and National Commissions commit the national organizations of the countries concerned, and these organizations are affiliated with the international non-governmental organizations in question.

30.4 As far as I am aware, the countries which, in the course of bilateral or multilateral activities, have established contacts with these national organizations, the Secretariat itself, or, for instance, the Unesco Youth Institute at Gauting, have been quite satisfied with this co-operation and these contacts, having noted that the activities of these organizations tend to give effect to the resolutions of Unesco. The

argument that the national organizations affiliated with these non-governmental organizations have other aims is, in my opinion, unjustified; for, on becoming a member of a non-governmental organization, a national organization undertakes in principle to act, on the national level, in conformity with the fundamental objects of that non-governmental organization. We have repeatedly spoken here, or in the Programme Commission, of the need to affiliate, with the non-governmental organizations admitted to consultative arrangements with Unesco, the greatest possible number of national organizations pursuing the same aims.

30.5 To sum up, Mr. President, my delegation considers that the proposal contained in draft resolution No. 30 is neither logical nor in the real interests of our Organization; above all, it is not conducive to the success of Unesco's tasks - the accomplishment of which demands universality, on the geographical level as well as the ideological level, and the exclusion of biased political considerations which, when they inspire certain proposals, cannot fail to be detrimental to mutual understanding and international co-operation.

31.1 The PRESIDENT:

Thank you Mrs. Kaminska. I would now like to take a vote on resolution No. 30, paragraph by paragraph, if that is acceptable. We shall take a vote first on paragraph 1.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.2 Paragraph 1 has been adopted by 38 votes in favour, 2 against, with 12 abstentions.

31.3 Now we come to paragraph No. 2.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.4 Paragraph 2 has been adopted by 39 votes in favour, 11 against, with 6 abstentions.

31.5 Paragraph 3.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.6 Paragraph 3 has been adopted by 39 votes in favour, 1 against, with 14 abstentions.

31.7 Paragraph 4.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.8 Paragraph 4 has been adopted by 44 votes in favour, one against, with 12 abstentions.

31.9 Paragraph 5.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.10 Paragraph 5 has been adopted by 43 votes in favour, none against, with 12 abstentions.

31.11 Paragraph 6.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.12 Paragraph 6 has been adopted by 47 votes in favour, none against, with 6 abstentions.

31.13 We must now vote on draft resolution No. 30 as a whole.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

31.14 Draft resolution No. 30 has been adopted by 41 votes in favour, none against, with 15 abstentions.

31.15 I call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Commission.

32.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then reviewed the formal agreements concluded with certain international non-governmental organizations, namely the ten associations mentioned in document 10 C/43: International Council of Scientific Unions, World Federation of United Nations Associations, International Council of Museums, International Theatre Institute, Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Music Council, International Association of Universities, International Social Science Council, and International Association of Plastic Arts.

32.2 The Commission recommends the Conference to renew until 31 December 1959 the formal agreements concluded with these international non-governmental organizations.

33. The PRESIDENT:

Are there any comments on paragraph 125 of the Report? Paragraph 125 is then adopted.

34.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then reviewed the list of international non-governmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements.

34.2 Having considered document 10 C/41 and Addendum, the Commission, in accordance with paragraph 54 of the Directives, heard statements from the following international non-governmental organizations for which the Executive Board did not recommend the maintenance of consultative arrangements: International Association "International Congresses for Modern Architecture"; International Institute of Public Finance; International Federation of Senior Police Officers.

34.3 After discussion, the Commission decided to recommend to the General Conference to maintain consultative arrangements with all the organizations listed in document 10 C/41, except the following organizations: Asian Relations Organization; International Federation of Senior Police Officers.

34.4 The Commission therefore suggests that the Conference follow its recommendations.

35. The PRESIDENT:

Any comments on paragraphs 126 and 127? Adopted.

36.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

The Commission then considered the quadrennial review by the Executive Board of the employment of subventions granted to international non-governmental organizations for the period 1954-1957.

36.2 The Commission considered a draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Ecuador, India, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America and approved amendments proposed by the delegations of Bulgaria and the United Kingdom. The draft, thus amended, constitutes draft resolution No. 31, which the Commission submits for your approval.

37.1 The PRESIDENT:

Any comments on draft resolution No. 31? I shall then put it to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

37.2 Draft resolution No. 31 is adopted by 52 votes in favour, none against, with one abstention.

37.3 Before we pass on to the next item on the agenda, it is my very pleasant duty to express appreciation and sincere gratitude on behalf of us all to Mr. Baugniet, the Chairman of the Administrative Commission, for the great tact, ability and perseverance with which he has carried out this important work of the Administrative Commission. I know that at times it was taxing for him to sit through those lengthy discussions, but without his indefatigable energy and his patience we should not have been able to accomplish all this work in such a short time. We are all indeed extremely grateful to him for the excellent service which he has rendered to Unesco.

37.4 We are also very grateful to the three Vice-Chairmen, from Mexico, Afghanistan and Viet-Nam, who very kindly relieved the Chairman from time to time and performed their work most ably.

37.5 Our sincere thanks are also due to the Rapporteur from Burma. I understand that he has already left Paris, but we would like to convey to him our deep appreciation of the work he has done for the Administrative Commission.

37.6 I would be failing in my duty if I did not, on behalf of myself and my fellow delegates, pay tribute to the Director-General, the Assistant Director-General, and the Secretariat, for the excellent help and co-operation which made our task possible and, indeed, easy. The Director-General and the Assistant Director-General invariably gave us sane and sober advice throughout the discussions and deliberations. I know that, at times, we in the Administrative Commission were inclined to take rather strict views of certain matters, particularly those relating to finances. At such times, and at others when we wanted to cut down the expenditure on documentation, or even on services and posts, the Assistant Director-General very ably put forward a point of view which ended all controversy and led us to accept the Secretariat's point of view.

37.7 I think we also owe a great debt of gratitude to all those who unfailingly and most courteously helped us with all the information and the documents we required. I thank them again for this excellent help and co-operation.

REPORT OF THE JOINT MEETING OF THE PROGRAMME AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSIONS

37.8 The General Conference has now before it the report of the joint meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions held on 1 December to consider the report of the Working Party on the following two items: (1) Extension of the Unesco Coupon Scheme's operation to the exchange of cultural workers in the field of mass communication media, and (2) Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962. Before calling upon Mr. Baugniet, who will present this report to you, I wish to inform the General Conference, with reference to item 4 of this report, that a draft resolution, document 10 C/76 Addendum, is submitted to it, covering the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 and the organization of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference. The second part of the draft resolution contained in this document is the result of work and suggestions presented by the Bureau of the Programme Commission and the Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the working parties of this Commission and submitted to the General Committee of this Conference at its meeting on 2 December (document 10 C/78); and the Canadian delegation's suggestions submitted to the General Committee on the same day, in document 10 C/DR/71. After the meeting of the General Committee on 2 December, the delegations of France, the Netherlands, Canada and Argentina reached an agreement on two amendments to the draft resolution presented by the Bureau of the Programme Commission and the working parties. The second part of the resolution in document 10 C/76 Addendum, therefore, represents a synthesis of the work and suggestions of several delegations, of the Bureau of the Programme Commission and the working parties, and of the General Committee of the Conference.

37.9 I believe that, by adopting the draft resolution contained in document 10 C/76 Addendum, the General Conference will give the Executive Board and the Director-General some very useful directives for the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, and for the organization of the work of the next session of the General Conference. I propose that the General Conference should begin by considering the first three questions discussed in the report of the joint meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions. I call upon Mr. Baugniet, Chairman of the Administrative Commission, to give his comments.

38.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and colleagues, the joint meeting of the Administrative and Programme Commissions provided matter for a report which is contained in document 10 C/76. The first question considered by this joint meeting was the inclusion of the Gift Coupon Scheme in the Coupon Fund's operations. This question is dealt with in paragraph 4 and the following paragraphs of the report now submitted to you.

38.2 In introducing this item, the Assistant Director-General explained that the proposed inclusion of the Gift Coupon Scheme in the Coupon Fund was to strengthen the present budget provision for the Gift Coupon programme, as given in paragraph 95 of the Mass Communication chapter of 10 C/5 Rev., and to ensure better co-ordination between the two operations.

38.3 The representative of the Director-General gave his assurance to the Working Party that this inclusion would not affect the total amount of funds to be invested by the Organization, since it was the established policy of Unesco to invest the maximum amount compatible with the efficient running of its current operations. Interests earned from these investments were credited to Miscellaneous Income for financing the budget of the Organization (e.g. for 1959-1960, it had been estimated that a sum of $150,000 per annum might be made available from this source).

38.4 The joint meeting asks you to note these two

observations. It does not propose that you should adopt the draft resolution in paragraph 6, for, at your meeting the day before yesterday, you adopted resolution 5.14, submitted to you by the Programme Commission and already containing the proposals jointly made by the Programme Commission and the Administrative Commission.

39. The PRESIDENT:
Are there any objections to paragraphs 4 and 5 of document 10 C/76? Adopted.

40.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The joint meeting then dealt with the inclusion in the Visitors' Service Fund of the expenditure for the production of additional information material.
40.2 The Working Party which had been constituted expressed its agreement that an increased production of information materials for distribution to the visitors to the new Unesco Headquarters would have a far-reaching influence in promoting the understanding of the aims and activities of the Organization. Judging from the experience in the United Nations Headquarters in New York and the Geneva Palais des Nations, it was expected that there would be some 150,000 to 200,000 visitors during the forthcoming year. It would be highly desirable to take advantage of this opportunity to spread knowledge about Unesco.
40.3 It was made clear that the expenses to be incurred under the Visitors' Service Fund for this purpose would reinforce the budget provisions included elsewhere under Unesco's Regular Budget, and would be used to provide additional information materials particularly in different language versions. Since the Visitors' Service Fund was a self-liquidating operation, the expenditure for the production of such information materials would be incurred only after the normal expenses of the Fund had been covered by the income accumulated through the collection of visitors' fees.
40.4 The joint meeting also proposed that a new paragraph be included in draft resolution 5.14, but this paragraph was included in resolution 5.14 adopted by the General Conference the day before yesterday; I do not think that you wish to reconsider the vote already taken, and I shall ask the General Conference to adopt paragraphs 7 and 8 of the report we are now discussing.

41. The PRESIDENT:
Any comments on paragraphs 7 and 8 of document 10 C/76? Adopted.

42.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The joint meeting considered the extension of the Unesco Coupon Scheme's operations to the exchange of cultural workers in the field of mass communication media.
42.2 The Assistant Director-General recalled that Unesco, in its programme, had dealt with this problem to a considerable extent and that the adoption of the present proposal might have certain budgetary implications. In introducing his proposal as embodied in document 10 C/DR/10, paragraph 5, the representative of Czechoslovakia stressed its importance to his country and to countries in a similar situation facing foreign exchange difficulties in developing the exchange of cultural workers in the field of mass communication media.
42.3 The Working Party, approved by the joint meeting, stressed the importance of this question and considered it necessary to undertake a study of it. However, in view of the fact that the problem needed to be dealt with by Member States bilaterally and regionally, and that a study of this kind would fall logically within the competence of National Commissions, the representative of the United Kingdom proposed that this study be entrusted to the National Commissions and that their findings be communicated to the Director-General for report to the General Conference. This proposal was favourably considered by the Joint Working Party and, after discussion at length of the wording of the draft resolution presented by the Czechoslovak delegation, and the various amendments advanced by several delegations, the joint meeting proposed the adoption of the text set out in paragraph 11 of the report under consideration.
42.4 It is this text which, on behalf of the joint meeting, I recommend you to adopt.

43.1 The PRESIDENT:
The resolution contained in paragraph 11 is now put to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
43.2 Paragraph 11 has been unanimously adopted.

44. Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
Lastly, the joint meeting recommends you to include this resolution in Chapter 6 (Exchange of Persons), instead of in Chapter 5 (Mass Communication) of the revised version of the proposed programme and budget.

45.1 The PRESIDENT:
Since there are no objections, paragraph 12 is also adopted.
45.2 We now come to Part IV of document 10 C/76, and before I call on Mr. Baugniet to present it to you, I would remind you that there are two further documents related to this point, namely 10 C/78 which will be presented by Mr. Beeby, and a draft resolution, 10 C/76 Addendum, which I shall ask Mr. Baugniet to comment upon.

46.1 Mr. BAUGNIET (Belgium), Chairman of the Administrative Commission (Translation from the French):
The joint meeting also discussed the question of the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 and stressed the importance of the continuation of the system of consultations between the Director-General, the Executive Board, Member States, the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, and international non-governmental organizations in the development of the programme and budget of the Organization, as practised for 1959-1960. The joint meeting was in general agreement with the time-table proposed by the Director-General in document 10 C/71.

46.2 However, the question was raised as to the practicability of requesting Member States to submit by 1 September 1960 amendments to the proposed programme and budget having substantial budgetary implications. It was unanimously recognized that this date would give rise to serious difficulties, in view of the summer vacation in some Member States. In the course of its deliberations, the joint meeting noted the three suggestions which were made by various delegations with a view to providing more adequate time for Member States to prepare their proposals on the proposed programme and budget.

46.3 Following these discussions, the joint meeting agreed upon the time-table reproduced on page 5 of document 10 C/76. This time-table will have to be modified in view of the decision which you took yesterday and which amends Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure by reducing to six weeks the deadline of nine weeks that had been suggested in the draft amendment to the Rules of Procedure. Owing to this amendment to the draft resolution submitted to you, it will be necessary to delete from the document under discussion the word "nine" - nine weeks before the opening date of the General Conference - indicating the deadline for receipt of amendments to the proposed programme and budget which have substantial budgetary implications and for dispatch of the documents containing the Director-General's final proposals. As you did not approve the deadline of nine weeks, it is necessary to replace it by the deadline of six weeks which you have maintained in the Rules of Procedure.

46.4 Subject to this modification, the joint meeting recommends you to adopt this time-table, which is the subject of draft resolution I in document 10 C/76 Addendum:

"The General Conference,

Noting with satisfaction the form and presentation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960 (revised) (document 10 C/5 Rev.), which should be taken as a guide for the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962;

Confirming, for the execution of this task, the existing procedure for consultation with the Member States, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and the international non-governmental organizations;

Approves in principle the time-table for the various stages in the preparation of the proposed programme and budget, as given in document 10 C/76;

Requests the Executive Board and the Director-General to study the possibility of allowing Member States a more adequate time-limit for drawing up their proposals regarding the programme and budget for 1961-1962; and

Furthermore requests the Executive Board and the Director-General to draw up and present to the eleventh session of the General Conference recommendations for further improvements in the methods of preparing the programme and budget for the period 1963-1964."

46.5 It is this resolution which, on behalf of the two Commissions (Administrative Commission and Programme Commission), I ask you to adopt.

47. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Mr. Beeby, Chairman of the Programme Commission, to present document 10 C/78.

48.1 Mr. BEEBY (New Zealand), Chairman of the Programme Commission:

Mr. President and colleagues, in presenting to you this document 10 C/78, I should perhaps tell you how it came into being and what its purpose is. The General Committee asked the Bureau of the Programme Commission and the Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the working parties if they would meet together to review the procedures in operation this time, in the light of their experience, and to make proposals to the General Committee and to the Executive Board on the work of the Programme Commission for the next Conference.

48.2 This Committee, this particular "Working Party of the workers", met and came to unanimity on certain points. On one thing we were quite unanimous, indeed on several, but we were first of all unanimous that the working parties themselves represent an effective method of work for the Conference, in spite of certain disadvantages, particularly felt by smaller delegations. We felt too that the working parties worked best when they were working within a definite budget ceiling, and we decided to recommend, in so far as our judgement counted, that a system similar to this should be considered for the eleventh session. We also considered that the working parties and the Programme Commission should have rather more time, and we recommend that, if at all possible, the Programme Commission should be able to start earlier at the next Conference, even if it were working under only a very provisional budget ceiling.

48.3 There were certain recommendations we had to make on physical and other conditions; the working parties seemed fated to meet in rooms that were too small to hold them, or too big to be comfortable. But we were most appreciative of the assistance given by the Secretariat in making these conditions as bearable as they possibly could. If I might, sir, be out of order for a moment, I should like to say something that I should have said in the Programme Commission, and that you mentioned a few moments ago, about the services, in general, that we received. Everyone has been impressed by the skill of those who planned the Conference, we are impressed by the incredible skill of those who interpret our words, but we sometimes tend to forget the devoted work of what I might call "the little people of the Conference", if I may use that term without any hint of condescension - the people who sit up half the night typing, writing minutes, running mimeograph machines, arranging that the papers shall appear on the table at the right moment, and then with infinite patience give us a second set when we have lost the first. Never once was the Programme Commission held up because the paper was not ready for it, and that in itself I think is a tremendous tribute. And the fact that these unobtrusive skills were so unobtrusive is perhaps a measure of their success.

48.4 The final and major recommendation that this particular Committee made was that, in the planning of the next Conference, there should be left a sum unallocated to specific programme items. You will find that referred to in detail in paragraphs 6 and 7 in this document 10 C/78. I would like to say a word on the purpose behind it. Some of the Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the working parties felt that the programme specialists, particularly in their working

parties, had felt somewhat restricted because they did not have enough chance of altering or adding to the programmes presented them in document 10 C/5 Rev. It was admitted that these discussions of the specialists in the working parties do affect future programmes, that they do represent a powerful and critical force that is of very real value. But some, in fact all, Chairmen and Rapporteurs felt that their specialists wanted a little more than that, a little more freedom for manoeuvre to reshape, as the report puts it, the proposed programme in the light of their technical knowledge. How we recommend that should be done, you will find in paragraph 7 items (i)-(vi), which propose that the Director-General and the Executive Board, in preparing their next programme, should leave a certain sum unallocated to specific items; that the General Conference should do the same for the Programme Commission, that the Programme Commission should then give each working party a definite ceiling, as it did on this occasion, within which it should work, but should hold back an unallocated sum for priorities that would be recommended by the working parties. It was then recommended that these priorities put forward by the working parties should be considered by the "expanded" Bureau of the Programme Commission, which after discussion with the Director-General will propose the priorities that should be accepted. This it seemed to us would give the people in the working parties the feeling that they had some freedom to mould the programme. That, sir, is the essence of our recommendation.

48.5 On two or three points we were not unanimous, and we did not attempt to come to a majority vote in any case, because we felt we were not constituted in any representative sense. We did not come to a decision, or even try to come to a decision, on the size of the unallocated sum; we were unanimous that the $94,000 we had for priorities this year was not adequate to give this freedom of manoeuvre, that it should be something more than a token amount. The smallest amount mentioned was 1 per cent of the total budget, which on this occasion would have been $250,000; the largest amount was 10 per cent, which of course is a very different matter.

48.6 Neither did we come to a decision on the application of Rule 78.2, requiring that draft resolutions be presented six weeks in advance. If you will refer to paragraph 12 of this document (10 C/78), you will see the two lines of thought within this group. We decided, too, that we would recommend that a general discussion on the programme be held after the Programme Commission had ceased its work. We did not comment on the possibility of holding one beforehand, because there was some difference of opinion.

48.7 Now, sir, the status of this particular report. We are not asking or suggesting that the Conference adopt it or discuss it in detail. We would not wish it to be given any more weight than it merits. It represents only the ideas of a few men and women who have held some position of responsibility, and have tried to make a rather complicated system work on this occasion. There are other and wider considerations that must be weighed when the work for the next session is being decided, and we are aware that the Executive Board knows that better than we do.

48.8 On the last page you will find a resolution in paragraph 13, which simply suggests, in effect, that the General Conference refer to the Director-General and the Executive Board the series of suggestions made in this document for their serious consideration when planning the next programme. However, this particular resolution has now been subsumed under a wider resolution to be found in document 10 C/76, and which will be presented to you by Mr. Seydoux, of the delegation of France. My sole purpose, Mr. President, in presenting to you the report of our Working Party, is to make the Conference aware, in very general terms, of the proposals that it has recommended be sent on to the Director-General and the Executive Board for their consideration when planning the eleventh session.

49. The PRESIDENT:

I now invite one of the delegations sponsoring the resolution contained in document 10 C/76 Add. to take the floor. I call upon Mr. Seydoux, of France.

50.1 Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, delegates, the proposal which is submitted to you and which is set out in the second half of document 10 C/76 Addendum, is presented by the French, Canadian, Argentine and Polish delegations, owing to their common preoccupations, which seem to reflect the feelings of a considerable number of delegates to the present Conference. I particularly draw your attention to sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) on page 2 of the Addendum to document 10 C/76. What is their precise meaning? Firstly, we suggest that, at the opening phase of the General Conference, after the addresses given by the heads of delegations, there should be a general discussion in the Programme Commission, preceded by a statement by the Director-General describing the main lines of the Organization's programme, i.e. in our view, the implementation of the current programme and the main lines of the future proposed programme. This statement would be followed by an exchange of views in the course of which general directives for the consideration of the programme by working parties would be established, special reference being made to the Director-General's statement.

50.2 Mr. President, it is particularly during this exchange of views that it would be possible to discuss very freely the question of the unallocated sum to which Mr. Beeby referred a moment ago, the size of that sum and its distribution among the different working parties. This exchange of views would obviously have to be sufficiently brief to enable the working parties to meet as early as possible and, of course, to hold numerous meetings. I am aware that certain delegations expressed the fear that this exchange of views might be prolonged and produce few results, but I feel that, in this matter, the authority of the Chairman - and in this respect I should like to pay a tribute to the authority shown by Mr. Beeby and Mr. Baugniet - is just as important a factor as the discipline willingly accepted by the delegates. We feel - in any case, this is the opinion of the French delegation - that one or perhaps two days' discussion would be quite sufficient.

50.3 Secondly, you will note that sub-paragraph (iii) provides that, at the conclusion of the proceedings

of the Programme Commission, there would be a general discussion of the future trend of the Organization's activities. I think, Mr. President, that this proposal was presented in the form of an amendment by the Netherlands delegation. We entirely approve it, for, in our opinion, it is quite normal that there should also be a general discussion at the end of the Conference, when we are more familiar with the documents and human and working contacts have been established between the different delegations. You will note that the discussion would relate to the future trend of activities; in our opinion, it should be not only a discussion of the 1962 programme, but a very careful study of the work to be accomplished during the coming years, taking into account the experience acquired during the current session.

50.4 I should like to indicate very briefly, for it is already rather late, why we decided to present this proposal in conjunction with other delegations.

50.5 Firstly, because, whenever there is a problem to resolve, we are always confronted with contradictory solutions. In the present case, there is the method of working parties, i.e. a method which we find excellent and which seems to have been applied this year in a manner that deserves to be recommended for the future. A general discussion also, however, seems desirable - provided, of course, that it is guided, circumscribed and orderly.

50.6 Thus, the French delegation feels it is expressing the opinion of a large number of other delegations by requesting that the Conference be invited to discuss, both at the beginning and at the end of its work, the main lines of the programme and not simply particular aspects of it.

50.7 After discussing the matter with several of our colleagues, we find a feeling among certain delegations that they have travelled thousands of miles simply in order to be confronted with documents which, although well prepared, are voluminous and complicated. Immediately afterwards, these delegations are split up into working parties, although they are not always able to be represented on all of them, since they do not have sufficient members.

50.8 Further, they are obliged to observe a procedure which, however great the skill and goodwill of the Chairmen, disconcerts them and gives them a certain feeling of frustration, which we have also noted.

50.9 Thus, I am not at all sure that these delegations leave with the impression that they have completely performed the task entrusted to them or that they are able - and I feel this is also very important - to explain very clearly the work which is being done by the General Conference of Unesco.

50.10 Certain delegates, including myself, are perhaps of the opinion that the method of working parties has proved satisfactory and that Unesco's programme has been examined in detail by the Conference. But I feel, Mr. President, that we should mistrust those of us who are already "old hands"; we should think of the delegations of new Member States, of the new delegates who are members of these delegations, and also of the general public which quite naturally wishes to understand more clearly why we are meeting together, what we are doing and how far our efforts are meeting the needs of the modern world, of a human race which is troubled, distressed and not yet convinced that it is through international institutions that it will achieve peace and security.

50.11 Let us not forget that Unesco is not only in Unesco; it extends, it must extend, throughout the entire world, embracing the National Commissions and intellectual circles - which demands a clear expression of the guiding principles of our action.

50.12 Our Organization answers a powerful although still vaguely and inadequately expressed aspiration of all men of goodwill, for whom Unesco represents not only a magnificent building in Paris and a very efficient Secretariat, but also a vast enterprise which must inspire, aid and reassure all those who wish to believe in peace and international co-operation.

50.13 It is in this spirit, ladies and gentlemen, that the French delegation asks you to vote for this resolution.

51.1 The PRESIDENT:

Thank you, Mr. Seydoux. Before we proceed further, ladies and gentlemen, I want to bring to your attention a translation error in 10 C/76 Addendum. In Part II of this draft resolution, paragraph 2, beginning "Invites the Executive Board", should be replaced by the following paragraph: "Requests the Executive Board and the Director-General, in making the recommendations for the organization of work of the eleventh session of the General Conference, to take into consideration suggestions made by the Bureau of the Programme Commission and the Chairman and Rapporteurs of the working parties (cf. document 10 C/78) and the various delegations, in particular". The resolution then continues as in document 10 C/76 Add., with points (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv). The principal effect of this change is to replace the word "proposals" by the word "suggestions", as in the text approved by Mr. Beeby's group.

51.2 I call upon Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, of Brazil.

52.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, delegates, the Brazilian delegation warmly approves the proposal presented by the French delegate on behalf of his own delegation and a group of other delegations.

52.2 Allow me, first of all, to express my satisfaction at the fact that the author of this proposal is one of our oldest collaborators and friends, one of those most qualified to participate in all our work; he is with us once again - we needed him and are glad to have him back. I think we all welcome the proposal just presented to us by our friend Mr. Roger Seydoux.

52.3 Some of the ideas which he puts before us have been discussed on other occasions and sometimes fairly contradictory opinions have been expressed on them. I remember that, at the Mexico Conference, we had working parties which carried out their tasks extremely well; but subsequently they were abolished, to the great prejudice of the specialists, many of whom ceased to attend our sessions because they no longer found at them this working method which alone enabled them to carry out their tasks thoroughly and thus take a real interest in them.

52.4 The reversion, this year, to the method of working parties has proved very fruitful and I am

glad that the Executive Board and the Director-General are being encouraged to maintain this method and improve it in accordance with the recommendation in question.

52.5 I am particularly satisfied with two of the ideas suggested to us by Mr. Roger Seydoux; one of them concerns the preliminary discussion.

52.6 One of the possible risks and disadvantages of working parties was the excessive splitting up of the discussion of the programme by entrusting it to educators, scientists and sociologists working independently of one another, without any opportunity of considering the programme as a whole.

52.7 The preliminary discussion eliminates this disadvantage, and the specialists can then consider in detail, in their respective fields, Unesco's particular tasks.

52.8 The other and, in my opinion, most original and perhaps most fruitful idea contained in this proposal is that the Conference itself should offer the Director-General and the Executive Board suggestions and recommendations with a view to assisting them in their task of preparing the future programmes; these suggestions and recommendations would constitute more useful guidance than mere resolutions, which are often too generally and somewhat vaguely worded.

52.9 Moreover, in New Delhi, the Indian delegation, in the course of a discussion on this question, suggested an exchange of views on particular items of future programmes, but we did not receive any recommendation as precise and formal as the one now presented to us. In approving it, the General Conference would, in my opinion, also open up for itself a wider field of intervention within the framework of our activities. I often hear many delegates say that the General Conference of Unesco unduly restricts its participation in the preparation of the programme and budget. The Executive Board plays so large a part in the preparation of this document which serves us as a guide that delegates have little - often too little - occasion to suggest modifications to it.

52.10 The resolution now submitted to us fills in many unfortunate gaps, opens up the prospect of closer co-operation between the Executive Board and the General Conference and, within the framework of the Conference, makes it possible to rally the specialists to general views that are indispensable for the success of our work.

53. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of the Netherlands.

54.1 Mr. de HOOG (Netherlands) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, colleagues, the Netherlands delegation entirely agrees with the ideas underlying the draft resolution in document 10 C/76 Addendum. It fully approves the first part concerning the preparation of the programme and budget for 1961-1962, and we note with deep satisfaction that the old saying "Good administration demands foresight" has been brought back into honour, or is still in honour, in Unesco - for, in 1958, we are already speaking in this resolution of the budget for 1963-1964.

54.2 The Netherlands delegation also completely agrees with the ideas inspiring the second part of this draft resolution. The first idea concerns the maintenance of the system of working parties and, in this respect, we fully share the views set out in document 10 C/78 presented to you by Mr. Beeby. We also agree with the idea inspiring sub-paragraph (ii) of this part of the draft resolution, namely the discussion of the main lines of the programme during the General Conference. Such a discussion seems to us advisable and even indispensable. It did not take place at the present session of the General Conference. It has been rightly pointed out that it did not take place in plenary meeting, although one of the items of the agenda is entitled "General discussion"; it is not possible to speak of a discussion, as there were simply statements by heads of delegations followed by a more or less - less, if anything - direct reply by the Director-General. Neither did such a general discussion take place in the Programme Commission for, as Mr. Seydoux has just informed us, the Commission immediately split up into several working parties in order to study the activities of the different departments.

54.3 In principle, Mr. President, the Working Party on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes could have opened a discussion on the subject, but, if I have properly understood the report by the Rapporteur of this Working Party, the latter's discussion was devoted mainly to the techniques of appraisal and not to the programme itself. Thus, we fully approve the ideas expressed.

54.4 Certain questions, Mr. President, nevertheless arise. Sub-paragraph (ii)(a) speaks of a "statement by the Director-General, describing the main lines of the Organization's programme". My first question is: "Where will this statement be made?" I suppose, and hope, that the authors of the draft resolution will reply that this statement will be made at a plenary meeting of the General Conference. In my opinion, a statement by the Director-General, describing the main lines of Unesco's programme presented to the General Conference, is the most important speech of the General Conference and should necessarily be made in plenary meeting.

54.5 Mr. President, the draft resolution is not clear. It does not say that it is in plenary meeting that the Director-General will make this statement, and I should like to recall that the second part of the draft resolution is entitled "Organization of the Programme Commission at the eleventh session of the General Conference" (I feel it would be better to say "Organization of the work of the Programme Commission"). Considering that this is the title of the resolution, it suggests that the Director-General's statement should be made in the Programme Commission, and I do not think this would be a good idea.

54.6 Regarding sub-paragraph (ii)(b), I listened very carefully to what Mr. Seydoux has just said about it, for the text, in its present form, is not clear. The text says: "The Programme Commission would then exchange views for the sole purpose of establishing general directives for the consideration of the proposed programme by the working parties". Mr. President - and I ask my French friends to excuse me if I do not clearly understand this sentence - I do not think that this text corresponds exactly to what Mr. Seydoux has just told us. It is his wish - our wish and the wish of the Netherlands delegation - that, at the General Conference, there should be a general

discussion on the main lines of the programme submitted to it. But the text presented to us here seems to suggest a meeting of the Programme Commission, in the course of which the working parties would be instructed how they should consider this programme, and I feel that that would be much more in the nature of a technical statement by the Chairman of the Programme Commission, and perhaps by the Director-General, than a discussion on the main lines of the programme. If we read this text and compare it with sub-paragraph (iii), which says "by making provision, at the conclusion of the proceedings of the Programme Commission, for a general discussion of the future trend of the Organization's activities" - which is exactly what we want, we shall, I think, note a contradiction between sub-paragraph (ii)(b) and sub-paragraph (iii). We have only to compare these two texts in order to see what I have just pointed out. If sub-paragraph (ii) really means that there should be a general discussion on the main lines of the programme at the beginning of the Programme Commission's meeting, I should like to emphasize that the Netherlands delegation is not in favour of such a discussion; but we have not yet formed a sufficiently definite opinion on the matter to be able to say now that we shall certainly vote against this resolution or abstain from voting.

54.7 I should like, however, to emphasize the reasons why we think that such a discussion is not very useful at the beginning of the session of the General Conference. Firstly, we feel that it risks delaying the beginning of the working parties' activities, whereas in document 10 C/78 it is expressly said that these working parties, as well as the group which discussed this question, would like to begin their work as early as possible.

54.8 We fear that, if they had to wait for this general discussion, they would commence their work too late.

54.9 Secondly, Mr. President, it has been shown, at other sessions of the General Conference where this system was applied, that, at the beginning of a General Conference, delegations are not yet sufficiently acclimatized, if I may use such an expression. They come from afar, are not yet familiar with the procedure and, most important of all, do not know one another. A discussion at this stage very often leads to the reading out of papers prepared in advance, which renders the debate more difficult instead of facilitating it.

54.10 We are already acquainted with this succession of official declarations which would then be made in the Programme Commission, whose meetings would be no more than a repetition of the General Conference's plenary meetings held at the same time.

54.11 Mr. President, I should like to make a technical remark on the question: in the second part of this draft resolution it is said that the proposals made by the Bureau of the Programme Commission should be taken into account. But, as Mr. Beeby informed us a quarter of an hour ago, the Bureau of the Programme Commission recommended that this discussion should take place at the end and not at the beginning of the session. Thus, Mr. President, if it is organized at the beginning, I do not think it can be rightly said that such a decision is based on the report of the Bureau of the Programme Commission. I feel there is an element of contradiction in all this, but I do not think that the contradiction is insuperable, and the French delegation would certainly have no difficulty in redrafting the text so as to remove this contradiction.

54.12 Mr. President, in view of my experience as Rapporteur of the Working Party on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes, I wonder whether it would not be preferable - I am not making a formal proposal - that this discussion, which we should all like to have on the main lines of the programme, should take place, as we recommended at the meeting of the Bureau of the Programme Commission, at the end of the General Conference and that it, also, should be prepared by a working party which would be set up at the beginning of the session but which would begin its work during the last fortnight of that session. I think that this procedure would offer several advantages; at the time of the discussion, delegates would have become acquainted with one another - which would obviously facilitate the discussion; delegations would be much more familiar with Unesco's programme, activities and environment - which would also considerably facilitate the discussion; and finally, if this general discussion took place at the end of the session of the General Conference, it would not risk going on forever.

54.13 Thus, Mr. President, I suggest that we study the possibility of setting up a working party which would begin its work during the last fortnight of the session of the General Conference and would prepare a report indicating in what direction the Organization's activities should be orientated; the general discussion of the Programme Commission would be based on this report.

54.14 Mr. President, I had thought of requesting that my proposal be included in the draft resolution submitted to us. I have not done so, for two reasons; I could have asked the French delegation to accede to my request, and it would certainly have agreed; or I could have asked the same favour of the Polish delegation, since it too is one of the authors of the resolution; but I felt it was rather indiscreet to ask four or five countries to do me a favour; that seemed asking too much. Moreover, I felt that my idea did not perhaps correspond to the other ideas expressed in this draft resolution, and that it might clash with them.

54.15 Mr. President, I do not like clashes and that is why I have decided not to request the inclusion of this idea in the draft resolution. I would simply suggest that this idea be included in the Records of the General Conference, as a small and not invaluable contribution which the Executive Board and the Director-General might find when they began to prepare the next session of the General Conference.

55. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Poland.

56.1 Mrs. KAMINSKA (Poland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I shall try to answer certain questions which have just been raised by Mr. de Hoog concerning some points that do not seem to be expressed clearly enough in the draft resolution presented by the Polish delegation and other delegations. If I do not succeed, the other co-authors of the resolution will doubtless do it better than I.

56.2 Firstly, with regard to the Director-General's statement on the main lines of the Organization's programme, it seemed to us - at least to my delegation - that this statement could be made in plenary meeting at the opening phase of the General Conference's work; in plenary meeting, because this statement would serve as a basis of discussion and work, not only for the Programme Commission but for, e.g., the Administrative Commission.

56.3 Let us examine sub-paragraph (ii)(b), where it is said that "the Programme Commission would then exchange views for the sole purpose of establishing general directives".

56.4 This sentence was worded in this way in order to indicate that the discussion envisaged would not be a general or vague one, such as takes place at certain moments during the General Conference; the Programme Commission would have to confine itself strictly to the proposed programme and budget presented to the General Conference, and to the Director-General's statement concerning the current activities and the activities envisaged for the next two years. Thus, the discussion would not aim at offering technical guidance to the working parties, but would bear on the actual substance of the proposed programme presented to the Conference, and the working parties would be able to take it into account when considering in detail particular aspects of the programme.

56.5 The discussion which is proposed in sub-paragraph (iii), to take place at the conclusion of the work of the General Conference, would be based on the results of the work done by the working parties and the Programme Commission itself; and, in the light of these results and the comments that might be made on them, this discussion would provide suggestions for the Organization's future programmes.

56.6 Mr. de Hoog expressed the fear that the discussion which would take place in the Programme Commission at the beginning of the General Conference might delay the latter's work. I do not think it would, for the Director-General's statement would be made immediately after the opening of the General Conference. The latter, in plenary meeting, would subsequently be able to hear, as it normally does, statements by the different representatives of Member States - national statements. At approximately the same time, the Programme Commission could start its work, beginning with this discussion in order to establish directives for the working parties.

56.7 Regarding the proposal just made by Mr. de Hoog, I myself do not think it would be altogether desirable to set up, during the last fortnight of the session of the General Conference, a special working party to draw up proposals for the Programme Commission. For the object of our own proposal to organize a discussion at the conclusion of the proceedings of the Programme Commission was to glean, from the discussions of the working parties and the Programme Commission, the essence of remarks bearing on the future. If, on the contrary, this working party met alone a fortnight before the end of the Conference - i.e. before the end of the proceedings of the Programme Commission - it would be a new working party which could work out its own proposals but would hardly be able to take account of the total experience of the other working parties. Accordingly, I do not think that this proposal would be of sufficient assistance in the preparation of the future programme.

57. The PRESIDENT:

I would now request Mr. Adiseshiah to give us his comments.

58.1 Mr. ADISESHIAH (Assistant Director-General): Mr. President, in the hope that we may be able to finish our discussion, may I briefly comment on what has been said about this resolution? I think the plenary meeting would like to know that the resolution before you is the result of careful discussion in the General Committee of the General Conference, which called upon the various delegations referred to in the document to meet together to draw up a joint resolution. It was agreed that this joint resolution should be part of a larger resolution which emanated from the joint meeting of the Programme and Administrative Commissions. In view of the discussions which have just taken place, may I call your attention to the fact that the second part of the resolution begins with the operative paragraph, which reads, as corrected in the English text: "Requests the Executive Board and the Director-General to take into account, in making recommendations for the organization of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference, the proposals made by the Bureau of the Programme Commission, by the Chairman and Rapporteurs of the working parties, and by the various delegations, in particular, etc...". Therefore first, Mr. President, you are not laying down Directives here for the organization of the eleventh session of the General Conference; you are only asking the Executive Board and the Director-General to take into consideration the various suggestions, made by the Chairman of the Programme Commission and its Bureau, and by various delegations, which are contained in this resolution. The General Conference and the Bureau of the General Conference had before them a resolution jointly sponsored by France and Poland, and also a document submitted by the delegation of Canada. All these suggestions were then discussed, and we have had a suggestion from the delegation of the Netherlands.

58.2 As I see it, if you pass this resolution, the Director-General and the Executive Board will consider these suggestions which you have put forward here, they will also consider the suggestion that has been made by the delegation of the Netherlands, they will evaluate these various suggestions and will then make recommendations to you, at the eleventh session, on the organization of the work of the Conference. In this light, I believe that the resolution presented here in document 10 C/76 Addendum, the second part of which was worked out carefully by a number of delegations, uses terms which would allow the Executive Board and the Director-General to study these suggestions carefully, together with the records of this discussion in which the delegation of the Netherlands has made a new suggestion, in order to make their final recommendations to you.

58.3 One further point, Mr. President, in relation to the statement of the delegation of the Netherlands. I believe that the resolution will be simple if it is amended in one or two respects. The title should read: "Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, and Organization of the Work

of the Eleventh Session of the General Conference". That should be the title, because the second part of the resolution does not refer only to the Programme Commission. Then we would delete "1. Preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget", so that the resolution would read "The General Conference, 1. Noting etc.,....", Under II, delete the heading and the words "General Conference", so as to read: "Recognizing that the organization and the work of the Programme Commission...", and so on to the end of the resolution. In this form, with this explanation, I believe that this resolution could be accepted in the light of all that has been said here.

59.1 The PRESIDENT:

Any further comments? Then I will put the Addendum, with the modifications suggested by the Secretariat, to the vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

59.2 The resolution is unanimously adopted.

59.3 Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we have all taken note of document 10 C/78 embodying important suggestions which were presented to us some time ago by Mr. Beeby. No vote is required on this. We have now covered the agenda already circulated. If you agree, we may now take up another item so that tomorrow morning the session will be reserved for general discussion and the installation of the Director-General. The new item for consideration is 10 C/Nominations/30, the Report of the Nominations Committee on the proposed membership of the Legal, Reports and Headquarters Committees. I request the Chairman of the Nominations Committee kindly to present his report.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEGAL COMMITTEE, REPORTS COMMITTEE AND HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE

60. Mr. KALERGIS (Greece), Vice-Chairman of the Nominations Committee:

Mr. President, fellow delegates, in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Massaquoi of Liberia, I had the honour of presiding over the meeting of the Nominations Committee held this morning to prepare nominations for membership of the Legal Committee and the Reports Committee to serve at the eleventh session of the General Conference, and to make recommendations to determine the membership of the Headquarters Committee. The task of the Committee was greatly facilitated by the proposal concerning the membership of the Reports Committee which was submitted in writing by Professor Bedrettin Tuncel of Turkey, who has served with such distinction as Chairman of the Reports Committee at this session; and by proposals for the membership of the Headquarters and Legal Committees moved by Sir Ben Bowen Thomas of the United Kingdom and by Mr. Rune Eriksson of Sweden. These proposals were carefully studied by the Committee, due attention being given to the special responsibilities of membership of the individual committees, as well as to the need to achieve the best geographical distribution possible. As you are aware, the General Conference at its present session decided to increase the membership of the Reports Committee from 19 to 23 members, thus permitting a more equitable representation of Member States on this Committee. On the other hand it decided to reduce the membership of the Headquarters Committee from 20 to 8 members, in view of the diminished responsibility of that Committee now that the Headquarters building has reached its present stage of completion. The membership of the Legal Committee remains unchanged at 15 members, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. There were thus fewer places available than at the ninth session of the General Conference. I wish therefore to pay tribute to the co-operative spirit shown by those Member States who voluntarily withdrew their candidates in order to enable others to serve. As a result, the Committee reached agreement on the following proposals which I have the honour to submit to you on its behalf. These proposals are before you in written form in document 10 C/NOM/30: Headquarters Committee (8 members): Argentina; Australia; France; Japan; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; United Arab Republic; United States of America; Venezuela. Legal Committee (15 members): Costa Rica; Denmark; Ecuador; France; Indonesia; Italy; Lebanon; Liberia; Netherlands; Pakistan; Rumania; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; United Kingdom; United States of America; Venezuela. Reports Committee (23 members): Argentina; Australia; Belgium; Brazil; Ceylon; Chile; Ethiopia; Finland; Ghana; India; Iran; Israel; Italy; Japan; Mexico; Morocco; Philippines; Poland; Turkey; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; United States of America; Viet-Nam; Yugoslavia.

61. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of Argentina.

62. Mr. CALCAGNO (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, Argentina has had the honour of being proposed by the Nominations Committee as a member of two Committees: the Reports Committee and the Headquarters Committee. The Argentine permanent delegation, believing that representation on the various Commissions and Committees should be equitably distributed among Member States, has decided not to accept its nomination as a member of the Reports Committee. If the Conference has no objection, the Argentine delegation ventures to suggest that, in its place, Uruguay should be appointed a member of the Reports Committee, as the latter country is not represented on any Committee and has, this year, ceased to be represented on the Executive Board.

63.1 The PRESIDENT:

Thank you. I suggest that delegates who wish to speak please deal with these three items one by one. I shall invite speakers for each of these three items consecutively. Are there any comments on the first item? We shall vote on the proposal for the Headquarters Committee.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)

63.2 The proposal is unanimously adopted.

63.3 We shall take up the proposal relating to the Legal Committee. I call upon the delegate of India.

64. Mr. CHARI (India):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is not clear on what basis the composition of the Legal Committee

has been analysed. It appears that there is greater representation for Europe than for Asia and Africa. Originally there was a proposal to include Iran, but it appears that, in the Nominations Committee, this proposal has been replaced by a proposal to include the Netherlands, giving further representation to Europe. It is assumed that the membership is based upon equitable geographical distribution; if that is so, the composition of this Committee requires some reconsideration.

65. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of the Netherlands.

66. Mr. de HOOG (Netherlands) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, colleagues, I simply wish to inform you that the Netherlands delegation would have willingly accepted the nomination of the Netherlands as a member of the Legal Committee, in order to serve the General Conference; but if the withdrawal of its candidature would be to the convenience of certain delegations or even to the General Conference as a whole, we would be quite ready to place this candidature at the disposal of the General Conference.

67. The PRESIDENT:
Since there is no other speaker, I would request that a proposal be put forward. I call upon the delegate of India.

68. Mr. CHARI (India):
Mr. President, I propose Iran in place of the Netherlands.

69.1 The PRESIDENT:
Does anyone second that proposal?
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
69.2 The proposal has been adopted by 33 in favour, 4 against, with 19 abstentions. The result is to replace the Netherlands in the Legal Committee by Iran.
69.3 I would ask you now to vote on the proposed composition of the Legal Committee, with Iran in place of the Netherlands.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
69.4 The proposal has been unanimously adopted.
69.5 As regards the Reports Committee, the delegate from Argentina begs to withdraw in favour of Uruguay. Any other proposals? Any objections? I take it then that this is accepted.
69.6 Now I will request you to vote on the proposed composition of the Reports Committee, with Uruguay in place of Argentina.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
69.7 The proposal is unanimously adopted.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

TWENTY-FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

5 December 1958, at 10.40 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Tributes to Dr. Luther H. Evans 322
Installation of Dr. Vittorino Veronese in the office of Director-General of Unesco 329

TRIBUTES TO DR. LUTHER H. EVANS

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the General Conference has met this morning, at the conclusion of its proceedings, to pay tribute to Dr. Luther Evans and to install his successor, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, who will take the oath on this occasion.

1.2 Since several delegations have asked to speak in support of the resolution in which our tribute to Dr. Luther Evans will be expressed before the session closes, I will immediately call upon Mr. Raadi, Chairman of the Executive Board.

2.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran), Chairman of the Executive Board (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, in the course of the session which is now ending - and I wish to pay you the most sincere tribute of grateful admiration for the great competence, courtesy and authority with which you have presided over it - we have had occasion to attend several formal ceremonies. The one at which we are present today is of particular significance. One of the greatest servants of our Organization is reaching the end of the mandate entrusted to him. At the same time, a new Director-General, in whose hands the General Conference has just placed the destinies of Unesco, is preparing to succeed him and take the oath of office.

2.2 Since Unesco was founded, some of us - and I have had the privilege to be among them - have witnessed this ceremony, for the installation of the Director-General, several times. First of all, Sir Alfred Zimmern was Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the Organization. Afterwards, I remember one snowy evening early in 1946 when I was present, with two of my colleagues here today, at the nomination of Sir Julian Huxley, in an office in Westminster where our President, Miss Wilkinson, had assembled us. Sir Julian Huxley subsequently became Director-General of the Organization in November 1946. Many of us also remember the meeting at which the Director-General's powers were transferred to the second holder, during the third session of the General Conference in Beirut, when His Excellency Mr. J. Torres Bodet, in a memorable speech, impressed us all with his lofty concept of Unesco's mission. In July 1953, at the second extraordinary session, after several years as an outstanding member of the Executive Board, Dr. Luther Evans was called upon to assume the duties which he has discharged up to now. Today, Dr. Vittorino Veronese is succeeding him in this high function.

2.3 This series of eminent men recalls so forcefully, the picture of the Olympic runners relaying one another and passing the torch from hand to hand, that I, though a descendant of the Persians, cannot help evoking this recollection of Greek antiquity.

2.4 It has been said - transposing to another field the ideas and language of the French philosopher Taine - that there are moral and intellectual races spread unrestrictedly amongst the nations. The Directors-General of the international organizations would seem to me to illustrate this idea, for in their different countries they belong to those moral and intellectual races whose distinguishing mark is inclination towards universality.

2.5 The function of Director-General in an international Organization like Unesco has the special feature that the honour it brings to the person chosen corresponds to the heavy responsibilities which fall upon him. On assuming this post, he becomes one who, though inevitably retaining the stamp of the thought and culture characteristic of his background, must reflect the spirit of universal understanding which is the basic inspiration of all institutions in the United Nations family.

2.6 The men who created Unesco assuredly had this high conception of universality and objectivity in mind when they incorporated in the Constitution the following provisions: "The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each State Member of the Organization undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties".

2.7 Thus even though, by the very nature of their duties, the Directors-General must have, or acquire, thorough knowledge of the problems of the various regions throughout the world, and lend an attentive ear to the requests and desires of Member States, they must not for one moment forget that in all circumstances their action can be based only on the Constitution and the will of the General Conference.

2.8 It is in this spirit, therefore, that the Member States must respect the Director-General's independence, and that the Director-General must consider all suggestions, proposals or requests from Member States, whether these States be large or small, economically developed or underdeveloped. Is it not true moreover that, within Unesco, the strength of a community must be measured not by its economic, military or political power, but by its contribution to the enrichment of mankind's intellectual and spiritual heritage? As the illustrious author of the "Garden of Roses" said, as long ago as the Thirteenth century, "Greatness depends on learning and culture, not on wealth and social rank".

2.9 Let me recall the words which I used in 1946 at the first General Conference of Unesco, and which I think bear repetition even after the passage of twelve years: "We hope that Unesco will offer those Powers which in political jargon are termed 'small' the means of finding cultural and spiritual compensation for their material weakness".

2.10 And now I wish to render homage to two distinguished men whom it has been my honour and privilege to know and appreciate for a considerable time.

2.11 Dr. Luther Evans is about to leave the Organization which he has been serving for more than five years. The tributes which have been paid to him, and with which I associate myself, are striking proof of our grateful recognition for the work he has done. Indeed, what greater happiness can there be for a high international official than to take unanimous praises with him when he leaves? If tact had not prevented him, he could himself have judged how warm was the appreciation of him expressed at the meeting of 22 November 1958.

2.12 Dr. Evans, as we all know, has many qualities. I will mention only a few. A tireless worker, he has known how to combine authority with affability. Welcoming and cordial in approach, he has always given his attention to those coming to see him, even when he was preoccupied by difficult questions. He has innumerable friends in all the Member States he has visited in order to establish direct contacts. During the periods between Conferences, he has always attached the greatest importance to consulting the Member States and informing them fully about the Organization's activities, and has been able to inspire in them steadily increasing interest in the preparation and execution of the programme. The confidence he won and the support he gained from Member States in this way are exemplified by the fact that the General Conference at its ninth session, forced on him the present of a budget higher than that which he himself had asked for.

2.13 The name Dr. Luther Evans will remain associated with many initiatives and achievements including, in particular, the completion of the new Unesco building, the consolidation of the Organization's administrative framework, a close, intensive and fruitful collaboration between Unesco and the United Nations, the conception of the Participation programme, and the launching of the Major Projects. During his term of office, the number of Member States has steadily risen, to reach 81 at the present session. At the time when he assumed his task, the Organization was going through a serious crisis. Today, as he leaves us, he can rejoice with us, and not without pride, that Unesco has reached maturity and that, based on solid foundations, it is henceforth capable of fulfilling, with increased effectiveness, the hopes placed in it by the world's peoples.

2.14 Mr. President, I am sure that the General Conference will shortly welcome and warmly approve a resolution expressing to Dr. Evans our feelings of esteem and gratitude.

2.15 As for our new Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, it has been my pleasure to know him and see him at work ever since the Beirut General Conference in 1948. If I may refer to personal memories, I would recall with pleasure that he and I joined the Executive Board, in 1952, the same day. Immediately after our election, Dr. Luther Evans - our senior on the Board, of which he was an influential and respected member - received us with great friendliness in a neighbouring room, and there presented us to a national broadcasting service. From the outset, Vittorino Veronese's colleagues in the Executive Board found in him a lucid, objective mind, together with a remarkable gift for understanding different points of view and drawing from them a constructive synthesis. Listening to his clear and easy speech, observing the speed with which he perceived the finer shadings in the thought of his questioners, I would often think of that Mediterranean culture in which the contributions of so many peoples and civilizations are reflected and harmoniously combined. Europe and the Occident as a whole have the right to be proud of this heritage; the Orient likewise, if we consider the centuries-old relationships between these two continents. Did not Paul Valéry say that Europe was only a headland of Asia?

2.16 I am convinced that, in calling Dr. Veronese to the high office of Director-General, the General Conference was aware that he was already abreast of the main problems which have been and will continue to be faced by Unesco. Of course, under the administration of its first three Directors-General our Organization has done remarkable work, and each one of us is familiar with the milestones passed and the projects completed. But we know, and Mr. Veronese knows better than anyone, that the tasks remaining to be undertaken, and carried through, are gigantic. With his broad and far-ranging vision, I am sure that he will devote the greatest attention to the most urgent problems in education, especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose hopes are placed in our Organization; nor will he forget for a moment the need for redoubled efforts in the vast domains of science, culture and mass communication. So long as this grave lack of balance in respect of education and technological progress continues to exist among different regions of the world - a question of which Dr. Veronese spoke in a recent statement - it is obvious that any action undertaken for scientific and cultural co-operation on a world scale will be

seriously handicapped and will achieve only partial results. It is therefore in the interest, not only of the countries least favoured but also of those most advanced in this respect, and consequently of Unesco as a whole, that tireless efforts should be made to speed the coming of that new era when all peoples will be in a position to spread a knowledge of their own cultural values and appreciate other cultures, to co-operate scientifically and culturally on a basis of equal resources, and to engage in really constructive exchanges.

2.17 Dr. Veronese has often shown his interest in associating, with Unesco's work, the educators and scientific and cultural leaders of the world, those responsible for the great communication media, the young people who are the hope of tomorrow, and all the vital forces of the various nations. We may expect vigorous action from him to that end; and here, each category of citizen, in every country, must be enabled to contribute, by its efforts, to the action of our Organization. Where the scope of their contribution is concerned, no hierarchies or lines of demarcation really exist. Those usually described as leaders or the élite can, once they have been interested in what Unesco is doing, exert a wholesome influence on the public; and the public can, in response to Unesco's appeal, encourage the leaders to co-operate increasingly with United Nations institutions. I may mention, as an example, the excellent initiative of the French National Commission which recently organized a round-table of Nobel prizewinners concurrently with the tenth session. Those of us who attended these successful talks saw what fruitful contact could be established between scientists and the public, between the summit and the foundation. The presence of great scientists drew to these meetings a steadily increasing public audience, whose enthusiasm, and interest in the basic problems of mankind, were a stimulating tribute to the efforts of these eminent savants. We can therefore unreservedly affirm that initiatives of this kind, if multiplied, will be of tremendous service to Unesco's cause.

Louis Liard, who in the last century was one of Mr. Gaston Berger's illustrious predecessors in the French Department of Higher Education, speaking of the rôle of higher education in a complete system of national education, used these words: "What it is worth determines what the rest is worth". It is the source of all that "the rest" distributes.

2.18 This correlation which this great man established between the various educational cycles might well be applied to the contributions of leaders of thought and the participation of the masses in the efforts made in the educational, scientific and cultural fields.

2.19 Thus, in this exciting development of scientific and cultural co-operation, all things are bound up and hang together: education serves culture and science, scientific progress helps to improve social conditions, culture gives substance to education, the efforts of leaders and élites enrich the intellectual and material life of the masses, and the enthusiasm of the latter stimulates the former. It only remains for me, in conclusion, to wish the new Director-General, Dr. V. Veronese, full success in the difficult but splendid mission which has just been entrusted to him.

2.20 Now that, by the will of the General Conference, he has been called upon to assume this noble task, let us give him our confidence, judging him in action at a later juncture. My sincere desire is that, through his work, he should achieve what each one of us hopes for the greatness of Unesco.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now have the honour of reading out to you the draft resolution drawn up by the General Committee to convey our official tribute to Dr. Luther Evans:

3.2 "The General Conference,

At the close of its tenth session, which marks the term of Dr. Luther H. Evans' tenure of office as Director-General;

Deeply conscious of the outstanding services rendered to the Organization by Dr. Evans, as a member of a delegation at the London Conference of 1945 and at every succeeding session since 1947, as a member of the Executive Board in 1952 and 1953, and as Director-General from 4 July 1953 to this day;

Recalling that Dr. Evans' period of office coincided with a most significant reaffirmation and consolidation of Unesco's mission in the world, with the launching of the Major Projects and other new methods of work of great promise, with many substantial and fruitful achievements, and with a successful development of relations with Member States;

Keenly aware of Dr. Evans' personal contribution to the completion of the permanent Headquarters;

Records its profound and abiding gratitude to Dr. Luther H. Evans for his devoted work in the service of Unesco;

Decides to honour the financial terms of Dr. Evans' contract to its original date of expiration on 3 July 1959;

Affirms its conviction that the Organization has greatly gained in effectiveness, stature and prestige under Dr. Evans' guidance;

Addresses its affectionate good wishes to Dr. and Mrs. Evans for the years to come; and

Expresses its belief that under the continued leadership of men of Dr. Evans' quality and devotion, Unesco will move towards steadily increasing achievement in its appointed fields, for the betterment of mankind."

3.3 Several delegates have asked to speak before this draft resolution is put to the vote. I will begin by calling upon Mr. Rabb, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

4.1 Mr. RABB (United States of America): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of the United States wishes to associate itself with, and to support, the resolution proposed in tribute to Dr. Luther Evans.

4.2 We wish to associate ourselves with other delegations in expressing our thanks to Dr. Evans for having led this Organization safely through the critical period of development which spans the five and a half years during which he has so ably served as Unesco's Director-General. The delegation of the United States is particularly satisfied to note that, under Dr. Evans' leadership, Unesco has made important progress in four areas, progress which we consider to be a promising sign of its growing maturity.

4.3 First, in recent years, the Organization has

focused much more closely on specific means for approaching tangible and well-defined tasks. The decision to concentrate the Organization's resources and energies on the fulfilment of the three Major Projects is an excellent case in point. We consider that this closer focusing on priority targets is a step in the right direction.

4.4 Secondly, Unesco has progressively accepted its responsibility towards less-developed areas in which basic educational needs demand high attention. Technical assistance has properly become an integral part of the Organization's programme, related in appropriate perspective to the necessity for constant encouragement of intellectual effort at a high level.

4.5 Thirdly, recent years have seen an increasingly more intimate collaboration between Unesco, the United Nations and the other Specialized Agencies. Successful efforts have been made to co-ordinate Unesco's policies with the pertinent policy developments of its parent and brother organizations; within the concept of "concerted action", Unesco has done much to help make a cohesive family of the United Nations and its Agencies.

4.6 Finally, as the Organization has been directed towards an increasing maturity of purpose and outlook, so it has begun to make progressive, rational strides towards a carefully planned and expanding programme to meet the multitude of problems which clamour for its attention.

4.7 We of the delegation of the United States are grateful for the imaginative leadership which has made this progress possible. The work of Dr. Evans will be a valued legacy for the future leadership of Unesco, and we believe that, if the path now so well charted is followed, the Organization will become ever more valuable to all the peoples of its Member States as a primary agent in the fight against ignorance ance - man's ignorance of his environment and man's ignorance of his fellowmen. His has been a contribution that has had a vital impact which will long be remembered with respect and gratitude. He will always be thought of with warm regard - a dedicated, a devoted human being.

4.8 Mr. President, we of the delegation of the United States take pride in expressing support for the resolution before us, and in paying this well-merited tribute to Dr. Evans.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Sir Edward Boyle, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

6.1 Sir Edward BOYLE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I have very much pleasure, on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, in speaking in support of this resolution. There must be many among us here this morning who have never known Unesco under any other Director-General than Dr. Luther Evans. Dr. Evans has brought to Unesco an experience of its work which dates from the very first Preparatory Commission in 1945, when delegates from some forty countries met in London under conditions not representing very much improvement upon those which Londoners had endured during the previous six years. But despite the rigorous conditions, Unesco's Constitution was hammered out, and few delegations worked harder at that task than that of the United States of America on which Dr. Evans then served. Thus began that long association with Unesco which Dr. Evans continued, at first through his service on the United States National Commission, then through his own membership of the Executive Board, and culminating in his distinguished position as our chief executive, which he now relinquishes.

6.2 We all acknowledge with gratitude the gifts which Dr. Luther Evans has brought to Unesco, and by which Unesco's work has been enriched. His tremendous energy, assisted by a remarkable memory, and guided by a real devotion to what he has regarded as the main tasks of Unesco, has made him a force for which Unesco has every cause to be supremely grateful. Nor, Mr. President shall we ever forget the warmth and impact of Dr. Evans' personality. He has gone far to convince many of us I am sure, on numerous occasions, that the peoples of the world can be divided most conveniently into two categories: those who live in the wide and generous society of Texas, and those who live in the more cramped and constricted world outside. Indeed, sometimes I have enjoyed his stories most when they have been told neither in my own language nor in that of the United States, but in the French language. And sometimes when I have heard him tell his stories in French, I have been reminded just a little of an earlier teller of stories, the great English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, who mentioned in his Canterbury Tales the distinguished lady member of a religious order who spoke French after the fashion of Stratford-atte-Bowe, and you will remember that Chaucer added, in the next line just a little unkindly, the French of Paris was to her unknown.

6.3 Mr. President, very seriously I wish also to pay tribute to another very charming and gracious lady, whom all of us in Unesco hold in very high regard, I refer of course to Mrs. Luther Evans, who with loyal and steadfast devotion has stood by both Dr. Evans and Unesco throughout their joint years of service. Perhaps Dr. and Mrs. Evans will forgive me if I recall a remark made at an Anglo-American dinner in honour of the Pilgrim Fathers, who went forth from the British Isles to find new homes in North America: "Do not let us forget the Pilgrim Mothers, because they not only faced the same hardships but they had also to put up with the Pilgrim Fathers".

6.4 Finally, Mr. President, I must refrain, if I can, from the all too frequent English custom of speaking on these occasions as though one were delivering an obituary notice. Dr. Evans had already had a most distinguished career, quite apart from his great service to Unesco: he was Head of the Library of Congress at the age of forty-two, which was a remarkable achievement, and we none of us have any doubt that he will continue to have a most distinguished career in the future. We wish both Dr. and Mrs. Evans the very best of good fortune in the years ahead. They leave us enriched by unique experience and by the friendship and affection of a host of new friends. We hope they will never forget us, and we, for our part, shall never forget them.

6.5 This morning, we say farewell to Dr. Luther Evans as Director-General; we welcome his successor, Dr. Veronese, and we have no doubt that Unesco will make further great strides during the next period

UNESCO ARCHIVES

as it has done in the last. Let us warmly thank Dr. and Mrs. Evans for all they have contributed to Unesco and wish them the very best of good fortune during the years ahead.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Maeda, Head of the delegation of Japan.

8.1 Mr. MAEDA (Japan):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, in spite of my great hesitation in coming up to the rostrum on this occasion, owing to my inadequate mastery of the working language, English, I feel bound to say a few words, whole-heartedly associating myself with the previous distinguished orators in presenting my humble tribute on behalf of the Japanese to Dr. Luther H. Evans, who is now, to my deep regret, leaving our Organization. I most sincerely want Dr. Evans to know how much we, the Japanese, have appreciated his outstanding leadership, through which the prestige of Unesco has been so remarkably enhanced.

8.2 I think that all the delegates here might agree with me that one of the most remarkable achievements of Dr. Evans during his service consists in strengthening the bond of the Unesco Secretariat with the National Commissions of Member States. And to this end Dr. Evans has made energetic and untiring efforts to bring Unesco into close relations with the Member States in the implementation of Unesco's programme.

8.3 A vivid testimony to this fact was Dr. Evans' visit to my country on the occasion of the Regional Conference of National Commissions in Asia, in 1956, to which Japan had the honour of serving as the host country. At that time, Dr. Evans gave great impetus and capable guidance to our Regional Conference, which marked a great success in putting forward many important resolutions and recommendations which had the consensus of the Asian countries, including, for example, the initiative taken on the present Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. I am sure that all the participants in that Conference would admit that it might not have been such a success, had it not been for Dr. Evans' personal attendance and eager attention, his whole-hearted support and efficient assistance.

8.4 This achievement is just one single instance. I shall not try to elaborate the many others here: how much he has increased the efficiency of the Secretariat through his guidance, how successfully he has introduced the democratic procedure in the preparation and execution of the programme, how hard he has laboured to bring the ambitious plan of our magnificent permanent Headquarters to this tangible reality. Above all, how great and fascinating is his personality with his great candour and energy, not to speak of his constantly smiling face and his cheerful, laughing voice which emanate from his loving kindness for humanity. All these qualities of his are well known, therefore I merely wish to repeat how grateful we are to him and how highly we esteem him for all that he has done for our Organization and, consequently, for the welfare of mankind. I warmly support the resolution before us.

8.5 Dr. Evans now leaves the Secretariat, but he is still Dr. Evans, and always with us in Unesco as one who is continuously and indefatigably devoted to the cause of Unesco.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Stirling, Head of the delegation of Australia.

10.1 Mr. STIRLING (Australia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, my colleagues of the Australian delegation and I are delighted to join in tribute to Luther Evans, who has for five and a half years filled with distinction a post of great difficulty and complexity - a term of service which is, I believe, longer than that of any previous occupant of this office. We also join in tribute to Mrs. Evans who has been so great and so gracious a partner. During these five and a half years, the Organization has taken a shape which has given us much cause for satisfaction. I am sure that the judgement of the future will be that Unesco has, in this period, set a course which moves to the fulfilment of its objectives but is at the same time both practical and realistic, and a great part of the credit will belong to Luther Evans.

10.2 He came here after many years of great work in the United States of America; from his students I have often heard of his inspired teaching at Dartmouth, and later at Princeton; then came the years as Librarian of Congress in the late forties and, as one of his grateful constituents, I can speak of this at first hand. To see something of the Library in those days was to be like Aladdin in the Cave of Wonders. I nearly used the expression "Wonderland", remembering what Luther Evans did for one of the world's great classics. We think of his Library of Congress not only for its collections of books, but as a great forum for the writers, poets, thinkers and musicians of many countries and many civilizations. Luther Evans brought this equipment and this vision to Unesco.

10.3 During his term here, Luther Evans has recognized that limited resources mean concentration of effort. From this has developed the concept of Major Projects, which has enabled Unesco to give special emphasis to research on compulsory education and to mutual understanding in vital fields, and to achieve significant results. It is the Director-General whom we must thank for the development of the Participation programme which has decentralized Unesco's programme in a most valuable way. This has enabled Unesco and the Member States, in partnership, to work towards a common goal and undertake activities which neither could have attempted alone. This policy has developed an invaluable spirit of co-operation. One of the great problems Unesco has to face is to maintain a balance in its programme between what it has come to call the developed and the underdeveloped Member States; in this the Director-General has notably succeeded. He has given help where it is most needed and, at the same time, ensured that all members of the Unesco family share in the benefits of this great co-operative enterprise. I express the hope that the Director-General's successor may be as successful as Luther Evans in establishing a satisfactory balance between the various Unesco activities and the competing calls for assistance from all corners of the world; being Dr. Vittorino Veronese, I feel convinced that he will be.

10.4 At much personal sacrifice, Luther Evans has

managed to visit practically all the Member States during his period in office, and we in Australia, who are so far removed geographically from the heart of Unesco, realize how big an undertaking it has been for the Director-General to travel the world to make personal contact with Unesco's far-flung membership. But we also realize how valuable these visits have been both to Unesco and to the Member States. I would like the Director-General to know how welcome his visit was to Australia in 1955, how encouraging we found it, and how impressive was his own contribution. As was said of Sir Christopher Wren, at St. Paul's in London, "Circumspice". If Luther Evans needs a memorial for his work over these five hard years, look around - it is here in Unesco House, opened and used with such pride during this tenth session of the Conference. The construction of a great building like this calls for a tremendous feat of organization. Few of us, I am sure, realize what has been involved from its original conception through all the stages of design, planning, contracting, supervising, furnishing, equipping and decorating - to the point where, in a race against time, it was ready for our convenience and enjoyment on 3 November. Luther Evans steered the Unesco ship into her stately harbour, or perhaps more appropriately, he piloted the great airliner into this giant hangar. And this great task was added to the normal heavy responsibilities of administering the Unesco programme and controlling a substantial budget and a large staff.

10.5 We all agree that the office of the Director-General is not an enviable one, and the problems faced by Luther Evans have made it particularly unenviable, but he is a man whose stature was equal to the challenge. As the Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom has reminded us, he comes from Texas - a State which, like Australia, is small in population but large in area. It is a country of wide horizons and very often of big men. The Texan is a man who "sees by day the vision splendid in the sunlit plains extended, and at night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars". With some such vision, Luther Evans has been able to bring to Unesco a broad conception and he has led us, and led us strongly, along the path to international understanding. The Australian delegation, with the greatest pleasure, associates itself with the proposed resolution.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Sommerfelt, Head of the delegation of Norway.

12.1 Mr. SOMMERFELT (Norway):

Mr. President, the Norwegian delegation has great pleasure in associating itself with the tribute paid to Dr. Evans in the proposed resolution. We do so in the desire to thank him for the very great work he has done for Unesco, first as a delegate, then as a member of the Executive Board, and finally as the Director-General. After all that has been said here I need not go into details, but I subscribe whole-heartedly to everything that has been said. We thank Dr. Evans for all he has done for every one of us, for every organization, for every National Commission, for the way in which he has guided us through a difficult period. We thank him for his personal qualities, in which I also include his happy choice of wife. We thank him for his happy solution to the problem of the Headquarters, and last but not least, for the excellent organization of the tenth session of the General Conference. For anyone who has been present at all Unesco's Conferences it has been a great pleasure and a great satisfaction to have taken part in this one, which may be said to be the best organized of all of them.

12.2 Dr. Evans has left a legacy which will help to guide us in our work towards the realization of the ideals of the Constitution. We wish Dr. and Mrs. Evans all happiness in the years to come.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call Mr. Seydoux, Deputy Head of the delegation of France.

14.1 Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like - very simply, but with sincere feeling - to associate myself with previous speakers in saying, not goodbye, but "au revoir" to Luther Evans.

14.2 I speak not only as one of my country's delegates, but also as a former colleague; for I have known him since 1945 - as have several members of the French delegation who are here today and who, I can assure him, will always remember him as a valued friend.

14.3 Now that his term of office is ending, I should like to stress the fact that for the last five years Luther Evans has worked unstintingly, without sparing his health, in order to give of his best to Unesco. Others have already spoken of the part he has played as an administrator and the impetus he has given to the Organization. I should like to add something about his part as a builder, for it is in great measure to him that we owe this magnificent building, which has called for the admiration of all the delegations, and particularly of my own. I should also like to mention the part he has played in the world at large, the faith and enthusiasm demonstrated in his visits to the majority of Unesco's Member States, more especially those which are confronted by acute and thorny problems in the educational and cultural sphere. He has a place of his own in the line of Directors-General, past and to come, who bring their ability, intelligence and devotion to the service of Unesco. He will be remembered as the man who made it his special aim to win the confidence and full support of the Member States - knowing that Unesco's work could not be really effective without their confidence and their constant co-operation. During his term of office Unesco has considerably strengthened its claim to being a world-wide institution. It has admitted States with varying ideologies and young States which have recently gained their independence.

14.4 Speaking as a delegate of my country, I should like to say with what pleasure Paris and France as a whole have welcomed Dr. Luther Evans and his charming, friendly wife, whose kind and courteous hospitality has been extended to everyone interested in Unesco. Both of them have won our affection by their simplicity, their cordiality, and their easy approachability. As evidence of his interest in French

culture, Dr. Evans, despite his heavy burden of work, has made an effort which we French always particularly appreciate - he has learnt our language. And he speaks it with an ease which calls forth the admiration of all Frenchmen who have had the pleasure and honour of meeting him. Dr. and Mrs. Evans are about to return to the United States. I should like to assure them that when they leave Unesco and France they will not be altogether removed from our Organization, our country or its capital. They have become friends of France, they are citizens of Paris, and they have both deserved well of Unesco.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon Dr. Luther Evans, the outgoing Director-General.

16.1 Dr. EVANS, Director-General:

Mr. President, friends, one would have to be devoid of ordinary human qualities not to be deeply moved by the generosity shown by the General Conference, and by the friendly words which have been addressed to my wife and myself this morning by the Chairman of the Executive Board, the Heads of the various delegations and by Mr. Seydoux of France. I accept your generous statements with profound thanks, with pride, and also with humility.

16.2 The task of Director-General of Unesco is a mission as well as a function, and this mission carries with it a wonderful compensation of its own. The honour this post commands, to serve and to represent the collaboration of nations in education, science and culture, surpasses the merits of any man. My memory recalls at this time the incessant and manifold contacts I have had, ranging over most of the world and reaching to the frontiers of the human spirit; it also recalls the communion of cultures which we are engaged in strengthening, the boiling cauldron of ideas which the Director-General must constantly stir, the intellectual confrontations which he must help arrange and thus aid the soul of our age to express itself. If anyone here today should express thanks, it is your retiring Director-General, who for five years and five months has enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of living such a full life.

16.3 It is true that the burden a Director-General carries is heavy, and that the existence he must lead, in communion with the whole world, can be particularly solitary. But the confidence of Member States and their peoples, the dedication of the Secretariat, the sympathy of all the free and creative spirits who have demonstrated a readiness to respond to the appeals of Unesco, and thus to provide inexhaustible sources of inspiration and courage, provide him with the strength to carry the burden.

16.4 I have greatly benefited from the friendly sympathy so generously given from all these sources of support, and I now declare my profound gratitude. I call on everyone who has supported and encouraged me, to do the same for my successor. I assure you, with real knowledge of the matter, that he fully merits it.

16.5 I have known Vittorino Veronese for many years. We served together on the Executive Board in 1952 and 1953, and our collaboration in the service of the Unesco cause, far from being decreased after I became Director-General was in fact continuously increased and made closer, culminating in the last two years during his presidency of the Executive Board. I have always found him ready to exercise his responsible functions in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, and ready to strive to improve the means by which the Board and the Director-General develop their joint action. I am glad to have the opportunity today to bear witness to his merits and to assure you of his greatness.

16.6 Our new Chief possesses an instinctive fineness of nature, to which has been added the gentleness of that Mediterranean culture which we all recognize as being like an eternal springtime of the spirit. He adds to these qualities a considerable experience in worldly affairs, a penetrating intelligence, and an extraordinary talent for human relations; all these make up an unusually attractive personality. His preparation, both as an administrator and a diplomat, for his new duties, has been admirable.

16.7 Vittorino Veronese is also a conscience. A religious man in the truest sense of the word, he is deeply attached to the spiritual values which must guide the actions of Unesco, he has a zeal and a warmth of deep conviction which can only enrich our Organization. Far from limiting his vision to a narrow horizon, his faith will on the contrary keep his mind open wide to the faiths of others. Tolerance, as I have said in many speeches since I have been Director-General, is not indifference; only a man of conviction can respect the convictions of others. Veronese will speak for himself as to his ideas about Unesco's future, but there is one thing which I can say, and which he could not, in modesty, say: I have been greatly impressed during the years since I met him at Beirut ten years ago, by Veronese's sense of equilibrium and moderation. This is a quality of capital importance for a Director-General of Unesco, in view of the diversities of aspirations which must be reconciled in the work of the Organization. In particular, he makes an effort to unite in Unesco's action the aspirations of the creative individuals who are the salt of the earth and the avant-garde of international co-operation and of all human progress, and the demands of the masses which are the real stuff of history in our epoch. He brings to his work a generous solicitude for the educational, scientific and cultural advancement of the less-developed countries, and he understands the priority which you, the General Conference, wish to be given in this field.

16.8 (Translation from the Spanish): And now, I should like to say a few words in Spanish. It would be untrue for me to say that I am leaving without any feeling of sadness; were I to say so, I should be merely feigning indifference, for it is impossible to leave Unesco without regret. Unesco is not just an institution - it is a venture in which we are feeling our way and trying our strength, a fascinating venture at this stage when so much remains to be done and so many problems to be solved. Above all, it is a vocation from which it is not easy to tear oneself away.

16.9 (Translation from the French): But does one ever really leave Unesco? From the very first day when we responded to its call, it has spurred us on with its message of hope. As far as I am concerned, that call has never ceased to echo in my heart or that message of hope to encourage me on my way. I am

about to leave this building which grew up under my supervision, but my faith in Unesco - the true purposes of Unesco - which brought me here and has been confirmed and strengthened during my term of office, will remain with me wherever I go.

16.10 Mr. President, I should like to close with a short quotation from one of the greatest Americans, I refer to Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address, in which he spoke words that we might all well remember as we go forward with the work of Unesco: "With malice toward none, with charity for all".

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, the applause with which you greeted Dr. Luther Evans when he came forward to speak - the ovation that told you, Sir, of our gratitude and appreciation - makes it unnecessary for me to call for a vote on the draft resolution I read out to you just now.

17.2 With your permission, I will therefore regard it as adopted by acclamation.

17.3 Ladies and gentlemen, the General Committee felt that it would be appropriate to extend equally to Mrs. Luther Evans, with the greatest respect, the tribute of appreciation we are today offering to her husband.

17.4 We are well aware, Madam - as the successive speakers at this meeting have recalled, in terms which you must have found very moving - of the constant support you have so discreetly and perceptively given to the outgoing Director-General in his task, and I would like to assure you that the emotion we now read in your face, the justifiable pride we know you to be feeling, are understood by all who are gathered here, and are shared; for we all realize how much self-denial and self-sacrifice have been required in the life you have led with such distinction and dignity beside Dr. Luther Evans, giving him tireless support, and a devotion which has certainly done much to further his noble and effective work. We hope you will accept these few flowers as a very respectful token of our gratitude and of our cordial and unanimous good wishes for your happiness when you return home.

17.5 I now call upon Dr. Veronese.

INSTALLATION OF DR. VITTORINO VERONESE IN THE OFFICE OF DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO

18.1 Dr. VERONESE (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the first time I set foot in this imposing meeting hall, I had a feeling of standing isolated and overwhelmed at the foot of these stern, bare walls, like cliffs carved by the sea and the winds. I was acutely conscious of the contrast between the smallness of the individual and this bold construction in which the austere purity of technical achievement is softened by no compromise, not even by this rostrum.

18.2 Today I no longer feel isolated; you are with me, the representatives of 81 Member States and 6 Associate Members, who have resolved, once for all, to contribute through education, science and culture to the peace of the world and the welfare of mankind. And you have singled me out to serve you in this joint venture and to shoulder, for six years, the heavy responsibility for your successes and your failures.

18.3 I do not feel isolated, for the Executive Board is by my side, like an enlightened guide in whom I place my trust. I thank its Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Readi, for the noble and heartening words he has just uttered. It is in the Executive Board that I have learnt most about Unesco, and it is there that I have acquired unforgettable experience.

18.4 Then again, I am in France, which is to me a second motherland, in that atmosphere of frank friendship and keen intelligence which is so great a help to us in reaching beyond the limits of our own individuality. Through you, Sir, I would convey to the authorities and the people of your country, I would convey to Paris, my feelings of gratitude and joy at being able to live in this singularly favoured land.

18.5 Another reason why I do not feel alone is that I can look back on the benefits I have received from all those who, during the many different stages of my life, have helped me to become the man who now stands before you with a solemn promise to dedicate his best faculties to the task with which you have entrusted him.

18.6 At this moment I can see the face of my mother who lavished kindness on me and never spared herself for me; I think of my native town, Vicenza, its art and culture, its spiritual life and its charitable institutions, such as the Congregation of Charity which helped me, by a scholarship, to continue my university studies. I shall never forget the precious heritage of social training and moral inspiration which I received from youth movements; through them I came into contact with teachers whose names, which I cannot list here, will be for ever engraved in the heart of their grateful pupil. I have gained experience and enrichment from countless contacts which I have had all over the world, in every continent, with all types of people, regardless of their political, philosophic or religious outlook. Lastly, I have something of the heart and mind of my people; I am linked with the universal destiny of my nation - the nation which moved Giuseppe Mazzini to say: "I love my country because of the love I bear to all men's countries".

18.7 Again, I do not stand alone, because others have gone before me along this difficult trail, bristling with obstacles, scarcely yet blazed, that leads to international co-operation; I have in mind the distinguished men who have led Unesco before me - Julian Huxley, Jaime Torres Bodet and Luther Evans. I do not wish to repeat their praises, nor to remind you once again of the claims they have to our enduring esteem; for these things are common knowledge.

18.8 I come to this Organization at a time when it is beginning to pass from adolescence to vigorous young adulthood. No one can forget what it owes to those who have shaped it. Each according to his individual vocation and the genius of his country, each bearing the stamp of his own culture, and each, we may perhaps say, chosen for a given phase in a history which is still so short - each has left his imprint on this community of thought and action that we call Unesco. To these men I pay sincere tribute and assure them of my gratitude.

18.9 I cannot but turn for a moment, with a special word of friendship, to my immediate predecessor. Thank you, Dr. Luther Evans, for the token of esteem you gave me a few months ago before this gathering, and for the appeal you made to it on behalf of the new Director-General. As you stated earlier, at the end of the general discussion, and once again today, it is true that you and I have worked together, to the best of our ability and in all loyalty, for the good of Unesco. The General Conference, by recently approving the programme and budget which you presented to it, in agreement with the Executive Board, furnished proof of the high regard in which you are held. The motion just approved well expresses what we owe to you. This building, this great and beautiful building, erected during your administration, may now and for some time to come give you a feeling of nostalgia, but it will also fill you with just pride and in it you will always find something of yourself.

18.10 Well, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this is the man you have elected. This election is an honour beyond my deserts. It is also an honour paid to my country. I wish now to state that, clearly as this assembly has expressed its will (illustrating thereby the rule of democracy, in which we put our trust as the only means by which unity can emerge from differences of opinion), I feel myself - and I am sure you expect as much of me - to be, in the first place, independent of any particular majority and, in the second, the Director-General who must serve all members of the Organization.

18.11 But it is time for me to tell you of my ideas about Unesco, its exciting work, and the forces capable of serving it.

18.12 My background accounts for my liking to consider things from every angle, and my habit of trying not to overlook any aspects which may, at first sight, seem difficult to reconcile. I think experience has even taught me that no equilibrium, no progress, no peace is possible without certain contradictions. I have no wish to outline a philosophy at this point; I am merely making an observation. Equilibrium results from a balance of opposites; a state of tension is the prelude to every advance; peace, true peace, means the establishment, in a spirit of genuine friendliness, of proper harmony between all the interests at stake. The life of Unesco is likewise governed by these laws. In our Organization I see several springs of contrasting forces and currents. But far from feeling dismay, I regard this as proof that we are indeed at grips with the realities of life, not sailing in the clouds.

18.13 A first antithesis derives from the intergovernmental character of the Organization. Unesco inevitably expresses a political resolve, however democratic the procedures by which that resolve is taken may be; and, though operating at the international level, it remains governmental in composition. But Unesco's work is done in the spheres of education, science, culture and mass communication, which are in principle the freest, in a certain sense, the most personal and, since they are the most creative of man's activities, should be the most independent.

18.14 This gives rise to a second antithesis - that between the limitless requirements of intellectual life and the strictly rationed administrative and financial resources on which it must depend. Yet the two have to be reconciled in practical decisions, invariably involving sacrifices. Thus the development of intellectual and spiritual life is the outcome of a social synthesis, into which innumerable factors enter and which can never be entirely satisfactory. The difficult elaboration of this synthesis brings out an essential difference between administrative and financial procedures, which are governed by certain laws, and intellectual activities, which are inspired by the loftiest principles of faith and religion, the passion for knowledge or beauty, and love of mankind. Culture and science would recognize no bounds save those of the human mind and spirit, yet they have to contend with barriers inseparable from budgetary considerations. And educationists, scholars and artists have to learn, through bitter experience, that the noblest arguments must needs yield, all too often, to material difficulties. To learn to take into account all these factors which, gradually united, bring about a balance permitting action and progress, is hard - but salutary.

18.15 The great variety of Member States in Unesco produces another kind of pluralism, which, while constituting a source of fruitful collaboration, can also find expression in differences of interests and aspirations. Some countries, in international collaboration, tend to give first place to the loftier demands of culture and science; others, economically more or less seriously retarded, attach more immediate importance to the extension of primary education and the spreading of a knowledge of modern technology and its methods. It behoves Unesco not merely to hold the balance between these two opposing yet equally legitimate trends, but actually to exploit them as a means of promoting valuable exchanges. Unesco, whilst appealing to the more favoured nations on behalf of others experiencing the full bitterness of the ancient axiom: "Primum vivere deinde philosophari" - "live first and then philosophize about it" - never ceases to remind one and all that without ideals, culture and the striving after knowledge, there can be no life worthy of man. Assistance to scientific and cultural co-operation does not prejudice technical assistance, but, on the contrary, lends it impetus. The rains that make the lowlands fertile are formed in the upper layers of the atmosphere.

18.16 I belong to a country which achieved its political unity less than a century ago. Many parts of its territory were long ruled by different authorities. The king who was one of the main artisans of my country's unity said, on an historic occasion: "We cannot remain deaf to cries to pain"; the cries issuing from his divided compatriots. Even now we, like all other nations, still have economic minorities, who have not succeeded in achieving a standard of living which should be the normal rule for all citizens of the same country. I have therefore always been interested in the processes of national liberation and of economic expansion alike. Unesco's interest extends to all the countries of the world, which are grappling with the same problems, taking part in the same struggle against poverty, and looking to education and the techniques devised by science to improve the lot of man. And I would like to assure them, one and all, that we, here, likewise "cannot remain deaf to cries of pain".

18.17 I believe, moreover, that the trend of social

evolution is such that the work of peace in which the higher forms of culture and scientific research are engaged would itself be jeopardized if their benefits were not extended beyond the limited circles within which they are at present enjoyed. Technical assistance is more than a gift made by one group of nations to another; it is a matter of mutual advantage. The countries receiving this assistance will understand that its sources must be safeguarded - the fine laboratories of the great institutes and universities; the admirable educational systems some countries have established at all levels of schooling; museums and libraries, those temples of culture; and the training grounds of teachers and experts. In this connexion, the specialized international organizations and councils have an important part to play, and their work must be encouraged, but they must not forget that they are under an obligation to find correspondents or to promote the establishment of national branches in as many countries as possible, and especially in those where the need for promoting intellectual co-operation is most urgent. Such co-operation should be regarded by all as no less vital than the handing on of knowledge and experience through technical assistance.

18.18 The task facing all our Member States and Associate Members is a double one - to organize collaboration between specialists and at the highest level, and to bring about the spread of knowledge and techniques by direct assistance and participation in Member States' activities - and I would like to see them approach it in a spirit of unity and confidence.

18.19 It is one of Unesco's main duties to convince specialists that their research work must have a bearing on technical assistance, even when it is not directly associated with it. Similarly, the recipients of technical assistance must come to understand that it is in fact in the laboratories, institutes, universities and scientific congresses that the techniques subsequently handed on to them are worked out. What I want is not a balance between these two trends, but continuous, spontaneous co-operation.

18.20 There is yet another paradox which Unesco has to overcome - the deepest - on which I can only touch briefly. An Organization like ours must strive to maintain a strict and dispassionate neutrality towards philosophies, systems, political beliefs and religions. It cannot, however, remain alien, deaf and blind, to the noblest expression of human thought, to the moral misgivings of the contemporary world, to the yearning and quest for a code of social ethics to match the century of nuclear discoveries and interplanetary conquest. No, impartiality does not mean indifference. Unesco can and must be keenly aware of the need for a renewal of creative thought if we are to have a new world of peace and prosperity.

18.21 The path of an organization like ours must necessarily be hedged around by this multiplicity of demands. It would be pointless and futile to deplore that fact; for these demands are inherent in the very nature of Unesco. It is essential for us to be alive to them, to appraise them soberly and to go steadily forward without sacrificing a single one of them. Unesco's rôle is not to put an end to the complexity of reality but rather to come to grips with that complexity, and to draw opposing forces into a common movement towards a goal beyond and above all oppositions.

18.22 To fulfil its mission, Unesco, of course, needs financial resources and you have supplied it with them to the extent that you have deemed in your wisdom to be sufficient. But what it needs above all is men who will represent it and act for it - both at Headquarters and in the field. It is to this Secretariat, so deserving and steadfast, that I address myself on the eve of becoming its chief administrative officer. I am aware of its professional ability, which is basic. I am also aware of the faith which it brings to the carrying out of its daily work. We can never have too much faith in face of those dread adversaries - fear, selfishness and hate. The work of the Secretariat is imbued with intelligence, goodwill, conscientiousness; and every staff member puts his whole heart into it. If I am to guide them - these men and women of so many different nations, races, languages, philosophies and mentalities - they, for their part, must support and help me. If this great body of people were to be divided among itself, if it were to mark time, if I were to fail to inspire it with confidence in a man who experiences the same human, domestic and spiritual difficulties as every member of it, I would not be entitled to expect its loyalty and devotion.

18.23 It will be impossible for me to see everything, know everything, superintend everything. I shall have to rely on the co-operation of those whose responsibilities are least removed from my own, those whose experience is more extensive than mine, those who ensure the continuity of the work; and likewise on those who will be joining the staff in the future, bringing fresh blood to this living entity which we seek to form together.

18.24 In the Secretariat, I would like to play the part of that man so aptly described by Emmanuel Mounier when, in another context, he was defining the advanced guard - that man who keeps a constant eye on his troops on the march, keeps them in step, encourages them when necessary and explains to them their objective. When he moves, they move too, for such is the mysterious oneness of a people and its pilots...

18.25 My responsibilities will of course oblige me to do a certain amount of travelling. I do not know that I will have the capacity, even in the physical sense, of Dr. Luther Evans, who managed in five years to establish contact, albeit hurriedly, with nearly all the Member States on their home ground. I fully appreciate the value of personal relations, of a first-hand survey of problems and of an examination on the spot of current projects. My rule will be simple: to leave when I have to and come back as soon as I can. The primary task of a Director-General is to be part and parcel of his Secretariat. But I shall not shirk any task that takes me afield. One thing of which I can assure the governments here represented is that I shall not hesitate to go wherever an acute problem, a new plan to be studied, the need to improve working relations, the investigation of the facts, or an accurate knowledge of events on which important decisions have to be based, require my presence. Every continent has its specific problems requiring solution. It is clear to everyone that Asia and Africa are at present the scene of exceptionally rapid and far-reaching changes. But the rising generation in Europe and America are also on the threshold of upheavals which the discovery of new

sources of energy, the amazing applications of electronics and the extensive development of automation are bound to entail before long. The techniques which will come into use in the newly industrialized regions may perhaps narrow the social differences which separate continents; it is not impossible, on the other hand, that they may still further intensify those differences. But they do necessitate in every one of those continents - whether Europe, Africa, Asia or America - an urgent readaptation of education, a close attention to social problems, and at the same time a more fervent desire than ever to safeguard and develop the cultural values in which the peoples take pride as the expression of their inmost selves. Civilizations are subject to change. Our era probably marks the dawn of one of these great historic transformations. It is highly probable, however, that developments in the Twentieth century will be on a planetary scale; that century will surely see revealed, in a more complete, more fruitful and more imperative form than in the past, the phenomenon of international co-operation. Unesco owes it to mankind to play a part in this world-wide transformation.

18.26 The programme you have just adopted is a reflection of Unesco's will to assume the rôle incumbent upon it. Any necessary alterations, deletions or additions can be made in the light of experience. I do not want to prejudge the future. I shall carry out the programme scrupulously. But we are all agreed that it is Unesco's programme - that is to say, the programme not only of the Secretariat but of 81 Member States and 6 Associate Members; and its value will be measured by the co-operation it calls forth among all the members of the Organization. The Secretariat will give of its best, but it is in the countries you represent, ladies and gentlemen, in your various countries which are pursuing the same ideal, that Unesco's mission will be accomplished.

18.27 In my view, the rôle of the Secretariat in relation to the Member States should be that of an auxiliary, but an essential auxiliary. Viewed in this light, it has a threefold task. As has so often been said already, the Secretariat should be, first and foremost, a stimulating and a catalysing agency. Unesco's work, I repeat, must be done through and in the Member States, but, at the same time, they must be helped therein by wise and effective action on the part of the Secretariat. Secondly, to quote a striking metaphor already used in this very hall, the Secretariat should serve as the "research department" of the Member States - that is to say, not only a clearing house of information, but also a laboratory for establishing and testing the new formulae for international co-operation which are required to meet the new problems of a rapidly evolving world. The services of this "research department" should be constantly available to Member States, not only for the implementation of the Organization's programme, but also, should they so desire, to further such action as they propose to undertake in respect of their own programmes - bilateral, regional, or even domestic.

18.28 Finally - and this applies more particularly to the Director-General and his closest associates - the Secretariat should be able to avail itself of the confidence reposed in it by Member States to make timely use of Unesco's influence, the moral prestige attaching to its ideals and that which derives from the growing success of its technical achievements, in what I might call the diplomacy of international intellectual relations.

18.29 Unesco is not alone. As an Organization essentially concerned with collaboration, its very life depends on its contacts - contacts with its sister organizations in the United Nations family and with its Member States. It seems to me that, for the efforts of all within this complex system to be effective, they must be concentrated on common aims and directed along certain main lines of action which might be described as Major Projects in international co-operation; Unesco, I am convinced, has nothing to fear in submitting without reserve to such co-ordination. On the contrary, it is only in this way that the special features of its own contribution can make their full impact.

18.30 In spite of temptation, I shall refrain from drawing out these remarks, or rather this apologia, too far. I feel I should conclude. In doing so, I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to convey a message to your National Commissions and to all your fellow countrymen who are helping to bring about the success of Unesco.

18.31 It seems to me that this new building, with its "Y" shape, is a very symbol of our duty. An unknown Latin poet has written:

"Discrimine secta licorni
humanae vitae speciem
praeferre videtur"
("By its forked character
The symbolic letter of Pythagoras
Represents the life of man")

18.32 In fact, this character may be regarded as symbolizing a law of progress: an initial straight line dividing into two, just as a tree trunk divides into branches, or a cell grows and splits into two. The term "Permanent Headquarters" is justified only in so far as it relates to the physical location of Unesco, but it is not the place where the traveller stops and rests, his day's journey completed. The very form of its architecture is, on the spiritual plane, a permanent invitation to further development. Unesco is on the march, it is pressing on, and though, after twelve years' work, it is glad to be at home in its own building, it is also now better able to survey the road ahead and turn its attention to the future.

18.34 Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan when inaugurating this building pronounced the words of an ancient prayer, "Peace, peace, peace!" - "Santih! Santih! Santih!".

18.35 I would reply to him in Petrarch's words, "vivo gridando: pace ... pace ... pace".

18.36 And, from the bottom of my heart, I would add the lines of the psalmist: "Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul; O my God, I trust in thee; All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth".

18.37 I am now ready, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, to take the official oath as the new Director-General of Unesco.

19. The PRESIDENT:(Translation from the French): I will now ask Dr. Veronese to take the oath of allegiance to Unesco.

20. Dr. VERONESE (Translation from the French): I solemnly swear to exercise in all loyalty,

discretion and conscience the functions entrusted to me as Director-General of Unesco, to discharge these functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of Unesco only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any government or other authority external to the Organization, so help me God.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The Conference takes note of this oath.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

TWENTY-SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

5 December 1958, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Tributes to Dr. Luther H. Evans (continued) and Close of the Tenth Session of the General Conference 334

TRIBUTES TO Dr. LUTHER H. EVANS (continued) AND CLOSE OF THE TENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. I call upon Mr. Kuznetsov, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2.1 Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian): I should like to say a few concluding words on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, before we all bid farewell and disperse to our homes.

2.2 Now that the work of our Conference is concluding, I must once again express our great gratitude to the French Government, the Paris municipal authorities, and the French people as a whole, for the cordial hospitality they have extended to us here. I should also like to associate myself with all the good wishes that have been addressed today to Dr. and Mrs. Evans and to Dr. Veronese. And I think we ought also to offer our very sincere thanks to all members of the Secretariat of our Organization, who have taken great pains to facilitate the work of the Conference. I should like to offer special thanks to the interpreters: they are cut off from us by their glass windows, but we are aware of them, and hear them, throughout our proceedings. Without them, we must frankly admit, it would have been difficult for us to carry on these important discussions. I thank them sincerely for their useful work.

2.3 With your permission, I shall add a few brief remarks to supplement what has already been said. It has long been recognized that nothing in this world lasts for ever; and now our Conference has come to its end. An ancient philosopher has said that everything is in flux, everything changes, and that it is impossible to bathe twice in the same stream. And indeed this is perfectly true, as has been proved by the experience of thousands of years. We feel its truth in our own work, in our own persons. In reality we are already not quite the same people we were a month ago. We have got through a good deal of work - in our plenary meetings, in Commissions and Committees, and in Working Parties. We have worked hard, conscientiously, animated by the ideals set forth in the Constitution of our Organization. You will remember that that Constitution lays down the principle that peace must be founded on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind - a very important and very just principle. The Constitution says that the aim of our Organization must be to advance, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind. Fine words, and admirable ones. And it is these ideals by which we have been imbued while working here for over a month. We have tried to understand one another and to find a better path along which to advance.

2.4 I may say that our common efforts found expression in the programme we have adopted for 1959-1960, and in the speech made today by Dr. Veronese, which gives grounds for the belief that we may discover this right path. At least he is eager to seek for that path, uniting us all in the common task. Of course we have had, still have, and shall continue to have our differences of outlook and conflicting opinions; but, as has already apparently been remarked with much justice here today, it is a law of nature and society that we must develop and advance through contradictions and by overcoming them. It is by struggling with contradictions that we move forward, so there is no reason to be afraid of contradictions, of divergent views. And it has also, and very rightly, been said here that there is no need to simplify complex facts or to try to circumvent them; what we must do is, try to find the right solution for the complicated problems by which we are confronted as a result of these facts.

2.5 I should add that, after doing some good and useful work, we must not rest on our achievements. I feel it should be emphasized on this occasion that we must not forget the constructive criticisms that have been put forward from this rostrum. The Executive Board, the Director-General and the Secretariat as a whole should treat these criticisms without prejudice, in a spirit of goodwill, should try to study them attentively and reflect on them, bearing in mind that they were sincere and prompted by a genuine desire to improve our work.

2.6 I should like to say a few words about what, in my opinion, should be borne in mind during Unesco's future work. I think that, if our

Organization wishes to be a true manifestation of international fellowship, it must achieve real, genuine universality. It is necessary, it is essential, to find a solution to the question of accepting the People's Republic of China as a legitimate member of the Organization.

2.7 The second thing I should like to stress today is that I think we should not approach our practical work from the standpoint of any particular group of interests, which may make use of Unesco for mercenary, selfish or reactionary purposes. In my opinion, it is for us to rise higher, see further, to be objective and manly in dealing with the complex and conflicting problems that confront us now and must inevitably continue to do so. I should like again to emphasize what has been said here today with great truth - particularly by Dr. Veronese in his speech - that what is needed is not to simplify complex realities, not to seek, to schematize, but to face up to the situation and arrive at an equitable settlement of the questions and problems resulting from it.

2.8 Thirdly, I should like to say that we must strive to make Unesco, to an ever-increasing extent, a real platform for the ideas that animate the various nations of the world, an organization in which all countries can really work together in the scientific and cultural fields on a wide scale. I think we must spare no effort for this purpose, that we should devote all our strength to it, and that the bulk of our resources should be expended for that purpose - the development of extensive scientific and cultural co-operation among all nations. And to this end, in my opinion, we should be as bold and liberal as possible in invoking the co-operation of the democratic, progressive non-governmental organizations. We must not be afraid of them, we must not look upon them as hotbeds of sedition, but must do our utmost to draw them into Unesco's activities. They will help us to solve our main problem.

2.9 The chief point I should like to stress in conclusion - one which I think it is indispensable for us to bear in mind at all times - is that our Organization, established for scientific and cultural co-operation, should strive by every means to assist all the progressive elements among mankind in the struggle for peaceful co-existence. For peaceful co-existence! Only as an instrument of peace can Unesco fulfil its lofty mission. Only by striving to promote peaceful co-existence can we improve our work and heighten still further its international significance. If we forget this, even for a moment, if we are dismayed by the difficulty of the task, if we lull ourselves with slogans of avoiding politics and evade this great problem, the greatest in the world, then I am afraid we shall decline and accomplish nothing of value.

2.10 Our mission is to promote cultural and scientific co-operation for the well-being of all mankind, and the foundation for such work can only be peace, the peaceful co-existence of all peoples and States. I may say that my own Government, headed by one of the most distinguished of our active contemporaries, Nikita Sergeivich Khrushchev, is constantly concerned with this very matter, and its whole foreign policy is constructed on this peace-loving basis. I consider that we should never for a moment forget that at the present day there is nothing of greater importance than the preservation and consolidation of peace. There is no word that brings the people greater hope than the word "peace". In all the languages of the world, in the mouths of all the inhabitants of the world, this word now comes foremost. Mir, Paix, Peace, Paz, Pace - or what you will - peace, peace at any price. That is our main task. May that word be like a shining beacon, lighting our way. May it burn like an unquenchable star above this great meeting-place of ideas. And in this connexion I should like to conclude my remarks with the hope that friendship and peaceful co-operation may flourish among all the nations, that every people in the world, great and small alike, may flourish and prosper, and that there may be peace throughout the world.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Sir Yadvindra Singh Mchinder Bahadur, member of the delegation of India.

4.1 Sir Yadvindra SINGH MCHINDER BAHADUR (India): Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, we are about to reach the end of our deliberations. The last five weeks have been a period of notable interest for all of us in Unesco; we have come closer to each other, delegates from Member nations, the officials and staff of the Headquarters, and the intellectual élite of this great city which has held for us always a special interest in matters of culture and science.

4.2 As we plan to depart for our respective countries, we look back with a sense of satisfaction on the life of the past weeks. During this time we have renewed several old friendships and made many new ones. In the Working Parties, Commissions and Committees we have come to know one another well through our discussions. When we disagreed it was not without appreciation of the point of view contrary to our own. Tolerance, sympathy, understanding and more than all, good humour, have marked our deliberations throughout. Mutual appreciation and understanding of one another's points of view and a common desire to advance intellectual and aesthetic values are the principles of Unesco, and I have no hesitation in saying that we lived according to those principles during this General Conference.

4.3 At this final plenary session of the Conference our thoughts turn to the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, who will be relinquishing his responsibilities after this plenary session ends today. On behalf of the Indian delegation and the Government of India, I should like to pay high tribute to Dr. Evans, who has conducted the affairs of our Organization with efficiency, tact and administrative skill. His services to Unesco do not require to be described in detail here. One of the most spectacular is undoubtedly the construction of this Headquarters, a working symbol of the great ideals for which Unesco stands. Of the working co-operation he has established with the Member States, the organization of the Major Projects and other notable achievements, it is unnecessary for me to speak as they are well known. But there is one aspect of his work which I should like to emphasize; Dr. Luther Evans' term as Director-General has been notable for the genuine interest he has taken in giving the countries of Asia

and Africa their due place in the work of Unesco. There is no doubt that Unesco is an intergovernmental organization, that it is meant and was designed to meet the interests of the peoples. The great majority of the world's population live in Asia and Africa, and in seeking to bring them into closer association with Unesco he has shown himself a man of vision and idealism, and has pointed the way which, if it is followed by his successors, cannot fail to advance in great measure the ideals we have set before us. I wish to express our sincere gratitude to him for his great work in this connexion. We extend to Dr. Luther Evans our sincerest good wishes for many many years of fruitful service to humanity.

4.4 I must also, on behalf of my delegation, express our thanks to the staff of Unesco, whose work in preparing the material for our discussions has been of great assistance to us; they have worked hard to make the session a success and have spared no pains in making the preliminary studies so essential for the work of the General Conference. This tenth session of the General Conference has been most fortunate in securing you, sir, as our President for this year. Unesco, beginning its activities in its own premises on the soil of France, could not have a better leader than you, a distinguished citizen of this country, to conduct its deliberations and plenary sessions. In the midst of your many duties you have taken the time to preside at some of the most crucial sessions of this Conference.

4.5 I should like also to express a word of welcome to Dr. Vittorino Veronese as our new Director-General, and to wish him success in the tasks that lie ahead. With his close association of many years with Unesco and his knowledge of its problems, we can legitimately expect that his régime as the chief executive of our Organization will see the further expansion of our activities and, I hope, an increasing realization of our co-operation. All of us, more especially we of the Asian and African delegations, look forward to an ever-growing understanding of our problems in the educational and cultural fields, and a greater appreciation of the moral values of culture. The future of this Organization depends upon its universality, on the emphasis it places on mutual understanding and greater appreciation of different cultures. We have every hope that these ideals which are enshrined in the Constitution of Unesco will find increasing realization. Hence, I close with the invocation which our sages have sung from ages, words that were spoken by Dr. Radhakrishnan at the end of his speech at the inaugural meeting of this Conference, and which were referred to by our new Director-General: "May all be happy, may all be healthy, May all see the good, may no one be unhappy - peace, peace, peace".

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Hekmat, Head of the delegation of Iran.

6.1 Mr. HEKMAT (Iran) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, despite my eagerness to take part in the work of the General Conference from the start of the session, as I have done on several occasions in the past, I was prevented, much to my regret, from attending this tenth session earlier.

6.2 I am glad, however, to be able to be with you on the last day of the session and to see how successful the Conference's work has been under the enlightened guidance of H.E. Mr. Jean Berthoin, the French Minister of Education. I should like to associate myself with the tributes paid to him and, through him, to thank the French Government and people for the warm welcome and hospitality - in their finest traditions - which they have accorded us.

6.3 For those of us who, like myself, saw the birth of Unesco at the London Conference in 1945 and who have followed its development, it is a great joy to see the Organization take up its Headquarters in this magnificent building and command the respect of the entire world. Steadily, day by day, it is asserting itself as a moral force whose task it is gradually but surely to promote true international understanding.

6.4 This morning, we attended an impressive and moving meeting, at which many speakers paid tribute to the work accomplished by Dr. Evans who, by his unwearying efforts, has so admirably served the cause of Unesco. For several years past, both as Chairman of the Iranian National Commission, and on my last mission to India, I have had the pleasure of associating closely with Dr. Luther Evans and having the opportunity to appreciate his great qualities. Feeling the affection and admiration I do for him, I cannot fail to speak of them now, in this assembly.

6.5 We have also heard the well deserved tributes paid to the new Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, and the good wishes extended to him for a successful term of office. The remarks he has just made at this installation ceremony are further confirmation that the General Conference has found in him a distinguished successor to such eminent men as Julian Huxley, Torres Bodet and Luther Evans.

6.6 After hearing the preceding speakers, I think I can do no better than associate the Iranian delegation most warmly and whole-heartedly with the tributes and good wishes which they have so eloquently expressed.

6.7 Like several other delegations, I should like to convey our deep gratitude to the Executive Board which, among its other activities, has kept a watchful and efficient eye on the execution of the programmes, helped in the preparation of the future programme and improved the working methods of this Conference enough to make this session an undoubted success.

6.8 We congratulate the new members of the Executive Board on their election, and express our warmest thanks to the distinguished outgoing members, who have served the Organization so well for several years past. If the honourable Chairman of the Executive Board, H.E. the Ambassador Raadi, whose term of office has also just expired, were not a close friend and a distinguished fellow-countryman of mine, and if I did not fear to do violence to his well-known modesty and preference for avoiding personal comment, I should have liked, in my turn, to speak highly of him; but the deference which I owe to the Chairman of the Executive Board at the international level obliges me to respect his wishes and remain silent. He must allow me, however, to tell him sincerely that his country has noted with joy and pride the further token of esteem and confidence which he has received from the General Conference and the Executive Board. I am sure that he will

continue to serve Unesco's cause in the capacity of Iran's permanent delegate to the Organization.

6.9 Mr. President, fellow colleagues, Iran, which, ever since Unesco's establishment, has devoted its efforts to close co-operation with the Organization, will continue its endeavours in this direction with ever fresh enthusiasm, and the new Director-General may rest assured that he will find our ardent support of Unesco a new reflection of the regard that countries such as mine owe to him personally.

6.10 It has frequently and rightly been said that Unesco, after twelve years' existence, has "come of age". Although coming of age has its advantages, it also has its responsibilities. We must face these responsibilities resolutely so that, at the next session, we - the Secretariat, the Executive Board and Member States - may be able to congratulate ourselves on having, by our achievements, shown ourselves equal to the noble task that has been set us.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, Head of the Brazilian delegation.

8.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, in national and international public service alike, the handing over of responsibility at the highest level always gives rise to conflicting feelings - regret and hope, sadness and joy. The inspiring tone of this morning's meeting, at which these conflicting sentiments were expressed gave us all a sense of confidence in the future of our Organization.

8.2 The ability to sorrow and the ability to hope are both needed if we are to live worthily. The tributes paid to our former Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans, and the demonstrations and expressions of confidence in our next Director-General, Dr. Veronese, will certainly carry the noble message of this assembly to all our distant lands.

8.3 We are suffering two losses, for the Chairman of our Executive Board, the distinguished Ambassador, Mr. Raadi, who, from the beginning, has guided and enlightened us with his wisdom, instinct with that subtlety with which Iranian poetry and philosophy have always enriched our minds, is also leaving us. We shall never forget our meetings in London where, one evening, we gathered round the President of the Conference, the United Kingdom Minister of Education, in the Houses of Parliament, in order to choose Unesco's first Director-General. Some of us who were there are still with us today. You were there, Mr. Raadi, and today you can bear witness to the unremitting efforts we have made since then to see that Unesco fulfils the hopes which, at that time, warmed our hearts and elevated our thoughts.

8.4 At a difficult time, when an election was necessary, it was to you that the Board turned, asking you to direct our discussions in Cologne with that sense of fairness and impartiality which you have always shown. With this tribute, you may rest assured, when you leave, that much of what you have given us will remain with us and we shall always be more than glad to welcome you, to listen to you and to profit by your advice.

8.5 My dear Dr. Evans, for us you have been, not only the Director-General of Unesco, but a personal friend. All the countries of Latin America are at one in expressing their gratitude to you. You know the whole of our continent better than many of us do ourselves, you have been everywhere - from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, from the Argentine pampas to the Andean plateaux - and everywhere you have left that same strong impression of vigour, energy and hope, which we owe perhaps to your native Texas, or perhaps to your great American nation.

8.6 In a few months' time, the University of Bahia, the centre of Brazil's most ancient culture, is to convene the Fourth Luso-Brazilian Symposium. We have not forgotten that it was under your auspices, in Washington, that the first of these symposia was held, and I have the honour to invite you, on behalf of the Rector of the University of Bahia, to come to Brazil next August to take part in this symposium as our guest of honour. Our agenda will include a tribute to Abraham Lincoln, to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth, and it is indeed fitting that you, Dr. Luther Evans, should be asked to speak in praise of that great man of another continent.

8.7 The new Director-General of Unesco is heir to a great tradition. The illustrious names of Julian Huxley, Jaime Torres Bodet and Luther Evans have already been mentioned.

8.8 You have accepted your task, Dr. Veronese, almost under coercion, but you have accepted it with a full appreciation of the great responsibility it involves. Since your acceptance, you no longer belong to yourself; you no longer belong to that beautiful, smiling country of Italy which was your birthplace: you belong to the whole of mankind, and it is in its name that you will henceforward serve the community of peoples.

8.9 You have experienced tyranny; you lived through the dark years when the entire world was threatened by a hideous dictatorship. We are convinced therefore, that you will be ever vigilant to defend all the freedoms. You will be the architect of a world where there may be frontiers, but at least no curtains, a world in which we may be able to establish a fraternal interchange. You belong to a country where diversity of opinions and diversity of customs are accepted and respected, provided they do not violate that fundamental human freedom which is the prerequisite for any discussion and interchange.

8.10 You suffered, Dr. Veronese, from the dreadful tragedy of the war. You saw your country laid waste; you saw invaders on those Italian roads where Dante once wandered and which still bear the footprints of Saint Francis of Assisi, the saint among saints; you saw your Italy ravaged and torn; you will therefore be a defender of peace. And it is as the champion of freedom and the champion of peace alike that we welcome you here. In addition to safeguarding the great spiritual values in the name of this community of peoples rallied round Unesco, you will, I am sure, bear constantly in mind the great contemporary problems and distresses of the masses - the workers, peasants and unfortunates who are sometimes stirred by revolt because they are a prey to hunger and ignorance. You will therefore be called upon to assume ever greater

responsibilities, alike in high intellectual matters and in the constant effort to meet man's immediate needs. The human race that you are to serve does not consist only of our living contemporaries; it goes far back into the distant past and includes both the illustrious dead, and the coming generations, as yet unborn, who will be the workers of tomorrow. Give ear to these murmurings from the past, give heed to these echoes that reach us from the ancient theocracies of the Orient, passing through the glorious Greco-Roman past in which you have your share, the grandeur of the Middle Ages, and the birth of modern times with the Renaissance - first in Italy and then throughout the world - to come at last to our own day, when technology, thanks to this boundless spiritual and intellectual heritage, is creating a world in which man will be able to live free from care.

8.11 You will be the guide of this wandering host of the dead and the living. You will be the leader of those who are about to make this attempt on the heights of the world, and, in order to carry out this, the noblest of any mission for a man of our time, you have only to draw inspiration from the glories of your own past. Which of us can forget the magnificent lines in which Virgil spoke of the mission of Rome? Which of us could desire a finer slogan for Unesco than the one that he gave Rome in its great civilizing task. Who could be more fitted than you, Mr. Director-General, to inscribe above the portal of Unesco words which are the key to the resurrection of mankind: Pacisque imponere morem.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Calcagno, Head of the Argentine delegation.

10.1 Mr. CALCAGNO (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, Argentina warmly endorses the enthusiastic tributes paid by this assembly to the unremitting efforts and constructive work of Dr. Evans as head of Unesco, and also - as is only just - to his charming wife, who has been associated with all his achievements. Argentina also shares the hopes and good wishes expressed for the continuation of Unesco's work under the leadership of the new Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, with his brilliant intelligence and extraordinarily dynamic personality.

10.2 But I have another reason for coming to this rostrum - a reason connected with the work Unesco has been doing, over the past eleven years, to promote and secure recognition for intellectual activities.

10.3 Ladies and gentlemen, towards the end of October, when we were completing the preparations for this tenth session of Unesco's General Conference, there died two illustrious Latin American intellectuals, both distinguished for their infinite kindness and the austerity of their lives. One was the famous Salvadorean jurist, José Gustavo Guerrero, whose happy combination of ability, learning and prestige won him a place, for more than a quarter of a century, as a Judge, and President, of the International Court of Justice at The Hague - of the former Court as well as of that established by the United Nations - and who, in the discharge of his high functions, did much to reconcile the peoples and the nations. The second was the distinguished Costa Rican teacher and educationist, Joaquín García Monje, who died on 31 October; many of us here had the good fortune to appreciate his great qualities by personal acquaintance; before Unesco started its great campaign, he was the standard-bearer of culture in our continent through his famous periodical, the "Repertorio Americano", which he selflessly financed for almost forty years, out of the meagre salary he received as a teacher, making thereby a unique contribution to the intellectual ties between the Latin American countries, and between them and our mother country, Spain. The "Repertorio Americano" was the constant champion of human rights.

10.4 As a representative of Argentina, and with the unanimous support of the delegates of the other Latin American countries, Spain and the Philippines, I propose that the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco should record its recognition of the work of justice, truth, goodness and brotherhood - in fact, the work of culture - accomplished by these two enlightened men and that it should convey this tribute to the governments of their respective countries.

10.5 I am well aware that other distinguished people who have recently died have outstanding claims entitling them to a similar tribute on this occasion - for example, the late Lord Cecil, the Nobel Peace Prize winner - and, as I realize that other delegates might well recommend paying such a tribute to that venerable figure, I would link his name with those of the two Latin Americans I have mentioned.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Mac-Lean y Estenos, delegate of Peru.

12.1 Mr. MAC-LEAN y ESTENOS (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, at this formal closing meeting of the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, held at a time of crucial importance for contemporary man, Peru wishes to express its enthusiasm, faith and hope.

12.2 Today, mankind is passing through one of the greatest and most disquieting crises it has ever known. An old world which boasted of its high civilization is definitely on the wane, together with all the old ideas, institutions, ways of life, egoisms and rules of conduct, both individual and collective, that went with it; and a new world, with prospects undreamed of, is coming into being.

12.3 A dramatic mosaic of anguish and hope, irresolution and faith, blood and sorrow, for blood and sorrow, irresolution and faith, anguish and hope, are all inevitable accompaniments of birth.

12.4 Humanity is on the threshold of a new era, at the beginning of one of the most extraordinary transformations of its own structure. Never before has its transformation produced such a profound and radical crisis, nor affected the deepest roots of society, the very pith and marrow of culture, the underground foundations which, seemingly firm

yesterday but no longer so today, support the entire structure of community life.

12.5 Don Quixote and Sancho Panza have ceased to converse tranquilly and are engaged in an angry and aggressive dispute. The gardens of Academus have been transformed into the camp of Agramante. Ormuzd and Ahriman will allow no truce in their eternal struggle with each other. Cain and Abel, forgetting once again that they are brothers, are reddening the earth with the blood of their fratricidal strife. And one need not be a pessimist to acknowledge that, in certain parts of the world, the terrifying echoes of the galloping of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse are to be heard.

12.6 The present-day world is faced with the terrible choice between "to be" and "not to be", between life and death, between progress which may open up almost unbelievable prospects of achievement and total destruction which may annihilate all and transform our planet into a cosmic necropolis spinning funereally through space.

12.7 The responsibility of man was therefore never before so great as it is today. Let us face it resolutely, with faith in our own mission and in our own destiny. Let us not shrink from the difficulties, even if they sometimes tower up before us like inaccessible mountains, for nothing is beyond man's reach when he shows tenacity, energy and resolution. Let us fashion the human society of the future, that of our children and our children's children, in accordance with the highest spiritual values and the sublime code of human rights which was set forth by France, two centuries ago, on a certain night that was decisive for the history of the world, and adopted as a universal declaration ten years ago by the United Nations. Let us lay the foundations of this future human society so that the generations who come after us will be able to live free from fear, distress and poverty; free to believe in their own faith without incurring punishment; free to establish a home and to receive education without any arbitrary discrimination; free to develop their individual creative powers in their ideas and their works, without any kind of direction or hindrance from without; free, in short, with that freedom which is the necessary climate for any existence worthy of man; which is inherent in human individuality, an inalienable right of all communities, and without which life is not worth living, men are unworthy of the name of man and peoples unworthy to call themselves peoples.

12.8 Fellow delegates, Peru wishes every success to the Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, who is taking up his new duties today in such auspicious circumstances and who has already given proof of his great human qualities; it expresses its faith in the great destiny of France, where our Organization has its headquarters and which is represented here by a brilliant delegation under the distinguished leadership of the Minister of Education; and, lastly, it hopes that Unesco will be able to carry out its universal mission, which represents the present generation's most generous efforts after mutual understanding and the brightest hope of the coming generations.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon Mr. Mackenzie, Head of the Canadian delegation.

14.1 Mr. MACKENZIE (Canada):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for this further opportunity of speaking briefly on behalf of my delegation and my country. This has been the first Unesco Conference I have had the privilege of attending, and like Mr. Mac-Lean, the delegate of Peru, I have come a long way from the Pacific shores of America.

14.2 This has been for me a fascinating experience, and it has convinced me of the importance and the complexity of the work which this Organization is engaged in - work that is as wide and as great as the world itself, and as the life of man in that world. It is in this light that I would like to suggest to our new Director-General that, in dealing with this most difficult and complicated task, he should engage as completely and as fully as possible the many men and women in the many Member countries of this world who are interested in the things that Unesco stands for; and should engage, too, the interest and participation of the agencies and organizations and institutions in those countries which are in their own ways promoting these same interests. Because, ladies and gentlemen, our task is so great that no institution, however good, and no man or group of men, however wise and able, can alone hope to cope with it. For me, the most important and effective thing that Unesco can do is to bring together the goodwill, the knowledge, the ability, the activity of all those in all our Member countries who are concerned in their own ways with the matters for which we stand.

14.3 Now, on behalf of Canada and our delegation, I would like to extend to Dr. Luther Evans and Mrs. Evans our thanks, and bid them both God-speed in the years ahead. I would also express the hope that they may have occasion to visit some of their friends throughout the Member States of Unesco, and in my own case, Canada.

14.4 To Dr. Veronese go our good wishes, and our assurances that in the very difficult task that he has undertaken, to the best of our ability, we in Canada will do what we can to help with the work in which he is engaged. We, like you, hope that it may be possible for him, in due course, to visit us. If he does, we assure him of a warm welcome, and we assure him too, that those of us who have been here will keep in mind the nature and the importance of the task in which he is engaged, and do what we can to further the ends to which he has now agreed to devote his life, his efforts, his energies, his capacities, his gifts. And so, to the new Director-General, we extend good wishes, hopes for success, and assurance of support and co-operation to the best of our abilities.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon Mr. Lim, Head of the delegation of the Philippines.

16.1 Mr. LIM (Philippines):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Philippine delegation considers it an honour and privilege to have been given this opportunity to make a few remarks on this significant occasion. We are here to give due consideration to the outstanding service that Dr. Luther Evans, a great American and a distinguished citizen of the world, has given during

his term of office as Director-General of this great Organization; Dr. Evans' term of office comes to an end as the tenth session of the General Conference reaches its brilliant conclusion. He has given to Unesco his inspired leadership and, to its efforts in the Headquarters and in the far-flung projects all over the world, intelligent and constructive direction. His unflinching devotion to the Preamble and Constitution of Unesco, which he unceasingly strove to translate into reality in terms of concrete projects for the furtherance of international understanding through education, science and culture, his unalloyed humility and sincere friendliness, and his complete impartiality and fairness in making important decisions and choices, have endeared him to all the friends of Unesco everywhere, and to his associates in the vast human enterprise that is Unesco.

16.2 The Philippines has a special affection for Dr. Evans and reason to be grateful to him, for during his term of office we were the recipients of substantial Unesco assistance in terms of technical aid, fellowships, travel grants and outright sums that have undoubtedly contributed to the acceleration of our local efforts to improve the quality of education, science and culture in our own country. In fact, Dr. Evans helped us rehabilitate the National Library long before he became Director-General, in his capacity as Librarian of Congress.

16.3 For all this, allow me, in the name of my country and its delegation, to add our most sincere congratulations for his exemplary record, and join the previous speakers in all their best wishes that have been showered upon Dr. and Mrs. Evans, with the assurance that they will always find among the Filipinos true and loyal friends.

16.4 Now, following the example set by Dr. Evans, allow me to use another of the official languages which is spoken in my country.

16.5 (Translation from the Spanish):

Nevertheless, our regret at losing the direct co-operation of Dr. Evans, as Director-General of this Organization, is tempered by the knowledge that his worthy successor also possesses excellent qualities and has an outstanding reputation. Dr. Vittorino Veronese, a gentleman in the truest sense of the term, punctilious, highly skilled in matters concerning Unesco, who has given a brilliant account of himself in important and delicate assignments in the educational, scientific and cultural spheres, both in his own country and as a member of various Unesco bodies, today becomes our new Director-General. We pledge him our humble and fervent support, in full confidence that he will not merely continue and expand the many programmes and activities initiated by his predecessor but will also, with that zeal, honesty and skill for which he is well known among us, lead us on to ever greater heights.

16.6 The Member States of which the happy family of Unesco is composed will, I am confident, as in the past, afford our new Director-General the unstinting aid and co-operation which has always been one of the main features of their relations with Unesco. May God, in his high purposes, grant Dr. Veronese the health, wisdom and prudence he needs in order to succeed in his new task, for the enhancement of his own reputation, and the glory of his country and the world at large.

16.7 My mission, or rather the mission entrusted to me by my delegation, will not be complete unless we also express our most sincere congratulations to the President of this Conference, His Excellency Mr. Jean Berthoin, Minister of Education of France, whose valuable leadership contributed so much towards our general success and the happy conclusion of the Conference.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Rosal, Head of the delegation of Guatemala.

18.1 Mr. ROSAL (Guatemala) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it was with deep emotion that I listened this morning to the speeches made by those who have preceded me on this rostrum, and I should like now to say a few words to express my heartfelt endorsement of the tribute of friendship, affection and gratitude that has so deservedly been paid to Dr. Evans for the distinguished work he has done as head of Unesco over a period of more than five years. I should also like, on behalf of my delegation, to express the feelings which overcome us at seeing him quit this Organization to which his great talents have given added lustre. I wish to assure him, however, that although he and his distinguished wife are departing from Paris, they will continue to live in spirit in this building, in which they are leaving behind imperishable memories.

18.2 I would now like in my turn to convey my best wishes to Dr. Vittorino Veronese, who is today taking up the difficult office of Director-General of Unesco, and to say that we are confident that, with a pilot so skilled and highly qualified as Dr. Veronese, Unesco will go on from strength to strength.

18.3 And now that we are about to disperse, not without a certain feeling of sadness, after a month spent in this beautiful building, in an atmosphere of friendly unity fully in keeping with the spirit of Unesco's Constitution and the principles it follows, I have one small suggestion to make.

18.4 We have all of us admired a fine collection of crystal here in Unesco House, entitled "Asian Artists in Crystal". It seems that, after the Conference, this collection is to be dispersed, since the United States Government is presenting all the exhibits to the governments of the countries of Asia. I would like to propose that those countries make the Organization a gift of them, so that this fine collection can remain in Unesco. At the same time, I beg to suggest to the United States delegation that arrangements be made for producing a similar collection for Latin America; to which, I am sure, all our great Latin American artists would be glad to contribute.

18.5 And now, before we part, I would ask you all to join me in a warm vote of thanks to France, immortal, beautiful France, which has extended such generous hospitality to us in this House and in the enchanting, historic city of Paris.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Tuncel, delegate of Turkey.

20.1 Mr. TUNCEL (Turkey) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like, on the occasion of the installation of the new Director-General, to say a few words on behalf of my delegation.

20.2 I do not wish to trespass unduly on your time, and shall therefore confine myself to saying that we are sincerely pleased at this felicitous choice; and are firmly convinced that Dr. Vittorino Veronese's pre-eminent qualities are such as to fit him for his new functions.

20.3 I feel impelled, on this solemn occasion, to cite the brilliant trinity of Directors-General - Julian Huxley, Torres Bodet and Luther Evans - who have so splendidly contributed to the progress and prestige of our Organization.

20.4 We have already expressed our thanks to Luther Evans, to whom we are beholden, in particular, for the happy development of Unesco's relations with its Member States and especially with their National Commissions - a development which, in our view, is one of his most outstanding successes.

20.5 We firmly believe that the past five years have marked an important and decisive stage in Unesco's life as far as its operational programmes are concerned, and we owe this to the clear-sightedness, zest for work and pragmatic mind of Luther Evans.

20.6 Those are the features, we feel, which most strikingly and enduringly characterize Luther Evans.

20.7 We are pleased to hail, in his successor, one of the most accomplished representatives of that Western world culture, that treasure of the human mind amassed through the ages by dint of so much high endeavour, which so richly warrants preserving for the benefit of all mankind.

20.8 We still believe that man's salvation lies in the strength of the spirit, and above all, the spirit of mutual understanding between the peoples. And indeed, the new Director-General belongs to a country which has always been outstanding for its steadfast respect for spiritual and intellectual values. In an age afflicted by warring factions, it seems to us more imperative than ever that these values be safeguarded and maintained, and we are confident that the new Director-General is one of their most valiant defenders. This constitutes, we consider, more than sufficient guarantee for the continuity of a tradition and the success of an Organization with which our country has more ties than one.

20.9 We are pleased at this choice, since we believe that Dr. Veronese will be able to safeguard those enduring spiritual values to which, unfortunately, the modern world persists in attaching less and less importance.

20.10 In conclusion, I would venture, gentlemen, to remind you that we are now experiencing - or, to be more exact, suffering from - the supremacy of utilitarian, short-term values; whereas spiritual and intellectual endeavour is not necessarily always concerned with utilitarian goals. It therefore behoves us, now and again, at least - as was so aptly remarked by one of the subtlest minds of France, a country which has produced an extraordinary wealth of fine and original minds and which is also, henceforward, the permanent Headquarters of our Organization - it behoves us, I say, to ponder seriously, from time to time, on the necessity of non-utilitarian values, of spiritual endeavour, wherein lies the only hope of man's salvation.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I now call on Mr. Awad, Head of the delegation of the United Arab Republic.

22.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic):

Mr. President, according to the Arab poets, nothing is more painful than the separation of lovers; indeed, as one of them aptly said: "but for the pangs of the separation between us and our lovers, death would never have found its way to our souls".

22.2 We are now faced with a very mild form of separation, because modern transport will make it possible to bring anyone from anywhere to anywhere else. But nevertheless, although it might be incongruous to speak of Luther Evans and the Arab countries as lovers, there is no doubt that love is the sentiment which binds him to them. They have learned to love him in the course of several years of close, active and sympathetic collaboration.

22.3 Luther Evans is a native of a country called Texas, a country which must not on any condition be confused with its neighbour, which is known as the United States. Nevertheless Texas, a separate country, has managed to maintain very good relations with its big neighbour, the United States of America; and this country of Texas was the cradle in which Luther Evans learned his early lessons in dealing so amicably and harmoniously with foreign countries, by the direct experience of how to deal with foreigners so near to his native land. This amply qualified him to deal with the different Member States which are even more heterogeneous than his closest neighbours. It was thus appropriate that Luther Evans was chosen for his post in Unesco.

22.4 But before that he was chosen as Director of the Library of Congress, a post which again brought him right into the midst of all the cultures of all the world. As those of you who know something about the Library of Congress will realize, there is no space in the world of similar size in which there is such an enormous accumulation of the best creations of the human spirit from all lands and from all cultures. That experience was another factor in the formation of Luther Evans. Thus, he was amply qualified for his post of Director-General of Unesco, by his Texan birth, his good neighbourly relations, and his experience as Librarian of Congress.

22.5 I first came into contact with him in this capacity as Librarian of Congress when the Library of Congress undertook, in collaboration with the University of Alexandria, the task of microfilming the manuscripts of the Monastery of St. Catherine, in Sinai. I was then President of Alexandria University and helped to organize the celebration at which a gift of all the microfilms of this famous collection was made by the Library of Congress to the University of Alexandria.

22.6 Luther Evans, as Director-General, will always be remembered among my countrymen and all the members of the Arab States, and in all cultural areas of Arab lands, for his promotion of the work among Member States and of the projects carried out in all countries. The Arab world

became increasingly Unesco-conscious after the accession of Mr. Torres Bodet, but this development was immensely accelerated under his illustrious successor. Therefore, on behalf of the Arab delegation, I have the honour to express to Dr. and Mrs. Evans the best and heartiest wishes for even more prosperous and illustrious years to come. I think I shall not give in to the feelings which Arab poets have expressed on the theme of the pangs of separation. I cannot think about Luther Evans and be sad, because whenever I think about him, all at once I shall be hearing again that famous laughter of his, which is so enormous that it will continue to ring in my ears whenever I hear his name. You cannot think about Luther Evans but feel happy.

22.7 The legacy which is being handed over to the Organization by Dr. Luther Evans is entirely safe in the hands of his successor, Dr. Vittorino Veronese. He is also very well known to Arab countries, has been very diligent and energetic as Chairman of the Executive Board and in participating in our cultural activities, and in visiting our lands he has won many friendships.

22.8 We had to go across the Atlantic to find Dr. Luther Evans, but we have only to go across the Mediterranean to find Dr. Veronese. Italy and the Arab countries are very closely linked; I think one ancestor from the United Arab Republic was actually an emperor in Rome. Now we shall have Dr. Veronese as our emperor here in this Organization, and he must not forget the ancient attachment and feeling of friendship which we all have for him. I shall not prolong this speech, Mr. President, in view of the fact that the session is rather late, but I do not wish to leave the platform without expressing, on behalf of the different Arab delegations, our feeling of gratitude for the past and our hope for the future.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon the last of the speakers on the list, Mr. Parra Perez, delegate of Venezuela.

24.1 Mr. PARRA PEREZ (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, although the delegation of Venezuela had an opportunity this morning of enthusiastically joining in the tribute paid and the ovation given by the General Conference to Dr. Evans for the work he has done, Venezuela has not yet explicitly paid, in words, the debt of gratitude which, as a Member State of Unesco, it owes to the eminent man who is now relinquishing the office of Director-General.

24.2 As a constant witness of Dr. Evans' work in all its forms, and having enjoyed the additional privilege of collaborating with him in some of his activities, it gives me great pleasure at this time to express anew our unbounded appreciation of the services he has rendered to Unesco and its Member States over so many years. Few people have brought to international work so many qualities as Dr. Evans, and our Organization has indeed been fortunate in benefiting from his abilities. Mr. Seydoux today described him as a "great builder" and we all feel that this term applies to more than the fact of having raised this building which now serves as the Organization's physical Headquarters, for the programmes framed and executed by the retiring Director-General in collaboration with the Executive Board bear witness to his achievement and do credit to the efforts of a man whose engaging geniality so agreeably embellishes his forcefulness and sound thinking.

24.3 Dr. Evans is now leaving this large, expanding organization in the expert hands of Dr. Veronese, to continue and carry forward the work. The differences of character and temperament between these two men emphasize the fact that, nevertheless, both have brought the same high ideals to the service of Unesco. And it is natural that, whilst bidding the one farewell with feelings of deep gratitude, we should welcome the other with the fullest and warmest confidence. Many, many thanks, Dr. Evans, and good luck. Best wishes, Dr. Veronese.

24.4 Mr. President, the delegation of Venezuela has much pleasure in associating itself with the tributes which have been paid to France, to the French Government and to Your Excellency for the hospitality afforded to the Conference; and in emphasizing once again the deep gratitude and appreciation of Unesco and its Member States for the invaluable contribution this great country of France has made to our Organization. And we owe a debt of gratitude also to you personally, Mr. President, for the skill, tact and good humour with which you have presided over the debates of this Conference. Pray receive our thanks.

24.5 Before leaving this rostrum I should like, too, to endorse, on the Venezuelan delegation's behalf, the tribute paid by the Argentine delegation to the memory of two illustrious Latin Americans who have recently died. I was acquainted with Mr. Guerrero's work for many years in his capacity as a lawyer who gave the benefit of his knowledge first to the League of Nations, and then to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. As regards Mr. García Monje, all Latin Americans without exception honour the memory of this great servant of our literature, whose work in Latin America was indeed of incalculable value. On behalf of Venezuela, I pay my respects to the memory of these two eminent men.

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the inspiring speeches you have just heard and applauded have expressed in terms more eloquent than any I could muster the satisfaction we all feel with the work accomplished at this tenth session of Unesco's General Conference. As President, nevertheless, I do not feel I can bring this session to a close without saying a few words, be they only to express my warm thanks and congratulations to all those who have been responsible for its success; and to thank, on behalf of France, all who have spoken so courteously and movingly about my country and myself. My congratulations and thanks go first of all to the Executive Board, in the person of its eminent Chairman, Mr. Raadi, for its efficient planning and organization of the work of the General Conference; then to our Secretariat, including our interpreters, whose efficiency and devotion to duty have earned our unfailing admiration; my affectionate thanks go alike to the anonymous many for their multifarious services, and to the star solo performers. And lastly, my thanks to you,

my colleagues, whose unfailing courtesy, understanding and co-operation have done so much to facilitate my task.

25.2 I should like to say a special word of thanks to my colleagues of the General Committee, to the Vice-Presidents who have always been ready - I am sorry it should have happened so often - to take over the duties of President with, as I know, such consummate authority; and to the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the Commissions, Committees and Working Parties, who have been mainly responsible for the good progress of our work. It is to the skill, ability and goodwill of all these people that we owe the success of this Conference, which we shall no doubt all remember as being marked by harmony, efficiency and hopefulness.

25.3 Harmony. The note of harmony was, indeed, never absent from the discussions leading up to the main decisions of the Conference, namely, the adoption of the programme, the vote on the budget, and the approval of the reports of the Commissions. It is true that the discussions on other problems, particularly at the beginning of the session, were sometimes a trifle heated. As a politician, I was naturally not surprised, still less disturbed, by this. Moreover, it is a characteristic of our age that intellectuals are devoting themselves increasingly to current problems; and Unesco should not try to be an ivory tower aloof from the storms raging in the world. The important point is that the Conference should, after discussing these problems, have had the wisdom either to refer them to the authorities best qualified to deal with them, or to settle them itself, where necessary, without adhering too closely to individual ideologies.

25.4 Efficiency. Our Commissions, Committees and Working Parties have given a magnificent account of themselves. The reason why the plenary meetings of the past two weeks have passed off so smoothly and quickly and satisfactorily - so much so, indeed, that they sometimes seemed to lack the spice of the unexpected - was that most of the work had been done so well beforehand at these meetings of highly efficient specialists. It must be acknowledged that, here again, the ground had been excellently prepared for us by the Executive Board and the Secretariat, which submitted very good and careful documents to us, together with proposals - including the proposed programme and budget - on which Member States had already been consulted in detail over a considerable period. To a very large extent, all the Conference had to do was to ratify and confirm agreements already reached or on the point of being reached. These carefully considered decisions, based on the methodical reconciliation of different points of view, are undoubtedly an indication of the fact that our Organization has attained maturity - a fact we should record with deep satisfaction.

25.5 But - dare I confess it? - at the risk of seeming to find fault with a good bargain - to complain that the bride is too beautiful, as we say in France - I should not like the meetings of the General Conference, which should be, and indeed are, important events, to lose some of their savour (by which I do not mean their interest) through being too well prepared. The Unesco General Conference should be a world conclave of education, science and culture. In order to make it so, it is essential in my view that, besides dealing with problems concerning the internal functioning of the Organization, and requiring definite decisions by the delegates of Member States, the Conference, at which so many eminent personalities foregather, should also discuss the substance of certain of the major problems which come within Unesco's province and which are occupying men's minds today. I should like to bring this suggestion to the attention of those whose task it will be to prepare for the next session of the Conference, including in particular the members of the Executive Board and, if I may venture to say so, the new Director-General.

25.6 In fact, the assessment of Unesco's future programmes, the final report on which is to come before us in 1960, the major surveys undertaken by Unesco at the request of the United Nations on international co-operation in education, science and culture, and the main trends of scientific development, and finally, the preparation of international instruments on the subject of discrimination in education, should all, if their full scope and significance are explored, provide material for a broad discussion of the most serious and pressing problems of the modern world.

25.7 Lastly, hopefulness. Unesco, having just completed a period of remarkable development under the outstanding leadership of Dr. Luther Evans - to which we paid well-deserved tribute at this morning's solemn, memorable meeting, in a series of glowing, moving tributes, which I would like to endorse again now, with redoubled warmth and sincerity - Unesco, I say, is now turning resolutely to the future, housed in its new Headquarters, and under the leadership of a new Director-General.

25.8 As to the new Headquarters, many delegations have expressed satisfaction at seeing it permanently established in France; and I have already had an opportunity of telling you how proud my country is to accommodate it on French soil. I should like to reiterate that we Frenchmen consider it not only as a great honour, but as a responsibility as well. Henceforth, France will regard it as part of her own intellectual mission, to which her finest efforts are devoted, to provide a setting and an atmosphere worthy of Unesco's universal mission.

25.9 In these new buildings which, by their constant reminder of the power and ingenuity of modern art and technology, are an incitement to boldness, we are confident that the new Director-General will pursue the work of his illustrious predecessors, and extend the Organization's activities ever more widely. What he told us this morning, in his inspiring address, about his approach to his high office, confirmed us in the conviction that the Conference has appointed a man who is worthy of Unesco or, in other words, worthy of man. I am, I am sure, expressing the feelings of all my colleagues when I assure Dr. Vittorino Veronese that he is embarking on his task with our sincere good wishes, and that our trust and support will never fail him. I know that we can count on him to make Unesco's work increasingly efficient, and by organizing it with intelligence and sympathy, to win for the Organization the growing esteem and spontaneous support of the peoples, without which even the strongest of governments are, in the last resort, powerless.

25.10 That is the wish I frame, ladies and gentlemen, now that our labours are completed. You are going forth into the world, like missionaries in human understanding, to spread the message of moral and intellectual solidarity, and I should like to wish you a safe return home, and to voice the hope that we shall all have the good fortune to meet again here in two years' time. I for my part shall never forget the signal honour you paid me in asking me to preside over your assembly; and the memory of the noble example of mutual respect, understanding and co-operation which you have, for the past month, set the world will never leave me.

26.1 Dr. EVANS:

Mr. President, with your permission I should like to say a few words more to thank the speakers for their kind remarks, for their sincere and moving declarations of thanks for the work that I have tried to do, particularly those who have spoken since I spoke this morning. I thought then that we had arrived at the end of the speeches.

26.2 I have little to add to what I said, except to express again my deep gratitude. I would like to say to you that my faith in this Organization has grown over the past years since we met in London to decide what we wanted the Organization to do and to be, and my faith in what Unesco can do is still growing. I feel sure that the next five years will give more concrete results, will put in the hearts of men more faith in the work of Unesco than the last five years have done. You have demonstrated at this Conference, as so many speakers have pointed out, an increased degree of maturity. You have conducted a session with improved efficiency, and this is not all because of the good work of the Executive Board combined with the achievements, which I acknowledge, of the Secretariat; the Member States are improving in their capacity to conceive and to execute the programme of the Organization.

26.3 Mr. Awad has touched upon the matter of the affection which I have for the peoples of the Member States of this Organization. I now regard all of these peoples as my peoples. I feel as close to being a citizen of each of your countries as it is possible, even for a Texan, to feel. I feel at home everywhere in the world, and I hope I shall have further opportunity to demonstrate that I do.

26.4 (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I should like to thank you, firstly, for the work you have done as President of our Conference. I should also like to thank you for the welcome which we have received, my wife, my son and I, both here in the capital of France and in the country as a whole.

26.5 It has been for us an experience not only interesting but very moving, an experience which has left us with many memories of a life in which we have found countless satisfactions; and for that I have to express my thanks to you, to the French Government and to the French people.

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Conference, to embrace you.

27.2 Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to declare the tenth session of the General Conference closed.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.